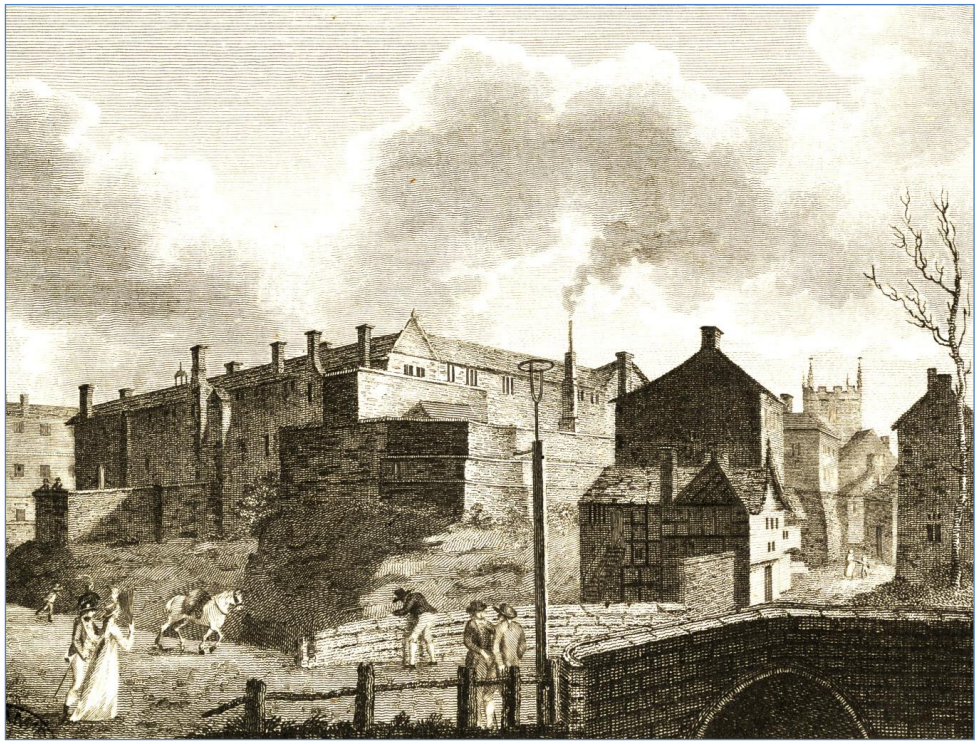
# THE MEDIEVAL CULTURAL QUARTER, MANCHESTER

## VOL 1: THE MAIN REPORT
## PART 1: THE TEXT



AN ARCHAEOLOGICAL DESK-BASED ASSESSMENT - 2011

A REPORT FOR CHETHAM'S SCHOOL OF MUSIC, MANCHESTER CATHEDRAL AND MANCHESTER CITY COUNCIL

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# Summary

This report presents the results of an archaeological desk-based assessment of the Medieval Manchester Cultural Quarter, carried out on behalf of Chetham's School of Music, Manchester Cathedral and Manchester City Council.

The Quarter was the core of the medieval town and is distinguished by three late medieval buildings of national importance, namely the collegiate church, now the Cathedral, the buildings erected to house the college of priests who served the church, later adopted for Chetham's Hospital and Library, and Hanging Bridge which provided access to the church across the natural obstacle of Hanging Ditch.

In addition to these important buildings, the Quarter retains elements of the medieval street pattern, principally in the form of Long Millgate, Fennel Street and the curving sweep of Cateaton Street and the Hanging Ditch thoroughfare, now part of Exchange Square. Important below-ground remains are known to survive in the form of the Hanging Ditch channel and a rock-cut ditch at Chetham's School. The school as a whole is an area of great, and largely untapped, archaeological potential. Possible below-ground archaeology here includes remains of the medieval castle and manor house, the lost buildings of the college, and the post-medieval House of Correction. The Quarter has also produced prehistoric and Roman finds and is believed to be crossed by the line of a Roman road. It also retains significant remains from the industrial era, which include a 19th-century corn mill as well as the Victoria (or Cathedral) Arches.

The report draws together archaeological and historical evidence for the development of the Medieval Quarter, assesses its archaeological significance and potential, and makes recommendations for future work. It also includes, as appendices, reports on major modern archaeological investigations and recording carried out at Hanging Ditch and Hanging Bridge.

# 1. Introduction

1.1 This report presents the results of an archaeological desk-based assessment of the Medieval Manchester Cultural Quarter, carried out on behalf of Manchester City Council, Chetham's School of Music and Manchester Cathedral.[1]

1.2 The present survey draws together historical and archaeological data on the Medieval Quarter to produce a single coherent account of its development, and its archaeological significance and potential. This document is intended not only to inform the treatment and recording of remains where these will be adversely affected by development works, but also to be a foundation document for future interpretation, presentation and public engagement. As such, it aims to:

- provide a basis for an interpretive strategy for the Medieval Quarter, and for the interpretation of Chetham's School and Library, the Cathedral and their environs;
- to inform any public realm developments;
- and to inform the potential archaeological implications of any future developments.

1.3 The report is primarily concerned with the below-ground archaeological resource and structural remains. The standing buildings of Manchester Cathedral and Chetham's School of Music have been expertly described in recent years by Clare Hartwell, to whose works the reader is referred (Hartwell 2001, 2002, 2004; Hartwell *et al* 2004).

1. Thanks are due to Norman Redhead, County Archaeologist, Greater Manchester Archaeological Unit; Moira Stevenson, Head of Manchester City Galleries; Anthony O'Connor, Director of Development, Manchester Cathedral; Canon David Howe; Peter Mellor, Manchester Cathedral Visitor Centre; John Prichard, Cathedral Architect; Michael Oglesby, Chair of Chetham's School of Music; Sarah Newman, Bursar of Chetham's; Michael Powell and Fergus Wilde, Chetham's Library; Pat McCartney for access to Chetham's School of Music; Katherine Carter, Archivist, Greater Manchester County Record Office; Barry Johnson, Thomas Worthington Design; David Shimwell, formerly of the University of Manchester Department of Geology, and Graham Mottershead, David Power and Richard Gregory, formerly of the University of Manchester Archaeological Unit, for providing information relating to the excavation at Cathedral Yard/Cateaton Street; and Mark Fletcher (Matrix Archaeology) and Clare Hartwell for kindly providing material and for discussion on the development of the Chetham's site. Images held by Manchester Archives and Local Studies, the Greater Manchester County Record Office, Chetham's Library and the Greater Manchester Archaeological Unit are reproduced with kind permission.

# 2. Methodology

2.1 The assessment has comprised a desk-top study and a site inspection.

2.2 Sources examined for the desk-top study include:

- Greater Manchester Historic Environment Record (HER), formerly the Sites and Monuments Record (SMR), held by the Greater Manchester Archaeological Unit.

- Previous archaeological investigations. Reports are held by GMAU. There is no report on the University of Manchester Archaeological Unit's (UMAU) excavation of Hanging Ditch at Cathedral Yard/Cateaton Street on the present site of the Wellington Inn and Sinclair' Oyster Bar nor is there a final report on the recording carried out at Hanging Bridge and Hanging Ditch within the Cathedral Visitor Centre. The present assessment has included the compilation of reports for these sites using the UMAU archive deposited at the Cathedral. This work has drawn on and includes the finds assessment carried out for the Cathedral Yard/Cateaton Street site but has not included specialist analysis of those finds for which separate funding would need to be sought in the future.

- Antiquarian sources. These have partly been published but some primary material is held in local archives.

- Published and unpublished documentary sources. Much primary documentary evidence on the development of the Cultural Quarter in the medieval and post-medieval periods is summarized in GMAU's *Medieval Manchester (*Morris 1983). As part of the assessment, local archives have been consulted for primary material which adds to the information presented in this and other published sources.

- Historic mapping. The assessment has compiled a scaled historic map sequence for the Cultural Quarter (***Ills 2-15***). Consultation has also been made of unpublished plans, held in local archives.

- Historic illustrations and photographs, published or held in local archives.

- Geotechnical data. Some older data is summarized in GMAU's *Medieval Manchester*. There is also a significant body of data relating to Hanging Bridge Gardens which is held in the UMAU archive deposited at the Cathedral.

Archives and collections consulted have included:

- Chetham's Library, Manchester
- John Ryland's University Library of Manchester
- Lancashire Record Office
- Manchester Archives/Greater Manchester County Record Office
- Manchester Cathedral Archive
- Manchester City Library

2.3 A site inspection has been carried out, subject to availability of access and considerations of Health and Safety. This has included an internal inspection of Chetham's School.

2.4 The assessment has been carried out in accordance with *Planning Policy Statement 5: Planning for the Historic Environment* (2010). The significance of the archaeological resource has been assessed using the Secretary of State's criteria for designating Scheduled Monuments.

2.5 **Using the Report**

Sites identified by the assessment have been numbered and summary details of these are given in the gazetteer in chapter 10, in addition to the detailed discussion in chapters 4-8. A summary of previous archaeological investigations within the study area is given in chapter 9. The locations of sites and areas of archaeological investigation are shown on ***Ills 16*** and ***113-122***.

# 3. The Setting

## 3.1 Location

3.1.1 The study area lies in Manchester city centre and is bounded by the River Irwell on the west, Hunt's Bank on the north-west, Victoria Station Approach and Todd Street on the north-east, Corporation Street and Exchange Square on the south-east, and Cateaton Street on the south (centred SJ 839 988) (***Ill 1***).

The study area is largely made up of four quadrants. The north-western, defined by Victoria Street, Fennel Street and Long Millgate, contains the historic core of Chetham's School. The south-western quadrant contains Manchester Cathedral and, to its south, the buildings between Cathedral Yard and Cateaton Street. These include Sinclair's Oyster Bar and the Wellington Inn, the last surviving timber-framed building in the city centre, which were collectively known as the Shambles and were moved here from their original site in 1998-9. The south-eastern quadrant is occupied by the former Corn and Produce Exchange, now known as the Triangle. The north-eastern, bounded by Long Millgate, Todd Street, Corporation Street and Fennel Street, comprises Urbis, built in 2000-1, and an adjacent landscaped area of public realm.

3.1.2 Ground level within the study area shows a general downward trend from east to west, towards the River Irwell, and from south to north towards the River Irk, now culverted below Walker's Croft.

## 3.2 Geology

3.2.1 The solid geology of the study area, as shown by the OS Geological Survey, comprises Sherwood (formerly known as Bunter) Sandstone of the Permo-Triassic.

3.2.2 The OS Geological Survey maps the superficial geology of the study area as mostly comprising late glacial flood gravels, which form part of a band of such deposits alongside the course of the River Irwell. The Geological Survey maps the eastern edge of this band as following a line running roughly from the junction of Long Millgate and Victoria Station Approach to the south-west corner of the Triangle, with the superficial geology to the east of this line shown as boulder clay.

Modern groundworks and archaeological investigations have refined this picture. Within the area defined by Fennel Street, Long Millgate, Todd Street and Corporation Street, excavations in 1980-1 encountered gravels at the sites of both Hurst Court and Marsden Court, in the north-west and east of this area respectively (Morris 1983, 47, 54, 57). In 2000 a watching brief carried out across the same area confirmed the widespread presence of gravels (Mottershead 2000, 14). The record of a borehole at No 1 Todd Street (at the junction with Corporation Street) also shows gravels (information provided by Manchester City Council, cited by Arrowsmith 1998a, 4). Possible natural sands and gravels were also noted towards the eastern end of Fennel Street during an archaeological watching brief in 1999 (Peers & Arrowsmith 1999, 10).

## 3.3 Designated Sites

3.3.1 The study area contains one Scheduled Monument, Hanging Bridge.

3.3.2 It also contain ten Listed Buildings as follows:

- Manchester Cathedral, Grade I Listed (SMR 1370.1.0)
- Chetham's Hospital and Attached Wall, Grade I Listed (SMR 2020.2.1)
- Fragment of Hyde's Cross, Grade II Listed (SMR 2020.3.0)

- Chetham's School, Long Millgate Range, Grade II (SMR 2020.2.1)
- Chetham's School, Vallins Building, Grade II (SMR 2020.2.2)
- Triangle (former Corn and Produce Exchange), Grade II (SMR 8417.1.0)
- Mynshull's House, 14 Cateaton Street, Grade II (SMR 8306.1.0)
- Mitre Hotel, Cathedral Yard, Grade II (SMR 8307.1.0)
- Wellington Inn, Cathedral Gates, Grade II
- Sinclair's Oyster Bar, Cathedral Gates, Grade II

3.3.3 The study area lies within the Cathedral Conservation Area.

# 4. Historical and Archaeological Background 1: Prehistoric and Roman

## 4.1 **Prehistoric**

4.1.1 The natural topography and geological conditions of the study area would have made it a favourable location for prehistoric settlement and other activity. The spur of land formed by the confluence of the Irwell and Irk had a natural defensive quality. This area was flanked on the north and east by steep banks and cliffs rising from the rivers, while to the south was the obstacle of the natural gully of Hanging Ditch, although one moderating factor was the presence of rising ground to the east in the area of the modern Withy Grove. The sands and gravels which form the superficial geology of the spur would have created well-drained ground conditions, and the presence of a ford across the Irwell would have made this also a locally important communications point.

Actual evidence for prehistoric activity in Manchester is largely restricted to a scattering of stray finds. In keeping with its favourable conditions, a significant number of these have been found within the study area. A second concentration is known from Castlefield, where an area of sands and gravels elevated within a bend of the River Medlock was later chosen as the site of Manchester's Roman fort.

4.1.2 In line with a general trend within the region, Bronze Age finds are the most common datable prehistoric objects from the city centre and the study area. In the case of the study area, they include the locally rare occurrence of Bronze Age metalwork, two pieces of which have been recovered from deposits in Hanging Ditch. One is a bronze dagger, *c* 5.5in (*c* 140mm) long, and the other a fragment of a bronze axe. Both were recovered in 1880 during works for the building of Hanging Bridge Chambers, now part of the Cathedral Visitor Centre (Roeder 1906, 179; MCL M277/1/2/15) (***Ill 17; Ill 16,* site 1**). From the location of their discovery it is possible that these were votive offerings deposited in water in the ditch.

Lithics, or stonework, have also been found within the locality. A flint flake, possibly of prehistoric date, was discovered by the antiquarian Charles Roeder within the south side of the Cathedral churchyard, while a perforated stone hammer, perhaps the most common type of Bronze Age find in the region, was uncovered further to the east in 1870 during the digging of foundations at the junction of Corporation Street and Todd Street (Roeder 1899, 205) (***Ill 16*, sites 2 & 3**). A flint scraper, probably of late Neolithic or early Bronze Age date, was found during excavations in 1980-1 at Long Millgate (Morris 1983, 66) (***Ill 16*, site 4**). To the east of the study area, a Bronze Age stone implement was discovered in 1899 during railway company excavations on the south bank of the Irk on Long Millgate (SMR 408.1.0).

Most recently a sample of charred material taken from the fill of Hanging Ditch in 1997, at the present site of the Wellington Inn and Sinclair's Oyster Bar, has been radiocarbon-dated to 1880-1650 BC (***Ill 16*, site 5**) (see Appendix A6). The exact significance of this Early Bronze Age date is difficult to interpret. This material was found within the uppermost of a sequence of waterborne deposits within the base of the ditch. Its burning may have been an entirely natural occurrence or be a further indication of human activity in the locality. In either event, the charred sample and metalwork provide good evidence for the accumulation of material in the base of the ditch at this period, perhaps through a combination of human and natural agency.

4.1.3 No Iron Age finds are known from Manchester. Roeder supposed that a settlement of this period had existed in the area of the Medieval Quarter, defended by an outer ditch which ran from the Irwell to the Irk and included Hanging Ditch and by an inner ditch for which he found evidence within the yard of Chetham's School (Roeder 1899) (***Ill 114,* site 25**). Roeder's dating of the inner ditch was based on the fact that it was sealed by a layer of sandstone cobbles which he interpreted as a Roman road.

However, further archaeological investigations at the school in 1983 (***Ill 114,*** **site 26**) showed that the ditch fill contains medieval material, and Roeder's supposed Roman road is more likely to date from the construction of the medieval college buildings in the 15th century (see 9.2.1-2). From the evidence of the excavation at Hanging Ditch in 1997, the natural channel of the ditch was possibly recut following the Early Bronze Age but at a date much closer to the 14th century AD (see Appendix A.6).

Recent doubt has been cast on the existence of a settlement at Manchester on the eve of the Roman invasion by a re-examination of the Roman name of the place. It is now generally accepted that the correct form was 'Mamucium' and that this was derived from a British word 'mamma'. Scholars, however, have felt that the literal sense of that word, namely 'mother', does not make sense within this context and have proposed a derivative meaning of 'breast' or 'breast-shaped hill', referring to the prominence at Castlefield on which the Roman fort came to be built. This secondary meaning has recently been called into question by Andrew Breeze who has argued that 'mamma', or mother, may have been the name of a Celtic goddess of the River Medlock and that Manchester should be added to the list of places in Roman Britain (including Deva, or Chester) which were named after a local river. Breeze concludes that the derivation of the name from a river rather than a settlement implies that prior to the establishment of the Roman fort the area was effectively uninhabited. 'It reinforces the early associations of Manchester with the Medlock, as opposed to its post-Roman and medieval development at the north end of Deansgate' (Breeze 2004). Successive excavations at Castlefield have indeed found no features of Iron Age date. Although a pottery vessel of a late prehistoric type was discovered during excavations at the north gate of the Roman fort in the early 1980s, it came from a secure Roman context and appears to represent a continuation of the native ceramic tradition (Walker 1986, 91).

Both Castlefield and the Medieval Quarter consist of a spur of land partly surrounded by water, at Castlefield by a bend in the Medlock, and at the Medieval Quarter by the confluence of the Irwell and the Irk. As such they bear some relationship with a known type of late prehistoric and native Romano-British settlement site, that is a promontory defended by a ditch on the landward side, local examples of which are known at Great Woolden Hall Farm on the Glaze Brook in Salford and at Castlesteads on the Irwell in Bury. Such parallels may strengthen the possibility that the ditch which seems to have run from the Irwell to the Irk, and which incorporated the natural channel of Hanging Ditch, originated as a late prehistoric defensive system before being modified at a later date. However, when the wider local topography is taken into account, the comparison may become weaker. The rising ground to the east of the ditch and the falling ground within the ditch's circuit would have potentially reduced its defensive quality, and the balance of the evidence perhaps better fits with a later origin (see 6.5.2).

## 4.2 **Roman**

4.2.1 Roman activity in Manchester was focused on the fort at Castlefield, to the south-west of the modern city centre, around which developed an associated civilian settlement or *vicus*. The fort was noted by successive early antiquarians and the site was initially examined by excavations in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. The bulk of our knowledge of the development of the fort and *vicus* is derived from a series of more recent excavations, beginning with the work of the late Professor Barri Jones in the 1970s. The fort lay adjacent to a major Roman routeway, leading northwards from Manchester to Ribchester whose line is believed to be followed by the modern Deansgate (***Ill 16*****, site 10**). In the late 18th century the Reverend Whitaker fancifully supposed that there was a second Roman military site in Manchester, on the spur between the Irwell and Irk, and equated this with an inner and outer ditch system similar to that later believed by Roeder to be prehistoric (Whitaker 1771). However, these curving ditches, cutting off the spur, can now be recognized as most un-Roman-like. Below-ground remains at the Cathedral were later supposed by Roeder himself

to be the remains of substantial Roman buildings but were almost certainly foundations of the medieval church (see 9.5.1).

4.2.2 This study area has, however, produced a small number of Roman finds, mostly from Hanging Ditch. A Roman coin of Hadrian was recovered during the building works for Hanging Bridge Chambers in 1880 (***Ill 16,* site 1**) (Roeder 1899, 180). Roeder reported that in August 1900, to the west of Hanging Bridge, close to one of the arches', a shaft was dug by the Corporation and `from the decayed vegetable black sediment which was brought up from below, 20 feet deep, I obtained two pieces of Roman glass' (Roeder 1899, 179). A photograph of *c* 1900, held at Chetham's Library, shows a windlass positioned on the west side of the north arch and suggests the likely position of the shaft to which Roeder refers (Appendix Ill B49) (***Ill 16,* site 6**).The depth at which the glass was recovered, *c* 6m, is consistent with the 'decayed vegetable black sediment' being a silt deposit within the channel of Hanging Ditch (see Appendix B3.2).

Redeposited Roman pottery was found in medieval contexts within Hanging Ditch at the Wellington Inn/Sinclair's Oyster Bar site in 1997 (see Appendix A7.2) (***Ill 16,* site 7**). Not far from that last site, in 1899 Roeder discovered Roman pottery in what he believed to be the remains of a stratified layer at a depth of 4ft (1.2m) at Cathedral Street, on the site of the Corn Exchange (Roeder 1899, 180-1) (***Ill 16,* site 8**). Close to the western end of Hanging Ditch, Roman coins dating from 306-40 AD were found in the 1820s during groundworks at the Manchester end of Salford Bridge (Roeder 1899, 180) (***Ill 16,* site 9**).

4.2.3 Some of these finds may be the result of ephemeral activity on the fringe of Roman Manchester. Others may relate to the line of the Ribchester road, which is likely to have run across the Medieval Quarter, perhaps crossing Hanging Ditch at the site of the later Hanging Bridge. On the north, the steep outcropping sandstone along much of the south bank of the Irk suggests that a likely crossing place was at the later site of the Irk Bridge, with the road following the line of the later Hunt's Bank, now Victoria Street (***Ill 16*, site 10**).

If the road did indeed cross Hanging Ditch at the site of Hanging Bridge, a straight course to the Irk Bridge would have passed roughly through the site of the Cathedral tower.

Roeder reports that in the late 1890s workmen excavating within the Cathedral churchyard uncovered a cobble surface 5ft (1.5m) wide, at a depth of about 10ft (3m) and on an alignment running from Hanging Bridge to the tower. The workmen described this feature as a Roman road (Roeder 1899, 181) (***Ill 16,* site 48; *Ill 19***). It would be useful to know precisely where it was discovered, since its relatively narrow width and (possibly exaggerated) depth are more in keeping with a foundation layer for the church.

The antiquarian John Owen records that in 1859,

> 'In excavating on the northern side of the cathedral yard at a depth of about 7 feet the workmen thought they had discovered a pavement of rough boulder stones; it was about 9 feet wide, and appeared to point in a line from Fennel Street or rather from Long Millgate to the north door of the church' (Roeder 1899, 181-2).

Roeder himself supposed this to be 'a paved road' but without more detailed information on the location of its discovery and of a possible relation with the church its possible origin is uncertain (***Ill 16,* site 49**).

# 5. Historical and Archaeological Background 2: Anglo-Saxon, *c* 410-1070

## 5.1 **The Archaeological Evidence**

5.1.1 The evidence for activity in Manchester during the period between the end of the Roman occupation in about 410 AD and the Norman takeover in the late 11th century remains fragmentary.

5.1.2 In 1981, during excavations outside the north gate of the Roman fort in Castlefield, the remains were found of four possible Anglo-Saxon sunken-floored huts or grubenhauser. These features were cut through the exit road from the north gate and the upper fills of the adjacent Roman ditches, and were associated with a cobbled layer laid over the final-phase ditch. They are possibly evidence of a small community living in the shelter of the fort in the sub-Roman period (Walker 1986, 54-6).

5.1.3 *The Red Bank Urn*

The earliest known datable object from post-Roman Manchester is a pottery vessel found in 1850 at Red Bank to the north of the site of Victoria Station. Details of its appearance are derived from an illustration in a report of a meeting in 1887 of the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society, when the find was exhibited. This shows it to have been a biconical urn, with the upper part of the vessel decorated with horizontal bands and two rows of incised 'portcullis'-like decoration. It was described as a cinerary urn although there is no specific mention of it having contained a cremation (TLCAS 1887, 295) (***Ill 18***). In 1887 the urn was also displayed at the Jubilee Exhibition at Old Trafford, but two decades later the catalogue for an 'Old Manchester and Salford Exhibition' held at Queen's Park Art Gallery reported that 'the present location of this urn is not known' (Catalogue 1909-10, 18 no 49). The vessel is believed to date from about the late 6th century AD, and has parallels among Anglian vessels in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire (Holdsworth in Morris 1983, 7). It was found in the general locality of the old Roman road heading northwards from Manchester to Ribchester and might be evidence of the continuing use of that road, but it might also be indicative of settlement within this area of Manchester.

5.1.4 *Anglo-Saxon finds from Castlefield*

Later finds from the Anglo-Saxon period have been made in Castlefield. An Anglo-Scandinavian decorative silver roundel, possibly a brooch, which is believed to date from the 10th century, was discovered here in the 18th century during the construction of the Bridgewater Canal and is now in the collection of the City Art Gallery (J Graham-Campbell in Morris 1983, 7-8). An Anglo-Saxon gold finger ring in the British Museum, inscribed 'Aedred owns me, Eanred engraved me', is now known to have been discovered in Castlefield in the early 18th century, possibly within the area of the Roman fort (B J N Edwards in Morris 1983, 8). A hoard of nine sceattas, Anglo-Saxon coins of about the late 7th or 8th century, was discovered at Castlefield in the early 19th century. They were probably found during the digging of the foundations of St Matthew's church on Liverpool Road in 1821, a site which is crossed by the line of the Roman road leading from the north gate of the Roman fort. According to one late 19th-century report, coins including some Anglo-Saxon issues were found during the digging of foundations in Castlefield in 1822; one was said to have been of Edward the Elder (d 924) (Holdsworth in Morris 1983, 12-13). It is possible that this reference is a confusion with the earlier hoard of sceattas. Two coins said to have been found on 'Castle Hill' in Manchester, presumably a reference to Castlefield, are now in Liverpool Museum, and comprise a silver penny of Cnut (1016-35) and a silver denier (or penny) struck in Normandy in the first quarter of the 11th century (M Warhurst in Morris 1983, 13-15).

The finds point to some form of continuing activity in Castlefield in the late Anglo-Saxon and Norman periods, albeit perhaps on a sporadic basis, and this is also suggested by place-name evidence. In the medieval period the site of the Roman fort and *vicus* lay within a deer park, documented in 1282 as 'Alde-parc' ('the old park') but in 1322 as 'Aldport', the name by which the area is more frequently called (Harland 1861, 156; Farrer 1907, 52, 54, 58, 61). The place-name 'Aldport' has an Old English origin meaning 'the old market place' and may be further evidence of late Anglo-Saxon activity within this area.

It should also be noted that generally within Castlefield the uppermost Roman levels appear to have been removed by more recent activity. The same process may have destroyed overlying deposits which might have thrown a better light on the nature of activity in this area in the Anglo-Saxon period.

## 5.2 The Anglo-Saxon Burh and the Early Church

### 5.2.1 *The burh*

In the early 10th century there is documentary evidence for an Anglo-Saxon defensive settlement, or **burh**, at Manchester. This was one of a series of such **burhs** established at this period by the Anglo-Saxon rulers of Mercia in defence of the north-western frontier of their kingdom against the Vikings. Under the year 919 the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle records that,

> 'In this year after autumn King Edward went with the army to Thelwall and ordered the borough to be built, occupied and manned; and while he stayed there he ordered another army, also from the people of Mercia, to occupy Manchester in Northumbria, and repair and man it'.

The location of this **burh** is a matter of debate. The reference might be to the repair of the Roman fort at Castlefield but it has also suggested that the **burh** was located on the spur of land between the Irwell and the Irk and was the forerunner of the medieval town (**site 11**). In support of this last view, it has been noted that the archaeological excavations at the north gate of the Roman fort in 1980-1 found no evidence for the digging of a new defensive ditch in the late Anglo-Saxon period. Furthermore, it has been suggested that the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle may refer to the repair of recent damage rather than of a long-neglected site such as the Roman fort. In 918 Nottingham was 'repaired and manned' and in 917 Huntingdon and Colchester were 'repaired and restored', both of which had been damaged during conflict with the Danes. If the **burh** was located within the Medieval Quarter, it has further been supposed that it may have been defended by one of the ditch systems which are believed to have once run from the Irwell to the Irk (Holdsworth in Morris 1983, 15, 47). These include Hanging Ditch which is now known to have originated as a natural channel but which is believed to have been extended so as to form a continuous defensive ditch between the two rivers.

Professor Nick Higham, however, has proposed Castlefield as being the more likely site. He argues that the **burhs** founded along the Mercian north-west frontier in the early 10th century represented an evolving response to the dual threat posed by Vikings from the kingdom of Dublin and Vikings in the north of England. The earliest and chief of these **burhs** was established at Chester in 907 and was followed by outlying sites at the former Iron Age hillfort of Eddisbury in 914 and Runcorn in 915. The fortification of Thelwall and Manchester in 919 by Edward the Elder are seen as a direct response to a new development in that same year, namely the capture of York by Vikings from Ireland under Ragnald who made it the centre of a new kingdom. The two new **burhs** extended Edward's frontier defences to meet that new threat. The fortification of Manchester can be seen as a lesser episode in the events of 919, in that Edward remained at Thelwall while this was undertaken, but it also represented an important first step beyond Mercian territory. Manchester, as the Chronicle states,

lay in Viking Northumbria but had a strategic importance lying at the junction of the old Roman roads from York and Ribchester. Ragnald is reported to have later accepted Edward's supremacy and perhaps by the time of Edward's death in 924 southern Lancashire as far as the Ribble had been annexed to Mercia. As the frontier moved north, Higham suggests that the old **burhs** may have been abandoned as obsolete (Higham 1988).

The repair and manning of Manchester in 919 may thus have been both short-lived and relatively small-scale in terms of the size of force involved. The logistical argument may tell against the **burh** being defended by a ditch system which included Hanging Ditch, since this would have enclosed an area three times or so the size of the Roman fort. The site of the contemporary **burh** at Thelwall has not been identified and its size is uncertain (Higham 1988, 207-10, 222). The **burh** at Runcorn was situated on a promontory on the River Mersey. The site was destroyed in the 19th century but from a description made in 1819 it covered an area only measuring *c* 30m by 40m, defended on the landward side by a rock-cut ditch and a bank (Starkey 1990, 4-5).

5.2.2 *The Domesday Church of St Mary*

Despite the problems over the location and longevity of the **burh**, by the close of the Anglo-Saxon period it is likely that a new focus of settlement had been established within the study area. Following its seizure by the Anglo-Saxons in the early 10th century, the 'land between the Ribble and the Mersey' was managed through administrative divisions or 'hundreds', which were possibly based on earlier estate divisions (Kenyon 1991, 107-8). Manchester and its surrounding area lay within the Salford Hundred, named after its centre of government. Domesday records that on the eve of the Norman Conquest, Salford was a royal manor, held directly by the king. It also records that there was a royal hall here, perhaps on the site of the later Salford Hall on Chapel Street (Arrowsmith 2006, 31-2). Only a handful of other places in the Salford Hundred are mentioned in Domesday by name and they include Manchester where the survey reports that the church of St Mary and the church of St Michael both held land:

> 'The church of St Mary and the church of St Michael held in Manchester one carucate of land free from all dues except geld'.

The location of the church of St Michael is problematic but was possibly on the site of the later parish church of Ashton-under-Lyne which was dedicated to the saint, and which at a later date was considered to be a dependency of the parish of Manchester (Tait 1904, 6-7). The church of St Mary has sometimes been located at St Mary's Gate in Manchester. However, the street-name is probably derived from the fact that land here belonged to the chantry of St Mary in the late medieval collegiate church (J Lloyd in Morris 1983, 41). Accounts of burials and stone-built remains being discovered within this area have also been used as evidence of one or more early churches. The Reverend Whitaker in the 1770s wrote that when St Anne's Church was built in the early 18th century 'vast quantities of bones were dug up, deposited in their cells, and discovered everywhere as the foundations were carried along, about two yards deep in the ground'. It was also claimed that workmen digging at the east end of St Mary's Gate in 1742 'went through seven or eight feet, and then came to evident graves', while the antiquarian Thomas Barritt (1743-1820) stated that when the floor of a shop by St Mary's Gate was taken up he witnessed human bones in a brick vault (Hibbert-Ware 1848, 5). No later investigations, however, have confirmed the presence of a burial ground in this area. A stone arch once visible in a wine vault on St Mary's Gate has been cited as evidence of a church but could well have been of medieval or post-medieval date. Groundworks adjacent to St Anne's Church in 1900 uncovered a stone wall which Charles Roeder supposed to have been part of an earlier church (Roeder 1906, 87-8). This was a substantial structure 3ft (0.9m) wide, continuing to a depth of 7ft (2.1m) below street level and built of unmortared courses of sandstone, with two rows of projecting tie-stones set at intervals. It ran for 100ft

(30m) along the length of a passageway which followed the east side of St Anne's Church, on an alignment running roughly north-north-east to south-south-west. It is difficult not to conclude that this wall was either contemporary with or later than the building of the Georgian church.

The most likely location of the Domesday church of St Mary is on the site of the later parish church of St Mary, which was refounded as a collegiate church in 1421 and in 1847 was elevated to Manchester Cathedral.

5.2.3 *The Angel Stone*

The earliest physical evidence for a place of worship on this site is provided by the Angel Stone (**site 45**) (***Ill 19***). This is a fragment of red sandstone carved in relief with the figure of a winged angel, holding a straight strip which is believed to represent a scroll. An incised inscription begins on, and continues, outside the scroll and reads 'In manus tuas dme [domine] commedo sp(iritum meum)' (Into your hands, lord, I commend my spirit). The stone was found in 1871 during restoration work on the Cathedral and had been reused in the construction of the south porch. The Angel Stone was once thought to date from the 8th or 9th century on the basis of the style of script but more recently Dr Elizabeth Coatsworth has noted that this style continued into the early 12th century (Coatsworth in Morris 1983, 12). Furthermore the motif of an angel or other figure carrying an inscribed scroll first appears in English manuscript art in the late 10th and 11th centuries. Dr Coatsworth's conclusion is that on the evidence of the inscription and iconography, the likely date is in the 11th or 12th century and more probably in the Norman rather than pre-Norman age. As for the original function of the stone, while the angel perhaps formed part of a crucifixion scene, Dr Coatsworth allows that other interpretations are possible. 'The surviving fragment gives no clue to the original form of the monument: it could have been free-standing or architectural, part of a cross, a grave-slab or tomb, or a panel...The only clue to form is that the stone is not weathered, which suggests that the original position was under cover, or at least protected.'

## 5.3 Conclusion

5.3.1 The available evidence for Manchester in the Anglo-Saxon period, fragmentary as it is, does suggest a general trend of development. On the one hand, there is evidence for at least sporadic activity continuing within the area of the old Roman fort and *vicus* in Castlefield. On the other, by the end of the late Anglo-Saxon period a new focus of settlement seems to have been established on the spur of land between the Irwell and the Irk which was later to become the core of the medieval town.

# 6. Historical and Archaeological Background 3: Early Medieval, *c* 1070-1421

## 6.1 **The Manor**

6.1.1 The transition of the North-West from an Anglo-Saxon society to one dominated by Norman overlords began in the winter of 1069-70 when William I crushed a rebellion in the North. Having first devastated north-eastern England, he led an army across the Pennines and meted out the same in the North-West. What was later to become the southern part of the county of Lancashire, the 'land between the Ribble and the Mersey', was placed under a new overlord, Roger de Poitou. He retained the manor of Salford as demesne but is credited with placing Manchester under a separate lord, with the result that since his time the two places have had a separate administrative history. The manor of Salford reverted to the king in the early 12th century and for much of its history was held directly by the crown. Today it is still a royal manor in the Duchy of Lancaster.

The Norman manor of Manchester was also the centre of a barony, a group of manors under the overall control of its lord. The earliest known lords, and barons, of Manchester were the de Grelley family (the family name is also found in other forms including Grelle, Greslet and Gresley). They appear to have taken over Manchester following the Domesday survey of 1086, at which time they were landholders in the Blackburn Hundred. However, Domesday also mentions five knights who had been granted land in the Salford Hundred by Roger de Poitou and it is possible that the largest landowner among these, named Nigel, was the first lord of Manchester. The Grelleys themselves also possessed estates in Norfolk, Suffolk and Lincolnshire. The manor of Manchester passed through several generations of this family until 1309 when it was transferred by Thomas Grelley to his sister and her husband John de la Warre.

## 6.2 **The Castle**

6.2.1 It is from the time of the early Grelleys that we have evidence for one of the oldest known buildings in medieval Manchester, its castle (**site 23**). It was built at the latest in the time of Albert de Grelley who died in about 1181. His son and heir Robert was then a minor and the king, Henry II, assumed control of the family's estates until he came of age. As a consequence, references to the castle occur in the Pipe Rolls, the records of the royal exchequer. Custody of the de Grelleys' land was given to Robert and Nigel de Buron who in 1184 spent 30s on repairs to the castle. In 1185-7 Robert de Buron spent a further 9s on timber to repair the castle enclosure before handing its custody over to Josyln de Nevill who spent £4 15s 7d on unspecified repairs. In 1194 Robert de Grelley reached the age of majority and assumed control of the family estates. The castle is mentioned again, for a final time, in 1215 when Robert was prominent among the barons who pressed for the Magna Carta. In revenge King John confiscated his estates, including the castle of Manchester which was placed in the charge of Adam de Yeland, previously recorded as one of Robert de Grelley's tenants. De Grelley recovered his lands in 1216 or shortly after (Holdsworth in Morris 1983, 36).

6.2.2 Manchester is one of seven medieval castles known to have been built in Greater Manchester between the Norman takeover and the late 12th century. These are generally poorly documented, a reflection of the infrequency with which most castles, with the exception of those of the king and greater lords, appear within contemporary sources. Some of these are known to have been of the classic Norman type of a motte, or mound, which would have been surmounted by a wooden tower, and bailey or courtyard. Rochdale Castle, which gave its name to the township of Castleton, was of this type but the site has now been built over. A more intact example of a motte

survives at Watch Hill (now protected as a Scheduled Monument), situated above the River Bollin in Trafford, close to the point at which the old Roman road between Manchester and Chester crossed the river. Nearby, a prospect mound adjacent to Dunham Massey Hall possibly originated as the motte of the castle of Dunham, which was held by Hamo de Massey, baron of Dunham, in a revolt against Henry II in 1173. The castle of Ullerswood was also held by de Massey in that year, Ullerswood being the de Masseys' private hunting reserve. A mound surmounted by a modern dwelling, situated close to the underpass below the runway of Manchester Airport, may be the remains of its motte. A third castle documented in connection with the 1173 rebellion was that at Stockport, which was held against the king by its lord, Geoffrey de Costentin. The castle is recalled by the name of Castle Yard, adjacent to the Market Place, and a circuit of stone walls stood there until their demolition in the 1770s. Their date, however, is uncertain and they may have belonged to the 12th-century castle or a later manor house. Excavations on the site in 2003 revealed a well, 3m wide and 6m deep, which had been backfilled in the 14th or 15th century and which had probably been dug for the castle (Arrowsmith 2010a, 18-21). Stone-built castles of the 12th century are rare but recent excavations have shown that Buckton Castle near Stalybridge was of this type and probably of this date. Bury Castle, despite its name, is a fortified manor house of the 15th century.

6.2.3 The form of the castle at Manchester is not recorded. However, it has been noted that the amounts known to have been spent on repairs are fairly small compared to expenditure on castles elsewhere (Holdsworth in Morris 1983, 37). As a consequence it is considered unlikely 'that it was ever anything but a timber structure surrounded by a wooden palisade'. The site of the castle is also not recorded but is commonly believed to lie within the area of Chetham's School. The medieval college, whose buildings were refurbished in the 1650s as Chetham's Hospital and Library, was built on the site of the manor house which is first documented in 1267, some fifty years after the last mention of the castle.

## 6.3 The Manor House

6.3.1 Documentary information on the manor house (**site 24**) is fairly scant. A survey of the manor of Manchester in 1282 begins with what is probably a reference to this site and its components, described as the 'capital messuage, with certain houses and gardens', the fruit and herbage (ie grassland) of which were valued at 2s a year (Harland 1861, 156).

A manorial survey of 1322 provides a slightly fuller account:

> 'The manor there partially built upon, contains 2 acres of land within the precincts of which the easements of houses are worth nothing beyond the maintenance; the herbage of the enclosure is worth 18d yearly; outside the gate there is a certain house which used to be the kennel of the lord's dogs, which is worth with the cartilage 12d; below the wall of the stable outside the gate there is a certain plat of pasture towards the waters of Hirke and Irwell worth 3d yearly' (Farrer 1907, 50).

From these descriptions, the manor house site lay within a distinct enclosure, entered by a gateway. Outside that gate was a stable and a building formerly used as a kennel but by 1322 converted to a house. This last building and the gateway are both mentioned again in 1333 when John de la Warre, the lord of the manor, gave to Robert del Wodehouse 'one burgage that lies opposite the gate of our manor of Mamcestrie, and called "le Kenel"' (MA L1/51/8/13). In both the 1282 and 1322 surveys, the 'houses' may be the manor house buildings. The location of the grass and the fruit garden mentioned in 1282 is unclear from the surveys but one possibility is that the manor house enclosure was divided into two, one part being occupied by buildings, the other given over to a horticultural use.

6.3.2 In 1422 Thomas de la Warre gave the manor house site as accommodation for the parish church's new college of priests. The grant describes the manor house and its boundaries as follows:

> 'One messuage with appurtenances in Manchester with one acre and 34 perches of land called 'le Baronshull' [ie the Baron's Hall] and 'Baronsyard' [Baron's Yard] lying within these boundaries, namely beginning at the foot of a common lode [watercourse] at the bank of a certain water called the Irk, near the burgage of Master John Wrightyngton, and so ascending by the aforesaid lode as far as the burgage of Robert, son of John of the Holt, and so by the same burgage ascending by one burgage of Laurence de Hulme, and by the common oven of the town of Manchester, which John Chaloner of Manchester holds; and so by another burgage of the aforesaid Laurence, and by the new place recently of Ralph de Staneley knight, as far as 'le Bulle oke' [the Bull Oak]; and so from the said 'Bulle Oke' descending by `le Hunt Hull' [the Hunt Hall], which Edmund Parker holds, as far as the middle of the aforesaid water of Irk, near a certain bridge called 'Irke Brygge' [Irk Bridge]; and so always ascending by the middle of the aforesaid water of Irk as far as the foot of the aforesaid lode, which was the first boundary' (Hibbert-Ware 1848, 170-2).

The common lode or watercourse, the starting point of this boundary, must have been situated along the north-east side of the college precinct and have run up from the River Irk towards the college gatehouse on Long Millgate. This watercourse may be mentioned again, as a 'goit', in the 17th century in connection with the boundary between Chetham's Hospital and the grammar school which stood on an adjacent plot between the north side of Long Millgate and the River Irk. The minute books of the Hospital record that in 1676 the feoffees agreed to lease to the school 'the goyt or goyts and the plott of ground belonging to the Hospital and lying betwixt the Schoolyard and so far as the wall northwards does reach' (Chetham's Library C/CHL/MIN/1, f 73; Maclure 1922-3, 33).

From the lode, the boundary ran to the rear of a series of properties on the west side of Long Millgate, among which was the manorial oven or bakehouse (on which see 6.10.3).

The 'new place' of Raph de Staneley, knight, and the Bull Oak were both evidently situated on the south side of the medieval college, to the rear of the present Fennel Street, since the endowment of the collegiate church by la Warre in 1422 also included

> 'Ten perches of land extending from the aforesaid Bull oke as far as the north porch of the said church of Manchester, lying between the said Bull oke and the aforesaid place of Ralph de Staneley' (Hibbert-Ware 1848, 170-2).
>
> .

More particularly, the 'new place' may have stood next to the south-east corner of the manor house and the Bull Oak next to the south-west. The name Bull Oak has been interpreted as evidence that this site was used for bear baiting (Hibbert-Ware 1848, 170).

From the Bull Oak, the boundary ran by the Hunt Hall, which must have stood on Hunt's Bank to the west of the college, and continued to the River Irk by Irk Bridge, situated just above the confluence with the Irwell. From here it followed the Irk to the starting point.

## 6.4 Hanging Ditch and Other Ditches

6.4.1 It has long been supposed that the spur of land between the Irwell and the Irk was cut off by one or more ditches running between the two rivers. The Reverend Whitaker in the late 18th century proposed that there had been two such ditches, an outer ditch which included the channel of Hanging Ditch and an inner ditch, roughly following the line of Fennel Street and Long Millgate. Archaeological investigations in the 20th century have also produced evidence of a ditch running within Chetham's School. The following section sets out the evidence for the existence of such ditch systems.

6.4.2 *Hanging Ditch*

The fullest information obtained to date about the origin and early development of Hanging Ditch (**site 54**) was provided by an excavation undertaken by the University of Manchester Archaeological Unit in 1997 on a site between Cathedral Yard and Cateaton Street (***Ill 119***). The work was undertaken prior to the erection on this site of the Wellington Inn and Sinclair's Oyster Bar, which were dismantled and removed from the Old Shambles. The southern part of the site was crossed from east to west by the line of Hanging Ditch, which was revealed in section. A report of this excavation is given in Appendix A.

The excavation showed that Hanging Ditch had originated as a natural post-glacial channel. Within the excavated area, the uppermost part of the ditch had been removed by later cellarage but the surviving section of ditch was *c* 2.25m deep with a projected width *of* c 11m, and its original dimensions at this point were perhaps twice as much. A charred sample which has been radio-carbon dated to the Bronze Age was derived from the uppermost of a sequence of natural waterborne deposits within the base of the ditch. Above these was a possible ditch 'cut' containing a thin basal layer and, overlying this, over 1m of organic deposits containing artefacts and material which on the present evidence probably dated from the mid 14th to the early 15th century (**site 56**). The finds included pottery, bone, wood, metal and a considerable quantity of leatherwork, and amounted to by far the largest assemblage of medieval material from Manchester. These organic deposits point to the ditch being used as a convenient rubbish dump. The actual or near juxtaposition of Bronze Age and medieval material suggests that a recutting of the ditch may have taken place at a date relatively close to the earliest medieval deposits.

To the east of the site of the 1997 excavation there is no firm archaeological evidence for the ditch but its continuation is confirmed by the name Hanging Ditch, which has long been used for the curving thoroughfare between Cathedral Street and Fennel Street *(**Ill 120*, site 60**).

Beyond Fennel Street the early street pattern was modified in the 19th century by the creation of Corporation Street, but prior to that time the Hanging Ditch thoroughfare continued as Toad Lane, or Todd Street, whose own line swung north-westwards towards the Irk (***Ill 122*, site 72**). The resulting curving street pattern, extending from the Irwell to the Irk (***Ill 4***), is so distinctive that since Whitaker's time it is generally believed to have followed a single defensive feature which included Hanging Ditch and a northern continuation.

Whitaker himself wrote:

> 'The fosse [ie the ditch], commencing from the lofty margin of the Irke and from that point of it where the common sewer now discharges its waters into the river, was not carried in a right line through the high ridge that directly opposed its course, but curved along the ground, which must have been somewhat lower than the rest, and which now forms the streets of Toad-lane and Hanging-ditch. And the names of the streets evince the general direction, and the aspect of the streets demonstrates the particular nature of the fosse. The line of both still

> curves as the ditch curved. And the level of both still exhibits the hollow of a channel bounded upon each side by a steepy ridge. In the narrow street of Toad-lane the breadth of the channel, commensurate nearly with the width of the street, appears to have been only four or five yards at the margin. In the larger street of Hanging-ditch the width of the channel, commensurate equally with the breadth of the street, appears to have opened into eight or ten yards at the margin. And at the western termination of the Hanging-ditch, making a considerable curve on the right in order undoubtedly to avoid the knoll at the end of Cateaton-street and to sweep along the lower ground to the right of it, it runs very deep and broad to the Irwell. The northern line of the houses in Cateaton-street and all the buildings of the Hanging-bridge are seated within the channel of it. And the road to the church is carried over it upon two lofty arches of stone' (Whitaker 1771, 183).

Whitaker also recorded what he believed to be the remains of the northern end of this ditch above the Irk:

> 'An opening was made in the rocky margin of the Irke, which remains very visible to the present period, the angles of the rock appearing rounded away, the chasm extending four or five yards in width, and a sewer of the town being now laid into the cavity' (Whitaker 1771, 184).

Whitaker's supposition that the Hanging Ditch thoroughfare was located within the channel of the ditch receives some support from Aston's *Description of Manchester* of 1804. In this it is reported,

> 'within the memory of persons now living, and whose ages promise many additional years, the cart road through Hanging-ditch, was through a wash-way, so narrow, that only one cart could pass at once; the rest of the space between the opposite houses, being a raised causeway, guarded by a battlement, to prevent foot passengers from falling into the water which ran along the cart road' (Aston 1804, 17).

The excavation at Cathedral Yard in 1997 showed that the modern Cateaton Street ran along the outer edge of Hanging Ditch, in line with Whitaker's statement that 'the northern line of houses' on that street were seated within the channel. From the evidence of both Whitaker and Aston, the Hanging Ditch street lay within the channel itself. On Whitaker's evidence, this shift may have coincided with the ditch becoming shallower in contrast to the 'very deep and broad' channel at Cateaton Street. A watercolour by Thomas Barritt, painted in 1819 but depicting the scene at an earlier date, shows timber-framed houses between Hunters Lane and Old Millgate, that is the south side of Cateaton Street and Hanging Ditch roughly facing the present Cathedral Street (***Ill 59, Ill 120*** **site 61**). The westernmost of these houses belonged to the 18th-century diarist John Byrom and is shown fronted by a raised pavement which Barritt refers to as a 'mount'. This corresponds both with Aston's description of a 'raised causeway' and with Whitaker's reference to 'the knoll at the end of Cateaton-street' and may mark the point at which the street joined the old ditch channel. A borehole dug in 1973 at the west end of the Hanging Ditch Street, at a location plotted to the north of the site of Byrom's House, revealed disturbed ground to depth of 6.1m (Morris 1983, 45 & 47), which may represent ditch fill.

In 1783 Ogden reported that workmen had recently lowered the drains along the middle of the Hanging Ditch street and had found 'a bed of water gravel' under the old drain, contained within which was a horseshoe. It is possible that this gravel layer represents an early attempt to create a road surface within the base of the ditch (Ogden 1783). In 1998 a test pit dug roughly at the mid-way point on the Hanging Ditch street revealed a surface of stone setts which showed that the level of the 19th/early 20th-century street was *c* lm below the modern ground surface (see 9.8.1).

The evidence is far from conclusive but suggests that Hanging Ditch was composed of several sections each of a different character. On the west was a post-glacial water channel, whose profile was possibly modified by man in the area adjacent to the present Cateaton Street. At its westernmost end, below Hanging Bridge, this ditch seems to have significantly broadened and deepened as it fell towards the Irwell (see Appendix B10.2.3). To the east of Cateaton Street, along the Hanging Ditch street, the channel seems to have become shallower and perhaps narrower, although it is uncertain as to what extent this section also originated as part of the natural channel. To the east, a possible curving channel, followed by Toad Lane, continued the ditch towards the bank of the Irk; its course and narrower width are both consistent with this being an entirely manmade feature.

The final section of this channel may have followed the later street known as Mill Brow ***(Ill 122***, **site 84**), which ran down to the Irk from Long Millgate. Deeds of 1441, 1471 and 1525 mention a channel or watercourse along the line of Mill Brow, and variously name this as a 'common lode' or 'Hunt's lode', after the Hunt family who owned the adjoining burgage on the east. In a deed of 1337 the same western boundary of this property is named as 'the Pirlewallgate' (MCL L1/51/8/12). It is possible that this was also the lost street off Millgate known as Wallgate. In 1338 Henry del Mulngate, chaplain, granted to John Gowyn 'one burgage lying between the burgage of Adam Untourne and le Wallegate', while in 1443 Geoffrey de Trafford gave Henry his son a burgage in Millgate 'between the burgage called Peuey and a way which is called Walgate' (MA L1/5/1/8/3; Farrer & Brownbill 1911, 177 n 57). The name 'Wallgate' was possibly derived from a defensive feature. It may not be coincidental that Wallgate was also the name of one of the principal streets in medieval Wigan, where documentary evidence suggests that a bank and ditch enclosed at least part of the town (Morris 1983, 33).

In the 1880s Mill Brow was built over by Victoria Station Approach, which was carried over the valley of the Irk on a series of arches. In the southernmost of these the western wall of the arch rises from a sandstone outcrop which may originally have formed the side of a channel into which Mill Brow was set (Fletcher 2006) (***Ill 142***). It is possible that, like the western part of Hanging Ditch, this channel originated as a natural feature. It is uncertain whether or not the channel at Mill Brow was the location of the common sewer which Whitaker believed to mark the northern end of his great ditch (see above).

6.4.3 *The 'Fennel Street and Long Millgate' Ditch*

A second ditch is postulated to have followed the southern and eastern perimeter of Chetham's School. The existence and line of this ditch were also first put forward in the late 18th century by the Reverend Whitaker. He reported the discovery of what he believed to have been two sections of this ditch in the 1760s, one towards the west end of Fennel Street, the other close to the bank of the Irk. With regard to the first of these discoveries, he wrote:

> 'On opening the ground of the new burying-place, and of the adjoining land upon the east, in the months of August 1766 and of July and August 1767, appeared evidently the hollow of a broad deep ditch filled up with rubbish; the northern border of the black earth ranging nearly in a line with the southern wall of the burying-ground, and the southern undoubtedly extending along the northern wall of the churchyard. The dry unctuous mass reached above three yards in depth below the level of the street, and lay upon a bed of the native sand' (Whitaker 1771, 185).

The burial ground which Whitaker mentions opened in 1768 and lay on the north side of the west end of Fennel Street (***Ill 115,*** **site 34**). From Whitaker's description, the ditch lay within the present area of this street.

Of the section of ditch discovered by the Irk, Whitaker wrote,

> 'There, under the second house to the east of the School [ie the grammar school on Long Millgate], was it likewise discovered in the year 1765 on sinking the cellar of the houses and appeared a channel cut through the solid rock, two yards in depth, about three in breadth, and four or five in length, terminating at one end upon the edge of the rock precipice, and pointing at the other up the line of the Millgate' (Whitaker 1771, 185-6).

Whitaker supposed the ditch recorded at Fennel Street and the section by the Irk to have belonged to the same feature. In the 19th century the antiquarian John Owen observed what is believed to be a further section of this ditch, between Long Millgate and the boundary wall of Chetham's Hospital. According to the summary account in the Owen Manuscripts,

> 'When the old cottages in Long Millgate were removed for the erection of the new Grammar School, there was laid open a portion of what appeared to have been a ditch, broad and had been [*sic*] filled up with rubbish. It is no doubt a portion of the ditch mentioned by Whitaker as having been discovered in 1766-7. The part exposed extended from the line of Millgate to the boundary wall of the College. The portion mentioned by Whitaker was probably a continuation from the line of Millgate' (Owen Mss vol 26, 195).

From his reference to the removal of old cottages, the section of ditch mentioned by Owen was probably situated below the northern half of the present Millgate Building of Chetham's School. Recent thinking has been in agreement with Whitaker and Owen by supposing the ditch sections which they identified to have been part of a single feature, following the line of Fennel Street and Long Millgate (Morris 1983, 48-9).

The supposition is not, however, without difficulty. Firstly John Owen has left a second account of the ditch discovered at Long Millgate which is at odds with the Owen Manuscripts. This other account is known from a note communicated in 1901 by C W Sutton, chief librarian at Chetham's, to Charles Roeder:

> 'When the foundation of the new Grammar Sch. was made I observed there had been apparently a ditch or like running from the Millgate across the Hospital yard and part had been filled in with loose material. I think it covered about 6 to 8 yards. Note by Owen in MS at Cheth. Lib.' (MA M277/1/6, facing 104).

According to this second version the ditch ran not on a north-side alignment along Long Millgate but on an approximately east-west line from Long Millgate to Chetham's Hospital.

Secondly, Whitaker's identification of a ditch at Fennel Street is difficult to reconcile with modem investigations in this area. He believed the ditch to extend from the southern edge of the 1768 burial ground to what was then the northern boundary of the churchyard, an area corresponding with roughly the central half of the later width of Fennel Street.

In 1974 an archaeological excavation was carried out in the western half of Fennel Street, within the extent of the late 18th-century street and to the east of the site of the burial ground (***Ill 114*, site 64; *Ill 117***) (see 9.4.1). Two trenches were dug, in which the natural sand and gravel was encountered at a depth of about 1m. In both trenches deposits were found to be heavily disturbed by modern activity but some medieval features survived within the more easterly trench. These included a shallow ditch running roughly east-west, which continued as a narrower gully (***Ills 101-106***). Neither feature was of a size comparable to the broad deep ditch recorded by Whitaker.

In March 1999 a total of nine exploratory trenches were dug across Fennel Street (***Ills 114 & 117***) (see 9.4.2). One of these, Trench 4, lay to the west of the 1974 excavation and extended from the site of the burial ground to the 18th-century churchyard. At a depth of *c* 0.8m it revealed what was interpreted as a natural deposit. Trench 5, which was dug across the site of the 1974 excavation, encountered the sandstone bedrock at a depth of about 2m.

Given the conflicting modern archaeological evidence, the 'black earth' which Whitaker recorded as being 3 yds (*c* 2.7m) in depth may perhaps have been the fill of one or more localized features such as a well or pit.

6.4.4 *The Inner Ditch, Chetham's School*

There is much sounder archaeological evidence for a ditch at Chetham's School. This was first observed in 1900 by Charles Roeder during the digging of a pipe trench situated to the south of the library (***Ills 93 & 94; Ill 114,* site 25**) (see 9.2.1). The ditch was discovered at a depth of *c* 2.5m, at a distance of *c* 4.5m from the medieval college precinct wall, and was cut through the sandstone bedrock for a depth of at least 1.07m. Its width was not ascertained. The ditch was sealed here by a surface of boulders and cobbles which Roeder believed to be the remains of a Roman road; the ditch itself he supposed to be Iron Age.

In 1983 the same ditch was discovered below the outer, western, face of the precinct wall which was carried over the ditch on a broad flat arch (***Ill 114,* site 26; *Ills 95 & 134***) (see 9.2.2). Here the top of the ditch was *c* 6.8m wide and lay at a depth of *c* 5m below the level of the adjacent school yard. It was excavated to a depth of 2.2m, at which it was still 3.5m wide. The fill of the ditch produced late medieval pottery and leather shoes. In the light of these findings, the boulder and cobble surface recorded by Roeder was reinterpreted as a medieval culvert over the ditch.

From the significant differences in recorded depth, the ditch must have steeply shelved close to and beyond the precinct wall, the lower part of which at this point would appear to be a revetment against the natural sandstone (***Ill 133***). The great depth of the ditch below the precinct wall also suggests that, towards the west at least, the ditch originated as a natural gully, running down towards the Irwell (Fletcher 2006). The excavations also showed that the ditch lay not at a right angle to the precinct wall but rather at an angle running roughly north-west to south-east.

While the full course of this ditch has not been confirmed, it may be significant that the known section roughly corresponds with the line of the former wall which once separated the college yard on the north from a garden area on the south (***Ills 113 & 114***). It may also be significant that the buildings of the medieval college are squeezed into a relatively narrow elongated area in the north of the college precinct. In places the outer college walls cling to the very edge of or are even built out over the sandstone bedrock. Moreover, the layout of the college buildings is unusual in that the kitchen and service rooms are set not at the lower end of the hall, as might be expected in a medieval house, but in a separate wing extending at a right angle along the northern edge of the site (***Ill 25***). Such features suggest that when the college buildings were erected, there was some factor which restricted their expansion to the south (Fletcher 2006; Clare Hartwell, pers comm). If the rock-cut ditch had continued across the width of the college precinct, it may conceivably have presented such an obstacle. Moreover, if John Owen was correct in identifying a ditch-like feature running from Long Millgate to the college wall, it is possible that on the east the ditch continued beyond the college precinct.

There is other evidence of a ditch on the east side of the college, in this case running north-south from the River Irk. Whitaker believed that evidence for such a feature was provided by the rock-cut channel, *c* 2 yds (1.8m) in depth and 3 yds (2.7m) in width, which was uncovered in 1765 running for a length of about 4 or 5 yds from the edge

of the bank of the Irk to the east of the grammar school (see above, 6.4.3). However, there are also indications of a ditch running down to the Irk between the grammar school and the college (***Ill 114,* site 27**). The grant of the manor house to the collegiate church in 1422 makes reference to a 'lode' or watercourse here (see 6.3.2). Furthermore, an elevation of the north side of the college drawn by the architect John Palmer in 1815 shows what appears to be the end of a substantial rock-cut ditch in the bank of the River Irk at this same position (***Ill 21***).

The line of this suggested ditch is now followed by the stepped passageway between the medieval college building and the modern New College House (***Ill 138***). The present southern upper level of this passageway seems to be partly carried on brick vaulting uncovered in 1994 (Fletcher 2006). Recent archaeological trial pitting has also found that the east wall of the college continues down for at least four courses which are soot stained and therefore were once open to the air (see 9.2.3) (***Ill 114***). The implication is that, probably until the late 19th century, ground level here was at least 1.5m lower than at present, and it is possible that these lower courses were built against the western face of the suggested ditch (Fletcher 2009a).

## 6.5 The Castle, Manor House and Hanging Ditch: A Possible Reconstruction

6.5.1 The present evidence, such as there is, does allow some tentative conclusions to be made about the castle, the manor house and the suggested outer ditch comprising Hanging Ditch and its eastern continuation.

Firstly, it is possible that the rock-cut ditch which has been excavated on the west side of the college precinct continued across the college yard towards Long Millgate and then turned northwards to reach the Irk. At its western end and perhaps also on the eastern this may have originated as a natural gully. From the evidence of the excavation in 1983, the feature was backfilled in the late medieval period. Although perhaps redundant by the time of the foundation of the college in the early 15th century, its presence may have confined the new buildings to the northern part of the precinct. Such a substantial feature could have originally defended the medieval castle. It may have defined a bailey, with a possible motte situated at the north-west corner of that enclosure, above the confluence of the Irwell and the Irk. Late 18th- and early 19th-century illustrations show the natural strength of this last site, flanked by sandstone cliffs falling towards the two rivers (***Ills 20, 21 & 30***). John Palmer's drawing of the north elevation of the college also shows the sandstone bedrock here rising towards the west, suggesting that this corner of the site also originally presented a raised appearance from the landward side. Today the site is occupied by the north-west complex of the college buildings and, adjacent to these, the open space of the Fish Court (***Ills 114, 139 & 140***).

This east-west ditch may also have had an influence on the manor house which followed the castle. The surveys of 1282 and 1322 suggest that the precinct of the manor house included a substantial garden area in addition to buildings. In the post-medieval period the college precinct is known to have been divided between the college buildings on the north and gardens on the south, the two being separated by an east-west wall. It is an arrangement which could also have been found in the medieval manor house, with the gardens then being to the south of the suggested east-west ditch. This division might also be reflected in the two names given to the site in the grant of 1422, with the Baron's Hall referring to the northern part of the precinct and the Baron's Yard to the south. At an earlier date, the garden area may possibly have formed an outer enclosure of the castle, although the Reverend Whitaker's suggestion that a substantial ditch ran along the line of its southern boundary is not supported by the later archaeological evidence.

Entry into the manor house precinct in the early 14th century was via a gatehouse, outside of which were stables and a dwelling converted from a former kennel for the lord's dogs. The later college was served by two gatehouses, the present structure at

the north-east of the site, giving access from Long Millgate (***Ill 131; Ill 113, site 13***), and a second gatehouse, which was almost certainly situated at the south-west corner of the precinct (***Ill 113, site 13)*** (see 7.3.3). The second gatehouse faced the parish church and allowed unimpeded access between the college and the church via a piece of land which formed part of Thomas de la Warre's grant in 1422. This second site would seem to best fit the location of the gatehouse in the early 14th century. According to the 1322 survey, below the stable outside the gatehouse was pasture land extending to the Irwell and the Irk. This would more easily have been accommodated within the strip of land followed by Hunt's Bank than along the rocky bank of the Irk below the north side of the manor house. The stable itself may possibly have been situated to the west of gatehouse, on a site later occupied by the great College Barn (***Ill 113, site 30)***. It may not be coincidental that in the early 15th century the Bull Oak, a possible location for bull baiting, stood close to this gatehouse site, adjacent to which there had been a kennel a century or so earlier. It is possible that an earlier gatehouse also stood on the site of the college gatehouse on Long Millgate, providing a more direct route between the manor house and the manorial mill.

6.5.2 While recent investigations have confirmed that at its western end Hanging Ditch originated as a substantial natural gully, it remains likely that this feature was incorporated within a defensive ditch which ran from the Irwell to the Irk. The excavation at Cathedral Yard in 1997 showed that probably from about the mid 14th century the ditch had become a rubbish dump and the findings also suggest that it may have been recut in comparatively recent times prior to that use. If a suggested link with the Anglo-Saxon **burh** of 919 is discounted, the most likely context would be that it was constructed as a defensive ditch around the Norman settlement of Manchester, containing within its circuit the castle and church and presumably also a small number of dwellings in the eastern half of the enclosed area. A parallel of sorts might be provided by the Town Ditch at Castleton in Derbyshire, which enclosed a newly-created planned settlement associated with Peveril Castle, and possibly by the earthwork which seems to have at least partly surrounded Wigan, if indeed that is also of medieval date. A Norman origin might explain why such a ditch was constructed when the rising ground to the east would seem to be a defensive weakness. The ditch may have both supplemented the castle and have been built to enclose an existing community. Later in the medieval period, it must have been considered a hindrance rather than a help. The shallower sections may have been partly infilled and adopted as the new streets of Hanging Ditch and Toad Lane, while the deep natural channel of Hanging Ditch became a rubbish dump.

## 6.6 The Town

### 6.6.1 *The Market and Fair*

Its status as the head manor of a barony and the site of a parish church gave Norman Manchester an administrative and religious importance. By the early 13th century it also had an economic significance as the venue for a market and fair.

Medieval markets were held on a weekly basis and provided a place in which people could buy and sell foodstuffs, livestock and, to a lesser extent, manufactured goods, all usually produced locally. Fairs were held annually, usually lasting several days, and brought in traders from further afield. Both provided revenue for the local lord, who could charge a toll (a tax on goods sold) and stallage (a charge for the use of a market stall). Although markets and fairs could be held simply by custom, it became increasingly common for them to be given the stamp of higher approval in the form of a royal charter. This was a policy vigorously pursued by the crown, not least because the recipient of the charter was required to pay for the privilege.

No market charter of Manchester is known but it can be assumed that a market was being held here by 1222. In that year Robert de Grelley was granted a licence to hold an annual fair in his manor of Manchester on the feast day of St Matthew and on the

previous day. The grant was for the period until the young Henry III reached the age of majority, and was followed in 1227 by a permanent charter by the king. This second grant extended the period of the fair to three days, comprising the feast of St Matthew, the day before and the day after, that is 20-22 September (Harland 1861, 44-53). In 1282 tolls from the market and fair of Manchester brought the lord an income of £7 13s 4d, a higher figure than the revenue from the town's burgages (Harland 1861, 145, 157).

The charters granting Manchester's fair are among the earliest 'market' charters in Lancashire, the oldest being for Lancaster in 1193. Nationally the peak period for granting market charters was in the third quarter of the 13th century (Morris 1983, 25, 27). Salford received a charter from Henry III in 1228, the year after Manchester's own fair was confirmed. Under this charter a market could be held in Salford every Wednesday and a three-day fair on the eve, day and morrow of the Nativity of St Mary (7-9 September). By 1346 the market day had changed to Monday, and two fairs were held annually, on the feast of St Leonard (6-7 November) and on Whit Monday and Tuesday. Salford's early market is poorly documented and seems to have been overshadowed by that of its neighbour. It had ceased to be held by the mid 18th century when an attempt at revival was quashed by opponents in Manchester, who included the lord of the manor, eager to protect his income from tolls, as well as local traders. A new market was finally established in Salford in the 1820s (Arrowsmith 2006, 13, 19-20). Of other neighbouring markets in Lancashire, Rochdale received a charter in 1241, Bolton in 1251, Ashton-under-Lyne in 1413 and Bury in 1440 (Morris 1983, 27). Stockport, in north-east Cheshire, was given its market charter in 1260 but its place-name, which means 'the market place at the hamlet', indicates a market there at an earlier date (Arrowsmith 1997, 23, 37).

6.6.2 *The Medieval Borough*

At some date prior to the late 13th century Manchester was also made a borough. A defining feature of the medieval borough was a class of privileged individuals known as burgesses, who were granted specific rights by their manorial lord. Membership of this class was based on possession of a plot of land, or burgage, for which each burgess paid his lord a fixed rent. Burgages were concentrated within a specific place within a manor and usually consisted of a narrow elongated plot of land extending back from a roadway. They were intended primarily as housing plots, the usual practice being for the burgess to build his house on the street frontage of his burgage. A borough was in effect an urban settlement, a town, and this was reflected in the occupations of its inhabitants. Although, like other occupants of the manor, they farmed the land, they were also likely to earn a wage from some specialized trade or craft. Not surprisingly, boroughs were places which usually also had a market but not every place which had a market was also a borough.

The majority of charters by which a place was given borough status by its lord belong to the 13th century. This was a period of population growth and economic expansion, for which the proliferation of market charters and borough charters are both key indicators. Manchester's charter dates from 1301 but extends or confirms existing rights. In 1282 Robert de Grelley died leaving a son and heir Thomas, then aged only three, who became a ward of the crown. The law required a survey to be made of the value of the manor and the resulting document provides the earliest evidence for a number of components of the town (Harland 1861, 127-77). Included within the 1282 survey are rents of £7 3s 2d from burgages and revenue of 8s from a borough court. The borough was probably well-established by that date. Salford was granted its charter in 1230 by Ranulf de Blundeville, the earl of Chester, who was temporarily in control of the royal estates in southern Lancashire (Tait 1904, 60-108; Barraclough 1988, 433-6).

Under the terms of Manchester's 1301 charter each burgess was to pay an annual rent of 12d for a burgage, a common figure for such a property. The income of £7 3s 2d from rents given in the 1282 survey implies approximately 143 burgages. For the

time this was a respectable number. In neighbouring Salford, a survey of 1346 shows that there were then $129^{1}/_{3}$ burgages, held by a total of 52 named individuals (Farrer 1915, 96-8). In Cheshire, 120 burgages are said to have been created by the earl of Chester at Macclesfield prior to 1233. The borough at Stockport contained 93 burgages in 1483 but at the time of its creation in about 1260 this figure was perhaps as low as 60 (Arrowsmith 1997, 40). The location of a number of individual burgages and other properties documented in medieval Manchester have been identified by Julian Lloyd (in Morris 1983, 38-9) (***Ills 123 & 124***).

6.6.3 *Trades in the Medieval Town*

The documentary sources provide evidence for a number of trades in the medieval town (J Lloyd in Morris 1983, 35). An early textile industry is indicated by the presence of a fulling mill in the town by 1282 (see below), and is also suggested by the names of Alexander the Dyer in 1295-1310 and Henry the Dyer who appears as the owner of a croft on Millgate in a deed of possibly the 14th century (MA L1/51/8/13). Cloth is recorded as being sold in Manchester as early as 1246. By the late 14th century Manchester drapers, or textile merchants, had wide reaching trade links which included the city of Coventry as well as the wool-producing area of north Lancashire. By the late 15th century Manchester merchants were engaged in trade with Ireland through the port of Chester.

A second important industry was tanning. A Hugh le Tanner owned property on Millgate in 1280 and there are later references to tan pits on that same street. In 1581 tanpits are recorded between the Irk and Walker's Croft and it is possible that the industry on Long Millgate was concentrated along the banks of the river. At least ten tanners may have been operating in Manchester in 1566, and eight are known in the 1590s (Willan 1980, 49-50).

Probable evidence for the tanning industry has also been provided by recent archaeological investigations. The excavation in 1997 at the present site of the Wellington Inn and Sinclair's Oyster Bar uncovered 384 fragments of animal bone from undisturbed medieval contexts within the fill of Hanging Ditch. Nearly 40% of these were cattle and the assemblage was dominated by foot bones. This is suggestive of tanner's waste, the feet being left attached to the skin to aid pegging out of the hide (see Appendix A7.5). The excavation also produced a large quantity of waste leather which may have been refuse from a cobbler's workshop (see Appendix A7.4).

The documentary sources also indicate other crafts in the town. Manchester knives are mentioned in 1359. A clockmaker is recorded in 1401, a profession not known at this period in many larger towns. The surname 'Goltsmith' occurs from the early 15th century and by the 16th century gold working was clearly taking place (J Lloyd in Morris 1983, 35).

6.6.4 *The Layout of the Medieval Town*

The Medieval Cultural Quarter might better be described as Manchester's medieval town core. It includes the sites of two of the medieval settlement's earliest features, one being the castle, later the manor house, the other being the parish church. It was defined on the 'landward' side by a curving line of streets, formed by the thoroughfares of Cateaton Street, Hanging Ditch and Toad Lane, which, as noted above, may follow the line of a defensive ditch possibly built around the Norman settlement. Two other main streets within the medieval town, Deansgate and Long Millgate, radiated from this core. Both were probably existing routeways along which the medieval town expanded, with Deansgate having its origin as a Roman road (**site 10**). A third street, Market Street /St Mary's Gate, led not directly from the core but from Deansgate.

Manchester's medieval market place lay just to the south of the Medieval Cultural Quarter in an area between Cateaton Street and Market Street/St Mary's Gate. The Shambles, comprising the Wellington Inn and Sinclair's Oyster Bar, stood within the market place area, before being removed to their present site in recent years (***Ill 129***). Originally the market place may have comprised a roughly rectangular open space made up of two similarly sized squares (Morris 1983, 38-9; UMAU 1999, 4-5). In time the more northerly of these, by Cateaton Street, was infilled, while the southern square was also partly built upon with permanent structures (***Ills 123 & 124***).

Within Lancashire Tupling identified several medieval market place forms. Some are found on a main street as at Chorley, others at the junction of important roads, as at Bolton, Blackburn and Warrington. In some cases the main street broadened into a triangle, as at Ormskirk and Wigan. Manchester and Preston represent a third type where a rectangular market place adjoined one of the principal thoroughfares of a town (Tupling 1947, 2-3). In the case of Preston, it has been suggested that the original site of the medieval market place was represented by a widening of the main street, adjacent to the parish church, and that the large rectangular market place which still adjoins the north side of that street was a later addition, laid out over earlier burgage plots (Morris 1983, 31-2). It seems fairly likely that at Manchester both the market place and Market Street/St Mary's Gate were also secondary features, grafted onto the original settlement. The market place is documented in 1312 (MA L1/5/1/8/13), and can be assumed to go back to at least the early 13th century. It may have replaced an earlier market site suggested by the name 'Aldport' in the Castlefield area, possibly in existence in the late Anglo-Saxon or Norman periods (see above, 5.1.4). Manchester's annual fair was held on Acres Fields, an area to the south of the market place, which in the 18th century was developed as St Anne's Square.

## 6.7 The Parish Church

6.7.1 In 1421, as described in the following chapter, Manchester's parish church of St Mary (**site 44**) was refounded as a collegiate church. This change in status was followed by an extensive rebuilding of the church in the 15th and 16th centuries (***Ill 47***). The resulting building was in turn heavily restored and remodelled in the 19th century (***Ill 125***), while further restoration took place in the mid 20th century following bomb damage in the Christmas blitz of 1940. As a consequence of these changes, the standing remains of the pre-collegiate church appear to be limited to the entrance arch and west wall of the Lady Chapel at the Cathedral's east end. The arch is in the Decorated style of Gothic architecture which flourished in the latter years of the 13th century and the first half of the 14th century. The body of the chapel was destroyed in the blitz of 1940 but is known to have been built in the same style (Hartwell 2001, 50).

6.7.2 During restoration of the Cathedral in the late 19th century, it was discovered that incorporated within the fabric were a number of reused pieces of stonework which originally belonged to the pre-collegiate church. The earliest of these, already mentioned, was the Angel Stone, which is now believed to be probably Norman work of the late 11th or 12th century (see 5.2.3). Others relate to two later phases of building. Some were reused architectural fragments in the Decorated style. Others, found mainly within the fabric of the nave and its side aisles, were fragments in the Early English style, which flourished at the end of the 12th century and in the first half of the 13th. Before the tower was taken down and rebuilt in the 1860s, its lower part was also a survival of the pre-15th-century church and included a Decorated west doorway (Crowther 1893, 8-9, 12).

It appears, therefore, that by the mid 14th century the church was already a substantial building, of the same length as the later collegiate church, extending from the tower at the west end to the Lady Chapel at the east. It has also been inferred from the architectural evidence that the choir of this building had been rebuilt in the Decorated style, while the nave and its side aisles survived from an Early English church (Crowther 1893, 10-12).

That Manchester's parish church should have been rebuilt in about the first half of the 13th century and have been partly rebuilt again about a century later is itself a testament to the growing importance of the place. The medieval parish church of Manchester encompassed a substantial area which extended from the River Mersey and River Tame on the south to Blackley and Moston on the north. In the late 11th century, following the Norman takeover, this area was probably sparsely populated. As the local population grew in the 13th century, helped by the development of the market town of Manchester, so the funds available to the church in the form of tithes and donations must also have increased, enabling these successive phases of building.

6.7.3 The pre-collegiate church also included north and south porches. The existence of a north porch is known from Thomas de la Warre's grant of the manor house to the college (see above, 6.3.2). It was rebuilt in the 15th century but was then relatively short-lived, being taken down to make way for the chapel of the Holy Trinity. Its remains were uncovered during restorations in 1884 (Crowther 1893, 21) ***(Ill 47***). The south porch was partly rebuilt in the late 17th century and again in 1871, when the Angel Stone was found, but some Early English stonework is said to have survived in situ in the 19th century (Crowther 1893, 32). The porch was taken down in the 1890s and the south aisle was extended over the site. The present north and south porches both date from the late 19th-century restoration and lie respectively to the north and south of the site of their predecessors.

Works in 1828 and again in 1867 found evidence of an earlier medieval structure situated beneath the present octagonal chapter house (see 9.5.1). This may have been an earlier chapter house of the collegiate church or possibly a pre-collegiate sacristy.

With the exception of the Angel Stone, no remains have been discovered which firmly predate the Early English church and belong to an Anglo-Norman predecessor. It has sometimes been inferred from this that the earlier church was of timber. The uncertainty over the original function of the Angel Stone means that it cannot itself be used as definitive evidence of an early stone church. However, it is likely that this church was small in scale and as such it may have left relatively little architectural stonework for reuse by later builders.

## 6.8 Cateaton Street, Hanging Bridge and the Hanging Ditch Thoroughfare

6.8.1 Of the streets which bounded the medieval core, Cateaton Street (**site 58**) may be first documented by name in the 1660s (Farrer & Brownbill 1911, 176 n 38; Bradshaw 1985, 26), but can be firmly placed within the medieval town. Excavations at Cateaton Street/Cathedral Yard in 1997 showed conclusively that the line of the street followed the outer side of the channel of Hanging Ditch. On the west, Cateaton Street continued as the short thoroughfare of Old Bridge Street which gave access to Salford Bridge (***Ill 4***). To the east it continued as the Hanging Ditch thoroughfare (***Ills 116 & 120,*** **site 60**; ***Ill 130***) and originally seems to have been considered as part of 'Hanging Ditch'. On the south Cateaton Street gave access to Deansgate, while on the north Hanging Bridge led from Cateaton Street across the obstacle of the Hanging Ditch channel to the churchyard (***Ill 127***).

6.8.2 *The Early Hanging Bridge*

The present twin-arched Hanging Bridge (***Ill 116,*** **site 53;** ***Ill 128***) probably dates from the 15th century, following the foundation of the collegiate church, but a bridge stood on the site at an earlier date. It is documented as the 'Hangand Brigge' in 1343 (Farrer & Brownbill 1911, 176 n 38). The north abutment of the present structure includes on its west side a broad buttress which may originally have formed part of the earlier bridge. From modern geotechnical and archaeological investigations, the bridge was

located immediately above the point at which the natural water channel of Hanging Ditch significantly widened and deepened before discharging into the Irwell. This also meant that the bridge was slightly offset from the line of Deansgate, which lay further to the west. Prior to the creation of Cathedral Yard, the bridge led directly into the churchyard. It was also roughly aligned with the south porch of the medieval church. Until its removal in the late 19th century, that porch is reported to have retained a number of architectural details in the Early English style which had survived successive rebuildings (see above, 6.7.3). This may suggest that the bridge itself was in existence at the same period, that is the first half of the 13th century.

6.8.3 While Cateaton Street followed the south side of the Hanging Ditch channel, its continuation as the Hanging Ditch thoroughfare (**site 60**) is believed to have been situated within the ditch itself. Here burgages could have been created by laying out plots running back from the ditch's north and southern edges, while the channel itself was used a roadway. At Cateaton Street, by contrast, burgages must have projected back from the street into the ditch and originally must have provided a relatively restricted area for building along the ditch's edge. Indeed at its eastern end it is possible that Cateaton Street is itself built over the southern edge of the ditch (see Appendix A6.2).

The area of Cateaton Street close to Hanging Bridge is known to have contained one or more half burgages, perhaps extending to the mid-point of Hanging Ditch. The earliest known mention of Hanging Bridge, in 1343, occurs in the grant of half a burgage which is described as adjoining the bridge (Farrer & Brownbill 1911, 176 n 38). A later grant, of 1469, concerns a half burgage which was bounded by Hanging Bridge on the east and perhaps measured 27ft (8m) in width along the highway and extended 54ft (16m) to the north (MA L1/51/8/10 no 53). The manorial rental of 1473 records that the property of Nicholas Ravald, chaplain, included 'one burgage lying near the Hanging Bridge on the east side' and 'half a burgage lying on the west side of the said bridge' (Harland 1863, 508). These last plots seem to have later formed part of the endowment of the chantry of the Holy Trinity in the collegiate church, which at the time of its dissolution included 'one burgage lienge in the hangynge Brige' and five other tenements in the same place (Raines 1862, 53-4; J Lloyd in Morris 1983, 39, 41).

A sizeable portion of the northern half of the ditch may have been retained for a while by the lord of the manor. In 1434 Reginald West, lord of the manor, gave to John Huntingdon, warden of the parish church, two pieces of land for the building of an almshouse for the poor. One was a parcel of waste lying 'beyond the lane leading to Newton'. The other is described as 'one parcel "de le hangyngdyche" in Manchester, on the north part of the said Hangyngdyche beyond the Cemetery [ie the churchyard], containing in length 100 feet and in breadth 30 feet [30m by 9m]' (MA L1/51/8/13 no 12). The proposed almshouse was not erected and the lands remained in the hands of feoffees until 1507, when they were used to found the chantry of St James (J Lloyd in Morris 1983, 42).

There is also evidence that some property extended the full width of the ditch. In 1587 Thomas Brownsworde sold to Richard Typpinge part of a burgage comprising a house and garden 'in a street...called the Hanginge Dytche'. This was bounded on the east by a shop which was also owed by Brownsworde, on the west by the lands of Thomas Galley, on the south by the street, and on the north by the churchyard. In all, this land measured 52ft (15m) on the south side, 81ft (24m) on the west, 67ft (20m) on the east, and 45ft (13m) on the north (CLR ii, 9).

## 6.9 Toad Lane and Fennel Street

6.9.1 Beyond the junction with Fennel Street, the curving line of the Hanging Ditch thoroughfare was resumed by Toad or Todd Lane (***Ill 122*, site 72**) which may itself have been laid out in a continuation of the Hanging Ditch channel. 'Todelane' is

documented in 1331, in connection with a burgage lying on the corner of Fennel Street and Toad Lane (MA L1/51/8/10 no 6). In the records of Manchester's manorial court, the court leet, it is referred to in 1609 as'Crooked Lane alias Tode Lane' and in 1618 as 'New Street alias Toade Lane' (Farrer & Brownbill 1911, 177). Much of its western side seems to have been flanked by the sides and ends of burgages which fronted Fennel Street (***Ill 122***). In the late 17th century there was a house, barn and midden at the Toad Lane end of one of these burgages but the main residence lay on Fennel Street (J Lloyd in Morris 1983, 60). It is possible that during the medieval period Toad Lane saw only sparse development and primarily served as a link between Long Millgate and the junction of Fennel Street, Hanging Ditch and Withy Grove. A parallel would be provided by Gravel Lane in Salford. It was one of a triangle of three streets which made up the early town core of Salford but until as late as the 18th century seems to have been principally a link between the two others, Chapel Street and Greengate.

6.9.2 Within this surrounding line of streets, Fennel Street (***Ill 122*, site 63**) divided the eastern half of the medieval core into two. Fennel Street may have been first laid out when the borough was created or have originated at an earlier date, perhaps in particular as an access route to the parish church. If, as suspected, the thoroughfares of Hanging Ditch and Toad Lane followed the line of a continuous ditch, it may also have been the case that the junction of Fennel Street with those thoroughfares marked an early entrance across that ditch.

Fennel Street is named as Middlegate, ie 'the middle street', in a series of deeds relating to a burgage described as lying in 'le Middlegate' and adjoining 'Todelane' (MA L1/51/8/10; Raines 1862, 36-7 n 1). The earliest of these dates from 1331 and is a grant to Robert the Dyer of this burgage, lying between the burgage of Margaret de Wodehouses on one side and Toad Lane on the other. In 1506 this property was described as being between a tenement of John Byron of Clayton on the west, Toad Lane on the east, 'a way called Le Fennellstrete on the south', and a tenement in the tenure of Richard Rawson on the north. This is the earliest known occurrence of the name Fennel Street, although the name of Middlegate reoccurs in the last of the early deeds relating to this property, in 1533. From 1395 this burgage was listed alongside two others in Deansgate, and from about this time, if not earlier, the three formed part of the property of the chantry of St Mary in the parish church (J Lloyd in Morris 1983, 41). It was the easternmost of three substantial burgage plots which extended from Fennel Street to Toad Lane. The middlemost of these plots, which belonged to Margaret de Wodehouses in 1331 and John Byron of Clayton in 1506, was later the location of Marsden Court, where an archaeological excavation was undertaken in 1980-1 (***Ill 122***; **site 71**). This was carried out towards the rear of the burgage plot and revealed evidence of two phases of pre-18th century activity, in the form of postholes and a cobbled surface (see 9.4.1). This was also the plot which in the late 17th century included a barn at its Toad Lane end.

Fennel Street was also the location of a burgage for which we have a description of its component parts in the later medieval period (***Ill 120*, site 65**). In 1469 this property was described as lying at the east end of the churchyard and containing a messuage (ie a house), a wine tavern, a high chamber, a garden and a barn (MA L1/51/8/3 no 321). Leases of 1515 and 1540 refer to the same property, with its 'houses, shops, gardens', as bounded by 'the high street called ffenelstrete' on the north, the churchyard or 'cemetery' on the west and by 'certain gardens', in the same ownership of the burgage, on the south (MA L1/51/8/3 nos 322 & 326). From these descriptions, the burgage lay at the west end of the south side of Fennel Street, on a site now partly occupied by the junction of Fennel Street and Cathedral Street. In 1703 it was in the possession of the Dauntesey family of Agecroft Hall in Salford (MA L1/51/8/3 no 330). It may have been the property 'at the west end' of Fennel Street which in manorial rentals of 1589-1623 was listed as occupied by three separate tenants and owned by William Dauntesey, paying the lord of the manor the rent of 1 shilling (MA MS/333/M45; Willan 1980, 137).

The names Middlegate and Fennel Street may originally have applied only to the eastern half of the present street, as far as the Long Millgate junction. In the 18th century the western half was known as the Apple Market after the fruit market held there (see 7.9.2) and at an earlier date as 'the Churchyardside' (Farrer & Brownbill 1911, 177 n 45). In 1422 'the new place' described as recently belonging to Ralph de Staneley knight may have stood at the junction of the western half of Fennel Street with Long Millgate, with the Bull Oak at the western end of the street, which may have been the location of the gateway to the manor house (see above, 6.3.2). The term 'new place' has sometimes been interpreted in the sense of 'new house' (Hibbert-Ware 1848, 170). The word 'new' may also be of significance. Other evidence suggests that a zone between the manor house precinct and the neighbouring streets, which included the 'new place', remained in the hands of the lord of the manor, and was largely undeveloped, until about the mid-14th century (see below, 6.10.3). The 'new place' may therefore have been a plot of land granted out relatively recently. Its owner in the early 15th century was presumably the Sir Ralph de Stanley who was a younger son of the powerful Lancashire house of Stanley. Until redevelopment in the industrial era, a timber-framed range of buildings stood on the corner of Fennel Street and Long Millgate (***Ill 115*, site 36**). A crude illustration shows it as a somewhat ramshackle range, of late medieval to post-medieval date (***Ill 46a***).

Excavation carried out in the western part of Fennel Street in 1974 (***Ill 114*, site 64**), immediately to the west of the Long Millgate junction, found evidence of a metalled road surface probably of late medieval date. Below this was an east-west gully also of medieval date, the function of which is uncertain (see 9.4.1).

## 6.10 Long Millgate, the Mills and the Bakehouse

6.10.1 Long Millgate (***Ill 120*, site 73**), originally Millgate or 'the road to the mill', is documented from about 1300 (Farrer & Brownbill 1911, 177 n 44), and was named after the manorial mill or mills to which it provided access. Early references to the street include the name of the chaplain 'Hugh of the Milnegate' who was living in 1316 (Harland 1861, 350 n 63). In keeping with its later name, this was one of the longest streets in the medieval town, a sinuous thoroughfare which led from Fennel Street, along the east side of the manor house to the edge of the high ground above the River Irk and then roughly followed that scarp. The Higher Mill after which it was named was reached by a short branch road.

6.10.2 *The Mills*

There was a manorial corn mill in Manchester by the second quarter of the 12th century. At a date variously given as 1134 and 1148, Robert de Grelley founded a Cistercian monastery at his manor of Swineshead in Lincolnshire (Tait 1904, 132). Among his endowments of the monastery was the profit from the mill at Manchester. Under the custom known as mill soke, tenants of a manorial lord were required to have their corn ground at his mill, should he have one. For this, they paid a proportion of the grain, known as 'multure' to the miller, who rented the mill from the lord. Within the region, documentary evidence for manorial corn mills seems to become particularly plentiful in the 13th century, a period when the population is believed to have been on the increase. That Manchester had a corn mill as early the 1130s or 1140s is a further indication of the local importance of the place in the Norman era.

The 1282 survey shows that there were then two mills in the town, 'a water mill' which must have been the corn mill, valued at £17 6s 8d (26 marks) a year, and a fulling mill, valued at 26s 8d (2 marks) (Harland 1861, 143,156). Fulling mills were associated with woollen production, and represent the earliest application of mechanization to the textile industry. Fulling removed natural oil and grease from woven cloth, a necessary step before dyeing could be carried out, and it tightened and thickened the fabric. In the fulling mill this was achieved by pounding the cloth with water-powered hammers, or stocks, while soaking it in water mixed with a cleaning

agent for which fuller's earth and stale urine were used. Before the application of water power to the process, fulling was carried out by treading, or 'walking', the cloth; hence fulling mills were themselves also known as walk mills. The Manchester fulling mill is one of the earliest documented in the region and provides some of the first evidence for Manchester's role as a centre of textile production.

Manchester's two mills are again mentioned in the survey of 1322, when both mills are expressly stated to have been driven by the Irk; the corn mill was then worth £10 a year, the fulling mill 13s 4d (Farrer 1907, 60). The borough charter of 1301 stipulated that burgesses were required to use the lord's corn mill. From the manorial survey of 1322 it emerges that the obligation applied to all burgesses and tenants of Manchester and surrounding hamlets, with a sixteenth of the grain being charged as multure, although the lord of Moston was liable for only a twentieth. A manorial rental of 1473 also lists the two mills, noting that the corn mill had lately been rented at £10 but now brought in only £6, while the value of the fulling mill now stood at £2 (Harland 1863, 504).

In 1509 the lord of the manor leased out the mills with all rights and by subsequent transfers, in 1515 and 1525, these became the principal endowment of the new grammar school. The deeds of this period refer to 'the water corn mills called the Manchester Mills' (Whatton 1835, 7-8; MA L1/51/8/12). This may indicate a single mill equipped with two or more sets of millstones. However, under the grammar school a second corn mill site was in operation (***Ill 122*, site 86**), situated on land adjoining the east side of Mill Brow which was also part of the school's early 16th-century endowment. This may have been built by 1589 when there is reference to the 'nether mylne', ie the Lower Mill (MA MS/333/M45).

Maintaining the grammar school's monopoly on milling within the township proved to be a continual struggle, not least because from time to time private horse-driven mills were also in operation. From the 1660s until 1716 the Moseleys, the lords of the manor, leased back the school's mills. During this same period they also owned a horse-powered mill in Hanging Ditch, and they continued to operate this into the 1730s, after their lease of the school's mills had expired (CLR v, 79 n 1; Whatton 1835, 35-40; Graham & Phythian 1965, 16-18). In 1758 an Act of Parliament abolished the obligation of the townspeople to use the school's mills, except in the case of malt. The Higher Mill was then leased out to a tenant. The grammar school continued to use the Lower Mill, or 'School Mill', for grinding malt until the mid 19th century when its income drained away. Reputedly this decline occurred because breweries were now being deliberately located outside the township's boundary, where the mill's monopoly did not apply (Graham & Phythian 1965, 16-18, 46-8). The Lower Mill seems to have been rebuilt in 1819-20 and in about the 1830s a steam-engine was installed. This had a relatively modest 10hp and in 1846 was supplemented or replaced by a 25hp engine which reduced the mill's dependency on the inconsistent water supply of the River Irk (Graham & Phythian 1965, 20-1, 47, 49). The mill remained standing until the 1880s when the Victoria Station Approach was built across the site.

The location of the earlier corn mill (the Higher Mill) within a bend of the river was a classic mill site, allowing water to be brought to the mill through a race dug across the bend. A deed of 1434 refers to the erection of an 'oven' (probably a corn-drying kiln) on a plot of land to the east of this mill (J Lloyd in Morris 1983, 39). The fulling mill was sited between the two corn mill sites, on the north side of river. It stood next to a field named Walker's Croft, probably an area in which woollen cloth was spread out to be bleached by sunlight. This field-name also came to be attached to the adjoining roadway on this side of the river. The site of the Higher Mill now lies below Victoria Station.

6.10.3 *The Common Oven or Bakehouse*

In keeping with other boroughs, medieval Manchester had a 'common oven' or bakehouse belonging to the lord (***Ill 115*, site 37**), at which burgesses were required to have their bread baked, again paying for its use. The bakehouse is recorded in the manorial survey of 1282, when it was valued at 10s a year, and again in 1322 when its value was half a mark (3s 4d) (Harland 1861, 144, 156; Farrer 1907, 60). The location of the manorial bakehouse is first indicated by the description in 1422 of the land given by Thomas de la Warre for the new college. Among the properties listed on its boundary was 'the common oven of the town', then held by John Chaloner, and from the position within the perambulation of the boundary this lay on the west side of Long Millgate (see above, 6.3.2).

Bakehouses were a fire hazard and it is likely that its location was chosen to minimize the potential risk to other properties. Other evidence seems to support this. In 1334 John de la Warre, the lord of the manor, granted to Richard Francis and Cecily his wife 'one half burgage that lies near our manor', measuring 44ft (13m) long and 34ft (10m) wide (MA L1/51/8/13). This plot is believed to have been situated between the manor house and Long Millgate. For a burgage to be granted by the lord suggests that it was newly created and the grant may reflect the relatively late development of what was originally the perimeter of the castle (J Lloyd in Morris 1983, 39). The 1473 survey of the manor shows that the bakehouse was then leased out to the wife of Thurstan Chaloner for a rent of 6s 8d. She also paid 8d for an 'intake' (an area claimed from common land), described as 'lying at the end of her barn', and 4d for a 'grange', possibly a reference to the same barn (Harland 1863, 502). It is uncertain whether these buildings lay adjacent to the bakehouse or elsewhere within the manor.

Further details concerning the common bakehouse are provided by the records of the court leet and the deeds of the Manchester Grammar School which acquired the site in the late 17th century. The earliest of these deeds was a grant of the property to John Chaloner in 1422, in which it was described as 'one messuage [ie dwelling] with a common oven in the same messuage constructed' (MA L1/51/8/13). The Chaloners had a long association with the site. A John 'Chalner' became the owner of the bakehouse in 1560, paying the lord of the manor the old rent of 6s 8d (CLR i, 55). In 1567 the common oven and a burgage attached to it were bought from Francis 'Chaliner' by Richard Fox, who was liable for a total rent of 7s 8d (6s 8d for the bakehouse and 1s for the burgage). In 1582 Fox in turn sold the property to Lawrence Robinson, a Salford clothier (CLR i, 123, 233; MA L1/51/8/13). By the late 16th century the monopoly of the manorial bakehouse seems to have come to an end. In 1566 the court leet issued a general instruction that anyone keeping a bakehouse within the town 'shall not laye any Gorses or Kiddes [ie faggots] within two bayes of the oven or Ovens wheare they or any of them have any Ovens or backe howse' (CLR i, 103-4). In 1580 the court leet also requested that 'all loving neighbours to come and bake with the said Richard Foxe, he bakinge theire breade and other theire necessaryes duelye as he oughte to doe' (CLR i, 211). Probate evidence survives for a Manchester baker, George Barlow, who at his death in 1583 had a bakehouse with a bolting tub, a kneeding trough and treen ware, also gorse and wood faggots and 'other wood fewell'. It has been supposed that Barlow was running a rival business to the manorial bakehouse (Willan 1980, 7). However, the grammar school deeds in fact name him as the tenant of Richard Fox (MA L1/51/8/13).

When Lawrence Robinson died in 1587, his son Robert inherited the common oven and the burgage, which in a manorial rental of 1589 was 'called the stonehouse nowe newlye buylded'. The use of stone for a house next to the oven may itself have been a precaution against fire (CLR ii, 15; MA MS/333/M45). The working life of the bakehouse, however, may have ended not long after. Robert Robinson was the occupant as well as the owner of the property in 1616 when he sold it to Henry Keyley, a chapman. In 1647 it was among a number of Manchester properties which came to Nicholas Hewitt on his marriage to the widow Mary Griffin, the sister of Thomas Keyley. Nicholas Hewitt in turn sold the property to John Beswick of

Manchester in 1684, when it was described simply as 'a messuage burgage and land' in the occupation of Miss Francis Franckland (CLR vi, 213; MA L1/51/8/13). In 1698 it was purchased from Hannah Beswick by the grammar school and subsequently became the High Master's house. Illustrations of the early 19th century show the house as an imposing timber-framed building of three bays, of late 16th or 17th-century date (***Ills 44 & 45***).

With the demise of the manorial bakehouse, commercial bakehouses continued within the town. A survey of 1705 records two bakehouses in Manchester, one owned by Sir John Bland and occupied by Lawrence Lees, the other owned by Edward Leech (MA M9/40/1/10). Their locations have not been identified.

## 6.11 Hunt's Bank and the Irk Bridge

6.11.1 Hunt's Bank (***Ill 115*, site 41**) was originally a narrow thoroughfare running northwards from the west end of Fennel Street, below the west side of the manor house and college, to a bridge over the River Irk. The Irk Bridge is documented in 1422, when there is also reference to 'le Hunt Hull', ie 'the Hunt Hall', in the occupation of Edward Parker (see above, 6.3.2). The last place is mentioned again in the late 16th century in the diary of John Dee, then warden of the collegiate church with lodgings in the old college buildings. In the entry for 22 January 1598 Dee noted that 'After midnight the College gate toward Hunt Hall did fall and some part of the wall going down the lane' (Bailey 1880, 64). That gatehouse stood at the corner of Fennel Street and Hunt's Bank (see 7.3.3).

The name of Hunt Hull, or Hall, might be derived from the family name of Hunt, well-documented in Manchester in the 14th and 15th centuries from at least the time of William the Hunt, chaplain, who owned burgages in the town in 1348 (MA L1/51/8/9). It is also possible that there is a link with the kennel housing the dogs of the lord of the manor. The manorial survey of 1322 records that this had previously been located in a building which was now a dwelling and which stood outside the manor house gate (see above, 6.3.1).

The 1322 survey also shows that a stable was located on this side of the manor house, perhaps on the site of the later College Barn, and that below this an area of pasture extended to the Irwell and the Irk. The location of the 'Hunt Hull' has not been identified but two buildings mentioned in the 1473 survey are believed to have been located on Hunt's Bank, one (belonging to John Mapulton) on the north-east side near the Irk Bridge, the other (belonging to Elas Prestwich) at the south-west end on the bank of the River Irwell (J Lloyd in Morris 1983, 39) (***Ill 124***).

6.11.2 A bridge over the River Irk at the north end of Hunt's Bank (***Ill 115*, site 40**) was in existence by 1422 (see above). It may have been rebuilt or repaired in the early 16th century, since Isabell Chetham in *c* 1523 made a bequest worth 26s 8d (2 marks) 'towards the making of Irke Brydge' (Raines 1862, 42 n 1). The bridge was repaired in 1647 when Edmund Platt was paid for retrieving 24 stones from the river (CA i, 135). In *c* 1713 the bridge was reported 'to be in great decay for want of repair' (LRO QSP/1060/22). Remedial work was carried out in the early 1740s (CA iii, 9-10). The bridge is shown with a single arched span on the *c* 1650 map of the town (***Ill 2***) and on a slightly earlier plan of the Strangeways estate, on the north side of the Irk, drawn by Richard Martinscroft in 1641 (MA MISC/435). Plans held by Manchester City Council show that beneath the present Victoria Street the Irk is spanned by a sequence of arches, the two smallest of which, Arches 3 and 4, probably comprise the earliest surviving phase of the Irk Bridge and a later widening. (I am grateful to Clare Hartwell for drawing my attention to these plans, held by the Council's Department of Environment and Development). Arch 4, the narrower and more easterly of the two, appears to coincide with the bridge shown on Green's map of 1787-94 (***Ill 4***) (Fletcher 2006). Bancks's map of 1831 shows that the width of the bridge had doubled on the west since Green's survey (*Ill 6*), and this widening very probably involved the addition

of Arch 3. This may have been in 1826 when a new bridge is reported to have been built here (Warrender 2009, 134). Other arches, adjoining on the west, represent the widening of the bridge for the creation of Victoria Street in the 1830s.

The bridge at Hunt's Bank was one of four bridges shown on the Irk on the *c* 1650 map of Manchester, the next bridge upstream being at Mill Brow which provided access to the fulling mill at Walker's Croft. Aston in 1804 reported that,

> 'There are six bridges in Manchester over the Irk, the principal of which are, those at Hunt's-bank, at Mill-brow, and that at the end of Long Millgate known by the name of Scotland Bridge. They are all low bridges, and are very liable to be overflowed, in time of flood, an inconvenience to which this river is very liable, from its rise among the hills, which pour the water from a large surface, into its narrow channel' (Aston 1804, 259).

## 6.12 Salford Bridge and the Ford

6.12.1 Located just beyond the western boundary of the Medieval Quarter, the medieval Salford Bridge crossed the Irwell between Manchester and Salford until the 1830s when it was replaced by the present Victoria Bridge. A bridge was in existence here in 1226. At that date it was probably built of timber. Its rebuilding in stone is likely to have occurred no later than the 14th century. In 1323 it was reported that 8 marks, ie £5 6s 8d, had been levied for the bridge's repair. In 1368 Thomas del Bothe bequeathed the considerable sum of £30 to be spent on the repair of the bridge, together with further sums of £50 a year to endow chaplaincies at a chapel on the bridge and at the altar of Saint Katherine in Eccles parish church. A reference to 'Henry the chaplain of Salford' in 1323 suggests that the chapel was already in existence by that date. Chapels were also found on other medieval bridges over major rivers in the region, including the Dee at Chester and the Mersey at Stockport (Arrowsmith 2006, 28-9).

According to John Leland, who visited Manchester in about 1540,

> 'Ther be divers stone brigis in the toune, but the best of iii arches is over Irwel, cawllid Salford bridge. This bridge devidith Manchestre from Salford, the wich is as a large suburbe to Manchestre. On this bridge is a praty litle chapel' (Bradshaw 1978, 8).

Referring to the Roman fort at Castle, Leland also reported that,

> 'The stones of the ruines of this castel were translated toward making of bridgges for the towne'.

This raises the possibility, as yet unconfirmed, that the surviving medieval structure at Hanging Bridge and perhaps the bridge over the Irk below Victoria Street incorporate reused Roman stonework.

Two centuries later Daniel Defoe wrote that,

> 'There is a very firm but ancient stone bridge over the Irwell, which is built exceeding high, because this river, though not great, yet coming from the mountainous part of the country swells sometimes so suddenly that in one night's time they told me the waters would frequently rise four or five yards, and the next day fall as hastily as they rose' (Farrer & Brownbill 1911, 180).

The three arches noted by Leland stood until the demolition of the bridge in 1837. They were separated by two angular piers on either side, which continued upwards

as recesses for the safety of pedestrians when horses or vehicles were crossing. (On the earliest maps the bridge is erroneously shown with three piers). It was widened on the south in the early 18th century and again on the north in *c* 1776. Its original total width is believed to have been in the order of 13 or 14ft (*c* 4m), which, following the final widening, had increased to *c* 26ft (8m). The chapel (SMR 525.1.0) stood on the Salford side of the bridge, on the pier on the north side. During the reformation it was converted to Salford's gaol or dungeon and continued to be used as such until the 1770s when the bridge was widened and the building was taken down (Arrowsmith 2006, 29-30).

Aston recalled that the gaol had,

> 'consisted of two apartments, one over the other. In this prison, accused felons, deserters, and other military culprits, were confined. They who were so unfortunate as to be lodged in the lower dungeon, were often in a more perilous situation, from the rise of the river by floods, which filled the miserable habitation with water' (Aston 1804, 245-6).

6.12.2 The medieval bridge replaced an earlier ford which gave rise to the Old English place-name of Salford, 'the ford at the willows' (Mills 1976, 130). On the Salford side of the Irwell, the bridge lay not at the junction of the early town's two main streets, the present Greengate and Chapel Street, but slightly downstream of that point. Early mapping shows that at the junction itself a short roadway, named Stanihurst, led down to the river and the overall arrangement suggests that this was the original crossing point via the ford. In the 18th and early 19th centuries this area also served as a wharf for small river craft (Arrowsmith 2006, 30) (***Ill 40***).

The existence of a ford in this general area was supposed by Aston. Writing of Salford Bridge, he noted that,

> 'At the place where the bridge now crosses the river, was formerly a ford. Traces of the road, by observation of carriage ruts in the have rock, have been discovered by workmen digging for foundations on the Manchester margin of the river' (Aston 1804, 254 n).

He also observed that,

> 'The river, over which the bridge is thrown, is very liable to floods, which rise very suddenly to a great height. The highest on record, was in the year 1616, when the water was so high, that men laded water from the river, as they stood upon the bridge' (Aston 1804, 255-6).

The propensity of the river to flood, also noted by Defoe, coupled with the importance of this crossing point may account for the relatively early date by which a bridge is known to have stood here.

# 7. Historical and Archaeological Background 4: Late Medieval and Post-Medieval, 1421-*c* 1780

## 7.1 Introduction

7.1.1 In the 15th century the appearance of the medieval core of Manchester was radically changed by a programme of rebuilding involving its two most important structures, the parish church of St Mary and the neighbouring manor house. This work was initiated by Thomas de la Warre, who was both the lord of the manor and the rector of the church. In 1421 he obtained permission from King Henry V and the bishop of Lichfield, in whose diocese Manchester then lay, to make the parish church into a collegiate church, served by a resident college of priests headed by a warden. They were to act as chantry priests, who were tasked with saying mass every day for the good of Henry V, the bishop of Lichfield, Thomas de la Warre and their forebears. The foundation charter granted by the king indicates that the extent of the parish, the size of its population and the neglect of previous rectors were factors in creating the body of priests. To provide accommodation for the new college, de la Warre gave the site of the manor house where a set of buildings were erected which now survive as the core of Chetham's School. Recent tree-ring dating analysis has shown that their construction had probably begun by 1424 and certainly by 1429 (Hartwell 2004, 20-1, 103-4).

The foundation of the college was followed by the rebuilding of the church. Work is believed to have begun with the rebuilding of the chancel by the first warden, John Huntingdon (d 1458), although this appears to have been largely taken down and rebuilt by the warden James Stanley in the late 15th or early 16th century. The nave is traditionally attributed to the third warden, Ralph Langley (1465-81), but there is no documentary evidence to support this (Hartwell 2004, 46-7, 51-2). The church, comprising an aisled chancel and nave, was widened on the north and south by the addition of chantry chapels to reach its present exceptional width by the early 16th century (***Ill 47***). In the 19th century the chapels were remodelled to create the present outer aisles of the nave. One side chapel, the Ely Chapel (**site 46**), which projected from the north wall of St John's Chapel (now the Manchester Regiment Chapel), was destroyed by bombing in 1940 and was not rebuilt.

It was probably also in the 15th century, following the establishment of the collegiate church, that the present Hanging Bridge was built, replacing an earlier bridge on that site.

Clare Hartwell has described the church, elevated to cathedral status in 1847, as 'one of the most impressive examples in England of a late medieval collegiate church, a reflection of the town as a regional centre by this time', and the surviving college buildings as 'the best-preserved buildings of their type and date in the country' (Hartwell 2001, 45, 63). Collectively, the college, church and bridge form a group of national importance.

## 7.2 The Collegiate College and Chetham's Hospital

7.2.1 The surviving medieval buildings at Chetham's School form a roughly L-shaped block, arranged along the southern flank of the River Irk (***Ill 113*, site 12; *Ill 132***). The principal components of the college were arranged around the small inner courtyard at the west end and comprised the hall, the warden's lodgings and the fellows' rooms. To the east, a long narrow range contained the kitchen and other service rooms and terminated on the north-east at a gatehouse (**site 13**) (***Ill 131***) which provided access from Long Millgate (Hartwell 2002 & 2004).

Running from both the gatehouse and the western buildings are remains of the

college's precinct wall (***Ill 113*, sites 14 & 15**), now partly incorporated within later buildings (***Ills 135, 136 & 139***). On the west the lower part of the wall appears to comprise a revetment against the side of the natural spur on which the college is built. At its base this revetment is carried on an arch known from archaeological excavations to cross a rock-cut ditch which extends roughly south-eastwards into the college precinct (***Ill 113*, sites 25 & 26; *Ills 133 & 134***). It is possible that this ditch ran across the precinct and restricted the space available for the main college buildings (see above, 6.4.4). In 1900 Charles Roeder found that this ditch was sealed by a layer of sandstone boulders which projected from the precinct wall for a distance of 15ft (4.5m), before terminating (see 9.2.2). It is likely that this layer, which was found at a depth of *c* 2.1m below the college yard, was contemporary with the construction of the college in the early 15th century, perhaps serving as a working surface or roadway. Overlying deposits may in part represent a raising and levelling of the ground surface within the precinct wall, again during the construction of the college. At the foot of the western precinct wall, to the north of the arch over the rock-cut ditch, channels have been cut into the bedrock and seem to have run roughly parallel with the edge of that ditch. A possible association with a garderobe has been suggested (Fletcher 2006). Their date is unknown and they may perhaps have been associated with the 17th and 18th-century House of Correction (for which see 7.7).

The college was dissolved by Edward VI in 1547 and the college buildings confiscated. In 1549 they were bought by Edward Stanley earl of Derby, head of the leading family in Lancashire. The college was refounded under Queen Mary, and dissolved and refounded by Elizabeth I, but did not regain possession of the buildings, although in the late 16th century the warden John Dee was allowed to live there. The Stanleys' support for the crown in the Civil War resulted in the sequestration, or confiscation, of their estates but the college was among property recovered by the countess of Derby on payment of a fine in 1653. In that same year it was leased for seven years to John Wigan and Captain Jeffrey Ellison, also called Geoffrey Elatson, but in 1654 they agreed to transfer the greater part of the college to the executors of the will of Humphrey Chetham. A wealthy Manchester merchant, banker and landowner, Chetham had previously sought to acquire the college buildings for use as a 'hospital', that is a charity school for poor children. He died in 1653 and under the terms of his will left funding for the creation of a library and hospital, for which purpose his executors now acquired, repaired and converted the college (Hartwell 2004, 49-64).

7.2.2 The documentary sources, and in particular the transactions of the mid 17th century, have left a number of references to structures on the site which no longer survive and which presumably dated either to the time of the medieval college or the ownership by the Stanleys. In 1653, after Wigan and Ellison had petitioned the Parliamentarian authorities for the lease of the college, a brief survey was carried out which described the site as,

> 'One large building called the Colledge in Manchester, consisting of many rooms with two barnes, one gatehouse very much decayed, one parcel of ground formerly an orchard, and one garden now in the possession of Joseph Werden, gent., who pays for the same to the Commonwealth ten pounds yearly. There is likewise one other roome in the said Colledge reserved and now made use of for publique meetings of Christian conscientious people' (Raines & Sutton 1903, 209).

At about the time of the sale in 1654, a valuation was made which lists, among the college buildings, the 'Haye Barne' (estimated to be worth £167), the 'Corne Barne' with the 'comon stable adioyninge' (£541 4s), the 'Gate house Westward' (£279 12s) as well as the 'Gate house upon the East side' (£143 4s), the 'Washe House' (£118 16s), and the 'Slaughter house' (£220) (Raines & Sutton 1903, 214-15).

Much useful information is also contained in the deeds of sale of the college from

John Wigan and Geoffrey Elatson to George and Edward Chetham drawn up on 21 July 1654, which specified a number of parts of the college excluded from the transfer and retained by Wigan and Elatson (Chetham's Library College/C3 & 4). Among these were,

> 'one building...standing by ittselfe called the Gate howse scituate and standing towards the Church Yard att the upper end of one Streete or place in Manchester aforesaid called the Hunts Bank...together with five yards and three quarters of a yard of Land Square at the Back of said Gatehouse towards the said Colledge howse as itt is now measured and meered out to bee built upon walled or fenced out att the Costs and Charges of the said John Wigan and Geoffrey Elatson'.

The pair also retained 'the Litle Barne and building at the end of itt towards one Streete or place in Manchester aforesaid called the Millne Gate and adioyneinge to the Garden or Gardenstidd hereafter herein mentioned'. Following on from the last detail, the deeds also excluded,

> 'soe much of the Greate Garden or Gardenstidd towards the Millnegate as is now measured staked and meered out amountinge or extending to about the Moyetie or one halfe of the said whole garden or Gardenstidd together with soe much of the other parte of the said Garden or Gardenstidd after the Stone wall towards the Church as doth containe Three yards two foote in Breadth and One and Thirtie yards in Length from the Gatehowse to the said excepted parte of the said Garden or Gardenstidd As the same is now likewise meered and staked out'.

Also excluded was 'the Stone Wall on that Side of the Said Garden or Gardenstidd towards the Church of and in Manchester aforesaid from the said building called the Gatehowse to the outside of the said other building att the end of the said Barne towards the Millnegate'. Wigan and Elatson also retained the right to fetch water from the college well for use in their buildings, and the right to come and go, 'on foote and with horses and carts empty or Loaded', between 'the said Litle Barne and buildinge at the end thereof' and 'the Gate of the said Colledge or Colledge howse towards the said Streete or place called the Millnegate' between 6 o'clock in the morning and 9 o'clock at night.

Under the terms of the 1654 sale, at twelve months' notice Edward and George Chetham were allowed to build 'a new wall of Brick or Stone...att least Two Yards in height', running for a distance of 31 yds and at least 3 yds and 2ft from 'the said other greate stone wall already erected and standing towards the said Church' (Chetham's Library College/C4).

The parts of the college excluded from the sale of 1654 were the subject of several subsequent deeds. In August 1654 the earl of Derby confirmed the lease of the college by George and Edward Chetham, excluding those parts retained by Wigan and Elatson. In April 1655 Geoffrey Elatson granted his share of the property to John Wigan. In July 1657 Wigan transferred his parts of the college to Edward Gathorne, a Manchester chapman, from whom in June 1658 they were acquired by George and Edward Chetham (Chetham's Library College/C6-9).

### 7.2.3 *The Western or Southern Gatehouse*

In brief, the documentary sources indicate the existence of three main structures which are no longer extant.

The first of these was a gatehouse (**site 20**) described in the deeds of 1654-8 as standing by itself on a site which faced the churchyard and lay at the upper end of Hunt's Bank. In the *c* 1654 survey this was the 'Gate house Westward', in contrast to the 'Gate house upon the East side', ie the surviving gatehouse giving access from

Long Millgate. The same gatehouse is also mentioned in earlier sources. In the 1598 we have the entry in John Dee's diary, 'After midnight the College gate toward Hunt Hall did fall and some part of the wall going down the lane' (Bailey 1880, 64). It also appears in rentals of Manchester manor of 1589-1623 which list, among the property of Edmund Prestwich, 'a burgage, 2 houses, one stable and 2 gardyns at the south gate of the Colledge' (MA MS/333/M45; Willan 1980, 136).

In the *c* 1654 survey this gatehouse was valued at roughly double its counterpart on Long Millgate. It is uncertain which gatehouse was 'very much decayed' in 1653, although it is possible that the position of the lost gatehouse, set apart from the main college buildings, singled it out for mention.

7.2.4 *The College Barn*

The second main building was the larger of two barns. It is most commonly referred to in contemporary sources as the College Barn (**site 30**). This is named in the manorial rentals of 1589-1623, when the earl of Derby paid 18d per annum for the building to the lord of the manor (MA MS/333/M45; Willan 1980, 135). The fact that it was liable for a rent sets it apart from the college itself and implies that it was built on land not included within the original grant by Thomas de la Warre in 1422. It is also referred to in 17th-century sources as the Great Barn and can be identified as the Corn Barn of the *c* 1654 survey. Later in the 1650s it was sold for use as Manchester's House of Correction and Workhouse (see below, 7.7.2). From documents relating to that later use, the barn was of eight bays, about 40 yds (36.5m) long and about 10½ yds (9.6m) wide. The size of this building suggests that it originated as the tithe barn of the collegiate and parish church (Fletcher 2006).

7.2.5 *The Little Barn*

The third main building was the smaller or Little Barn (**site 21**), which must have been the Hay Barn of the *c* 1654 survey. Like the western gatehouse, the Little Barn and a building at its east end, towards Millgate, were retained in 1654 by Wigan and Elatson.

In July 1657, when these several parts of the college were conveyed by John Wigan to Edward Gathorne, it was recorded that the Little Barn was 'now used as a meeting place' (Chetham's Library C/College 8). The use of this building seems to have been central to Wigan's own interest in the college. In the 1640s he made Birch Chapel, where he was a chaplain, into a congregational meeting place. He later became an Anabaptist and is credited with introducing the sect into the Manchester area. Anabaptism was viewed as seditious and dangerous by other Puritans and, in first acquiring the lease of the college and later retaining certain buildings, Wigan's aim seems to have been to ensure a meeting place for Manchester's Anabaptist congregation. Adam Martindale, in his memoirs written in about 1685, noted that,

> 'the colledge lands being sold, and the colledge itselfe to Mr. Wigan, who now being turned Antipaedobaptist and I know not what more, made a barn there into a chappell, where he and many of his perswasion preached doctrine diametrically opposite to the ministers under their very nose' (Parkinson 1845, 75).

The 1653 valuation shows that a chapel had already been established within the college before Wigan and Elatson took over the lease, being described there as 'one other roome in the said Colledge reserved and now made use of for publique meetings of Christian conscientious people' (see above, 7.2.2). This description, coupled with Martindale's account, suggests that the chapel was first situated within the main building complex and was later moved to the Little Barn when the college was transferred to the executors of Humphrey Chetham.

The deed of July 1657 also reports that the building which had formerly stood at the

east end of the Little Barn had been pulled down within the past three years, and that this area was now a vacant toft (Chetham's Library C/College 8). Possibly it had been dismantled to sell off the materials, the crucial buildings for Wigan being the gatehouse and the chapel in the former barn. It is possible that Wigan used the upper floor of the gatehouse as his own residence. There is also evidence that the Little Barn contained upper rooms, perhaps converted from a loft when the building became a chapel. In a deed of 1662, by which George and Edward Chetham transferred the college to its feoffees, the building is described as 'the Litle Barne as was lately used for a meetinge place with the Chambers over the same' (JRULM CLD/580).

7.2.6 *The Garden*

A further important element of the college, now lost, was its garden (**site 17**). This can be assumed to have been part of the medieval college, but may be first documented in the 16th century. In 1583 permission was given for a prisoner in Manchester's New Fleet prison (on which see below, 7.7.1) to take exercise in Aldport Park and the College Garden (Harrison 1885, 93). In 1653 the college was said to include 'one parcel of ground formerly an orchard and one garden' (see above, 7.2.2). Perhaps the orchard had been destroyed during the Civil War. Included in the valuation of the college in *c* 1654 was the 'Garden Wall', which from its estimated worth of £220 is likely to have included the precinct wall, not otherwise mentioned in the survey (Raines & Sutton 1903, 215). Celia Fiennes, who visited Manchester in 1688, described the college as having 'a large space for the boys to play in and a good garden walled in' (Bradshaw 1987, 10).

The earliest known depiction of the college is a vignette on Casson and Berry's map of Manchester of 1741 and shows a stone wall (**site 18**) running from east to west across the precinct, dividing the college yard to the north (**site 22**) from a garden to the south (**Ill 26**). The wall was broken by a central door, shown rising almost to the full height of the wall, which if accurately depicted would have been in the order of 2m. Green's map of the town, surveyed between 1787 and 1794, also shows a demarcation between a northern yard and a southern, formal, garden (***Ills 4 & 113***). The garden and the northern wall are later evident on a plan of the college surveyed by John Palmer in 1815 (***Ill 25***) but were removed between 1831 and 1845 (***Ills 6 & 7***).

## 7.3 The Location of the College's Lost Buildings

7.3.1 *The Little Barn*

In 1654 Wigan and Elatson retained about half of the garden, together with the Little Barn (**site 21**), the lost gatehouse and a strip of land 31 yds (28m) long and 3 yds 2ft (3.3m) wide, which ran between the gatehouse and their share of the garden and followed a stone wall on the side towards the church. It is also clear from the deeds of that time that the Little Barn adjoined the garden and lay on the east side of the college, towards Millgate. Both the Little Barn and the building which stood at its east end until 1654-7 were also located within the precinct wall of the college, since access to these buildings from Millgate required passing through the eastern gatehouse. The implication is that Wigan and Elaston retained the eastern half of the garden, ie the part adjacent to the Little Barn. George and Edward Chetham received the western half of the garden, with the exception of the strip retained by Wigan and Elaston which provided access from the lost gatehouse to their own half of the garden and the Little Barn (***Ill 113***).

The parts of the college retained by Wigan and Elatson in 1654 were acquired by George and Edward Chetham in 1657 and were subsequently held by the governors of the college under lease from the earl of Derby, distinct from the rest of the college. The sites of the Little Barn and the Gatehouse are mentioned in deeds of 1665 and 1714, with the first of these describing the Little Barn as situated 'betwixt the court and

the garden' (Chetham's Library C/COLLEGE/22, C/ESTATE/8).

In 1810 the earl granted a new lease to Richard Atherton Farrington, on behalf of the governors, of land described as,

> 'All that portion of piece of Ground belonging to the said Earl...called and known by the name of the College Garden as the same is now meered out by meer stones a plan of which is inclosed on the back of these presents and which said portion or piece of ground contains One thousand and six hundred and sixty one superficial square yards And also the site soil and Ground whereon a building formerly stood called the Little Barn lying between the Court and the said Garden and now used for a Coal Yard' (Chetham's Library C/CH/MISC/72).

The plan referred to shows this portion to have comprised the eastern half of the college garden (originally retained by Wigan and Elatson), with the site of the Little Barn being indicated at its north-east corner (***Ill 86***). This same area is delineated as a small enclosure, with an entrance on the north side giving access from the yard, on Palmer's plan of the college in 1815. An annotated copy of that plan, published in 1833, also identifies this enclosure as a coal yard (***Ill 25***). Its entrance from the yard is also apparent on an early 19th-century illustration of the college (***Ill 29***). The extent of this yard must have included the footprint of both the Little Barn and the building at its eastern end, adjacent to the college precinct wall, which was taken down between 1654 and 1657.

The eastern half of the garden, with the site of the Little Barn, remained the property of the earl of Derby until 1870 when the freehold of this area, described as 'comprising 1661 square yards, now forming part of the playground of the Hospital', was sold by the earl of Derby to the governors for £1000 (Chetham's Library C/ESTATE/3). A plan accompanying this sale provides what is probably an accurate indication of its extent (***Ill 87***). The plan of 1810 shows the two halves of the garden delineated by mere (ie boundary) stones.

7.3.2 *The College Barn*

The College Barn (**site 30**) was a substantial building measuring roughly 40 yds (36.5m) in length and 10½ yds (9.6m) in width which in the 1650s was disposed of by the executors of Humphrey Chetham (see below, 7.7.2). The northern half went to the county JPs to be used as a prison or House of Correction, while the southern half was entrusted to a group of feoffees who were to ensure that it was used as a workhouse for the poor. Both parts later underwent some rebuilding and modification but buildings were still standing within the footprint of the College Barn in the early 19th century, when they formed part of the Castle Inn. Its location can be accurately identified from Green's map of 1787-94 (***Ill 4***). This names as the Castle Inn a building standing on the east side of Hunt's Bank (***Ill 115*****, site 32**) and flanked on the south by a yard (**site 31**). It has recently been supposed that this building was formerly the College Barn (Fletcher 2006). However, on the southern side of the same yard lies a larger rectangular building, aligned north-south. The southern part of its western elevation was set in, at an angle, but otherwise the dimensions of the building correspond with those given for the College Barn in the 17th-century deeds.

Confirmation that this was the site of the barn is provided by late 18th- and early 19th-century illustrations which show the location of the House of Correction (***Ills 30 & 34***) (see 7.7.5). In addition, it is evident from 17th-century deeds that the south end of the College Barn lay close to the lost gatehouse (see below).

The precise site of the 'Common Stable' described in the *c* 1654 survey as adjoining the College Barn has not been identified.

### 7.3.3 *The Gatehouse*

The documentary sources securely place the missing gatehouse within the south-west corner of the college precinct (***Ill 113*, site 20; *Ill 137***). A key piece of evidence is the deed of 1654 which describes the gatehouse as 'standing towards the Church Yard' and at the upper end of Hunts Bank, and more particularly at a distance of 31 yds from the east half of the garden measured along the stone wall 'towards the Church', ie the south wall of the precinct. This location is also in keeping with the late 16th- and 17th-century sources which variously refer to 'the south gate of the Colledge', 'the College gate toward Hunt Hall', and 'the Gate house Westward'.

Other evidence implies that there was a gatehouse here from the very beginning of the college. In the grant of his manor house to the college in 1422, Thomas de la Warre included land extending from the Bull Oak (which probably stood close to the south-west corner of the manor house precinct) to the north porch of the church, and the purpose must surely have been to guarantee a right of way between the church and the college precinct. On the evidence of the 1322 manorial survey, it also seems likely that the gatehouse of the manor house stood in roughly the same location.

The gatehouse had been removed by the late 18th century. William Green's map, surveyed between 1787 and 1794 shows an inner wall parallel to the west precinct wall, forming a passageway which ran along the west side of the garden from the site of the gatehouse to the college yard (***Ill 4; Ill 113*, site 19**). Palmer's plan of 1815 provides greater detail. Buttresses are shown along the eastern side of the inner wall, facing the garden, while at either end of the passageway was a narrower opening, presumably containing a gate (***Ill 25***). From this cartographic evidence the width of the passageway was *c* 9ft (*c* 2.7m) and that of the end openings *c* 4ft (*c* 1.2m). If Green's map is correct, the southern end of the passageway was partly overlapped by the north-west corner of the burial ground, established on the south side of the college in 1768.

An engraving published in 1875 purports to be of 'the gatehouse, Hunt's Bank' (***Ill 36***). It shows a gatehouse with a stone-built lower storey and timber-framed superstructure comprising a first floor and an attic set within a gabled roof. The lower storey contained a broad three-centred arch, flanked by external stone stacks. A window in the side elevation suggests a possible porter's lodge, heated by a fireplace at the base of the right-hand stack. A single-storey extension with a timber-framed gable is shown to the rear of the right-hand side of the gatehouse, while abutting the left-hand side is a stone boundary wall rising to the full height of the lower storey. The local antiquarian George Rowbotham stated that the engraving was based on an illustration which had once been kept in the Manchester Scrapbook in Chetham's Library but by 1875 was missing. He also considered the engraving to be unreliable (MA MS ff 942.73 R24, vol 1 & 2). Certainly there are a number of elements which are fabricated. The gatehouse is shown on a street corner with the front elevation facing the street to the left, which was presumably Hunt's Bank. The boundary wall might well be that of the college but a short distance from the gatehouse this is abutted by a pair of three-storey houses with a central chimney, a building not known to have stood within the college precinct. The rear extension of the gatehouse is also adjoined by a three-storey dwelling. There is no evidence for such a building on the college boundary at this point and, although it is shown as lying immediately adjacent to a street, in reality this site was set back from Fennel Street, the intervening area being the location of the burial ground established in 1768. On the other hand, the illustration does include at least one major element which seems consistent with the known evidence for the gatehouse. The timber-framed superstructure appears to belong to a later phase than the lower storey and this would tie in with John Dee's testimony that the gatehouse was severely damaged in 1598.

The orientation of the gatehouse may also be correct. It is clear that the function of the corridor 31 yds long and 3 yds 2ft wide alongside the south precinct wall which was retained by Wigan and Elatson in 1654 was to provide access from the gatehouse to

their half of the garden and the chapel in the Little Barn (***Ill 113***). George and Edward Chetham, for their part, were given the option of building a wall along the north side of the corridor, in effect separating and screening it from their own half of the garden (see above, 7.2.2). (No evidence has been found to show that this wall was ever built). This whole arrangement suggests that the passage through the gatehouse was itself aligned east-west, with the entrance facing Hunt's Bank. It is possible that the 1875 engraving is derived ultimately from a reasonably accurate depiction of the gatehouse itself but has placed this in a fabricated setting.

There are other details in the 17th-century deeds which, if properly understood, might throw further light on the building. In 1654 Wigan and Elatson also retained a plot of land 5¾ yds square, intended for building on, 'at the Back of said Gatehouse towards the said Colledge howse'. The description implies that this lay on the north side of the gatehouse but was 5¾ yds the gatehouse's own width? There are also puzzling references to the Lower Gate. When in 1657 the southern half of the College Barn, comprising four bays measuring roughly 20 yds in length, was conveyed for use as a workhouse, included within the sale was,

> 'all that part of the yorde or fould lieinge neare to the Barne and beginning att the lower gate next to the street or place called the Hunts-bancke...and from the said Lower gate followinge the wall of a certain buildinge called the Colledge gate house towards the Church now in the occupacon of John Wigan Clerke or his Assignes unto a certain stoope [post] standing Northward from the said lower gate twelve yards distant from the said lower gate, And from the said Stoope Eastward to the corner of the said gate house, on the north parte thereof beinge five yards and an halfe And from the said corner of the said gatehouse following the foundacon of the said wall next to the said great Barne Eastwards all a longe soe farr in length as the said Twenty yards beinge the length of the said fower Bayes of the South end of the said barne' (CLR iv, 188).

Under the terms of the 1657 conveyance the owners of the Great Barn and of the college both retained the right to pass through the Lower Gate 'unto the Great Court yard or fold' of the college, ie the college precinct, whether on foot, horseback, with a cart or carriage or driving cattle.

The precise boundaries of the yard or fold included in the 1657 grant, and repeated in later deeds (Harrison 1885, 103-4; MA M3/2/61) are difficult to follow but seem to relate to a plot of land which adjoined the west side of the college gatehouse and then continued northwards between the barn and college precinct wall. It is unclear whether the 'lower gate' was simply the gatehouse passage or a separate feature at the entrance to the yard.

Bailey, in his edition of the diary of John Dee, concluded of the 1598 entry to the 'College gate towards Hunt Hall' that 'This gate would be the lower gate or gate-house opening into the Hunt's Bank'. He added that 'There are yet gate-marks in the old wall' (Bailey 1880, 65), but it is unknown to what this refers.

7.3.4 *Other Buildings and Structures*

No further evidence has been found for the Wash House and Slaughter House mentioned in the *c* 1654 survey. Their location is uncertain but it is possible that one or both of these buildings was located within the college yard (***Ill 113,*** **site 22**), north of the garden wall and opposite the kitchen and service wing.

Some buildings within the yard are known to have been taken down within a short time of the college being acquired by Humphrey Chetham's executors. At a meeting of the feoffees on 1 November 1655 a resolution was passed,

> 'That the Executors bee desyred to remoove those p[er]sons inhabiting within the School Court; viz: Jo Bullock and his wife and child; and alsoe Alice Deane and her daughter, and that the said habitations be taken downe and made use of for the repaire of the sd hospital, and that the said ground be layed to the schoole cort till theyre bee further use thereoff, and in the meane tyme to be bounded out' (Chetham's Library C/CHL/MIN/1, f 11; Maclure 1922-3, 21).

It is possible these families had moved into the Wash House and Slaughter House, for neither of which is any explicit record known after the *c* 1654 survey. Alternatively, perhaps they were living in more makeshift dwellings 'too humble to be mentioned in that document' (Hartwell 2004, 89).

The *c* 1654 survey mentions a stable at the eastern end of the service wing, which is described as 'The building being all of stone between the stable and the Hall door eastward from the Hall'. In 1658 it was agreed that Alexander Green could lease 'the 3 chambers and the bruehowse [brewhouse] and stables' at the college, and it is believed likely that this agreement related to the angled range adjacent to the eastern gatehouse (Hartwell 2004, 85-6). This is part of the surviving building but the *c* 1654 survey also refers to an adjoining feature now lost, namely 'The side Ile [aisle] after the wall between the Stable and the Hall' (Raines & Sutton 1903, 215). This was valued at only £10, a relatively small amount which implies that it was timber-built, and the description is suggestive of a pentice running along the north side of the service wing (***Ill 113***).

The 1654 conveyance includes perhaps the earliest known evidence for a college well. This was situated on the land granted to George and Edward Chetham, but Wigan and Elatson retained the right to make use of it. In the early 19th century Aston reported that the quality of water from 'a pump in the College Yard' was considered to be among the best in the town, and second only to two springs in Castlefield (Aston 1804, 6). The precise location of the 17th-century well and the later pump are uncertain. The present well within the Fox Court is not shown on Palmer's plan of the college in 1815 (***Ill 25***), suggesting that it was not in existence or, at the very least, not in use at that date.

## 7.4 The Churchyard

7.4.1 A churchyard used for burials (**site 47**) can be assumed to have surrounded the church since the time of its first foundation, although it may not be explicitly documented until the late medieval period when it is mentioned, for example, as the 'cemetery' in a deed of 1434 (MA L1/51/8/13 no 12). The burial registers commence in 1573. The present churchyard covers a smaller area than in the medieval and post-medieval periods, having been modified and decreased in size on several occasions in the 19th century (see 8.3). At an earlier date, rebuilding and enlargement of the church in the medieval and early post-medieval periods is likely to have encroached on parts of the churchyard previously used for burials. In 1986 work within the former chapel of the Holy Trinity revealed possible evidence of the early burial ground in the form of a rich brown loam extending to a depth of at least *c* 1.7m below the floor and continuing below the north wall of the Cathedral (see 9.5.3).

The pre-19th-century extent of the churchyard is shown on Green's map surveyed in 1787-94 (***Ills 4 & 116***). On the south, the churchyard extended to what is now the south side of Cathedral Yard (***Ill 126***), where it was bordered by properties built along the northern edge of Hanging Ditch. As a consequence, at this early period Hanging Bridge led across the ditch directly into the churchyard. On the west the churchyard boundary ran along a line which now lies below the modern Victoria Street, and which may have followed the beginning of the slope leading down to the River Irwell. In the late 18th and early 19th centuries that slope was occupied by a group of buildings, which continued to the water's edge (***Ills 39, 40 & 117***). At its north end the western

boundary was inset, a feature evident on the *c* 1650 map of the town (***Ill 2***). Within this inset, at the north-west corner of the churchyard, was the Blackamoor's Head public house, a timber-framed building which remained standing into the early 19th century (***Ills 37 & 38; Ill 116,*** **site 42**). The northern boundary of the church projected into the later extent of Fennel Street. On the east, by the time of Green's survey, the churchyard was bounded by the narrow thoroughfare of Half Street (***Ill 116,*** **site 59**), which led from Fennel Street to Cateaton Street and in the 1890s was replaced by the present Cathedral Street. Half Street is documented by name in 1547 (JRULM DUC/D/T1 f 21) and is shown on the *c* 1650 map. However, in the 15th and 16th centuries the deeds of a burgage plot (**site 65**) at the west end of Fennel Street give as its western boundary not Half Street but the churchyard (see above, 6.9.2). It is possible that the street, as later with Cathedral Yard, was created by removing a narrow strip from the churchyard boundary.

In the late 18th and early 19th century, except for the southern boundary and north-west corner, the churchyard was delineated by a stone wall. Swindells recorded that,

> 'Entering the churchyard by the stile that stood near to Salford Bridge at the beginning of the nineteenth century, we should pass on our left a number of buildings, built upon the rocky bank of the river. These were approached from the footpath across the yard, and were divided from the yard by a low sandstone wall varying in height from two to four feet. This wall extended round the yard a century ago. A portion of it was capped by a rounded coping, the remainder being finished off with a sharp ridging which in the course of time by the action of the weather became somewhat flattened' (Swindells 1906, 51).

The churchyard wall is documented in the court leet records of the 1560s. These show that at this period the wall also defined the southern boundary, which followed the edge of Hanging Ditch. Thus the court session of October 1561 ordered that no muck or dung was to be thrown 'over the churche wall' against the house of Richard Tipping, who occupied property in Hanging Ditch probably to the east of Hanging Bridge (CLR i, 67; ii, 9 n 2). The same session also introduced a general edict against throwing muck 'over the churche wall at the Lodge ende there ner in eny other place aboute the churche wall'. The reference to the 'lodge' is obscure but might be evidence of some structure situated next to the churchyard wall.

By the late 18th century, in addition to Hanging Bridge, there was an entrance into the churchyard at the south-east corner (where the south end of Half Street is named on Green's map as Clap Gates), and others towards both ends of the northern boundary, providing access from Fennel Street (***Ill 4***). An early illustration of the church appears on Casson and Berry's map of Manchester, first produced in 1741 (***Ill 48***). It shows a paved path leading from Hanging Bridge to the south porch, and another running at an angle from the bridge to the west side of the church tower, presumably to the entrance near the churchyard's north-west corner. These two paths were crossed by a third, which curved around the south side of the church and was perhaps part of a continuous walkway around the building. The illustration also shows a sundial in the churchyard, and indicates chest tombs as well as recumbent grave stones, or 'ledgers'.

Celia Fiennes, who visited Manchester in 1688, wrote that the church 'stands high soe that walking round the church yard you can see the whole town', and John Byng, a visitor in 1790, similarly noted that 'From the churchyard most of the old town is to be seen' (Bradshaw 1987, 10, 19). On the south and east the view would have been limited by buildings to the rear of Cateaton Street and along Half Street. There would have been a somewhat more open view to the north, towards Chetham's Hospital and Long Millgate, but the main vista would have been to the west, looking along the Irwell and towards Salford.

In the late 18th century a charity school stood in the churchyard. This was supported

by a bequest of £400 by Elizabeth Kirkham in 1762 for the benefit of poor children, followed by one of £300 by Elizabeth Bent in 1773 to support a teacher at the school or provide clothing for its pupils. The school building in the churchyard was blown down and destroyed in 1808. It was never rebuilt and its exact location was later forgotten (Procter 1874, 178; Swindells 1906, 53-4). Green's map of 1787-94 suggests that it may have been located on the southern boundary of the churchyard, towards Half Street (***Ill 4***). The school itself was subsequently housed in premises on Fennel Street and in 1830s moved to a new purpose-built schoolhouse on the corner of the Todd Street and Long Millgate which it shared with the collegiate church's Sunday school (Swindells 1908, 89-90).

7.4.2 *The New Burial Ground*

By the mid 18th century the churchyard was considered to be insufficient as a burial place for the growing population of the parish. A solution was found in a plot of land (***Ill 116,*** **site 34**) on the north side of Fennel Street, amounting to 713 square yards and bounded on the north by the college garden and on the east by land and buildings belonging to Thomas Tinker (**site 35**). In 1768 this plot was bought from Walter Wilson, a Manchester ironmonger, for £535 raised by public subscription. It was walled around and was consecrated for use as a public burial ground in June of that year (MA M3/2/102A, M39/2/14/1; Mancath/2/A4/4/1).

It remained open until February 1788 (Axon 1886, 98). During the period of its use, over 6383 burials, said to be of paupers and vagrants, took place here but in 1788 a meeting of parishioners decided that it was to be closed for 30 years. In the event, the burial ground was never reopened (Procter 1873, 10-11). It remained intact until the 1830s when the south-west part was removed as part of the creation of Victoria Street and widening of Fennel Street (GMCRO AO/2752/-/1). The remaining part of the burial ground was later described as a 'mound-like enclosure' (Procter 1874, 9). This was taken down in 1868 when a further strip of land was added to Fennel Street and the remainder of the plot was sold by Manchester Corporation to Chetham's Hospital to be added to the playground (Chetham's Library C/CH/GRAM/15; C/CHL/MIN/4 ff 114-5, 124-5).

## 7.5 Hanging Bridge and Hanging Ditch

7.5.1 Probably in the 15th century, following the establishment of the collegiate church in 1421, the early Hanging Bridge was rebuilt as the present stone structure of two arches with a central pier (***Ill 116,*** **site 53**) (see Appendix B6). Both arches are four-centred and of equal height at the apex but they differ in length, the northern being *c* 7m long and the southern *c* 6m, and in other details of construction. The southern arch has a single arch-ring (the stonework forming the underside of arch), strengthened by three ribs. The northern arch has a double arch-ring, and no ribs. There may be a reflection here of different ownership of the north and south sides of Hanging Ditch at this point or different benefactors behind the construction. According to John Leland writing in about 1540, stone from the Roman fort at Castlefield was reused in the town's bridges (see 6.12.1). That Roman stonework was incorporated within the fabric of Hanging Bridge has not been confirmed.

As well as providing access to the church from Deansgate and the south, the bridge provided a convenient shortcut across the churchyard, including for livestock being driven through the town and to and from the market place. In 1554 the court leet appointed several individuals as officers to see that 'no hors[e] nor mare cowe nor oxe shall goe ov[e]r the hanginge brydge thorow the churche yard' (CLR i, 15). This was followed in 1561 by an edict forbidding anyone to cross the bridge 'with Horse or suche like' (CLR i, 67).

7.5.2 The western end of Hanging Ditch, the part crossed by the bridge, originated as a natural channel which seems to have been put to a defensive use as part of a ditch

running from the Irwell to the Irk. From the excavation at Cateaton Street in 1997, it is known that by the later medieval period the natural channel of Hanging Ditch was being used as a rubbish dump (see Appendix A). This has resulted in water-logged deposits up to *c* 1.5m deep preserving leather, wood, bone and metalwork as well as pottery. Radiocarbon dating of timber samples places this accumulation of material between the late 13th century and the early 15th. The evidence of the pottery and leatherwork points to the latter part of that period, beginning in about the mid 14th century. The dating suggests a possible link with the fortunes of the parish church. In 1421 one reason given for the foundation of the collegiate church was the neglect by previous rectors and their appointees. The dumping of rubbish on such a scale next to the very boundary of the churchyard may reflect the weakness of the church authorities at this period. Similarly, the foundation of a resident college of priests may have curbed the practice.

The court leet records, which survive from the 1550s, show that the throwing of refuse in Hanging Ditch either continued or was later resumed, but records also suggest that this was more low key and primarily involved the disposal of household waste. Hanging Bridge provided a convenient place for disposal into the ditch below. In October 1561 the court issued an edict that henceforth no one was to throw 'any Donge fylthe or mucke upon or over the hanging bridge anenst the tavern of Anne Traves widoe' (CLR i, 67). The practice evidently continued, since in 1563 the court ordered that no 'jaks', or waste, were to be thrown from Hanging Bridge, or from Salford Bridge except into the water between appointed times (CLR i, 80). Waste was also thrown over the churchyard wall which at this period ran along the north side of the ditch (see above 7.4.1).

Between October 1661 and April 1672 the records of the court leet repeatedly contain instructions relating to the cleaning of the ditch to allow water to flow freely through it. The entries do not refer to the feature directly as Hanging Ditch, but rather as a ditch running to the rear of properties on the Hanging Ditch street, suggesting that infilling had reduced the ditch to a relatively narrow and shallow watercourse (CLR iv, 290, 296; v, 9, 16, 29, 52, 63, 95-6, 100, 167). As recorded in April 1663, this ditch was,

> 'very noisome and offensive to the Inhabitants of this Town by reason of the stoppage thereof and by the castinge of Dunge Garbage and other things into the said Ditch Therefore the Jury aforesaid doe order That the severall p[er]sons who have been accustomed and of right ought to Cleanse the said ditch Doe cleanse there apporconable p[ar]ts soe that the water that ought there to run may have its free Course and lib[er]tie' (CLR v, 16).

One cause of the problem was that several 'houses of office', ie privies, had been erected over the ditch by the owners or occupants of neighbouring properties, which 'by reason of the excrem[en]ts fallinge from them become noisome to all persons neere about them', and the court leet ordered their removal (CLR v, 63, 96). A further cause of nuisance was an iron grate which the court leet on April 1671 heard had been fixed by Nathan Leech 'Upon A watercourse leading from the Hanginge Ditch to Salford water to the Greate Annoyance of the neighborhood' (CLR v, 134, 166-7). This may have been intended to prevent rubbish being washed down the ditch to his own property, since the court leet ordered its removal and instructed that,

> 'the said neighbourhood living On or about the said Watercourse shall att all tymes hereafter forbeare to putt Downe any Rubbish and nor Suffer any such like thinge to Passe into the same watercourse to the Stoppage of the same' (CLR v, 134).

The last known documentary evidence for an open watercourse within Hanging Ditch may be in 1682 when the court reported that 'the watercourse cominge from Mr Eccles house into the Hanginge Ditch is much obstructed for want of Cleanseinge' (CLR vi, 142). It has been inferred that shortly after this date the remaining open

section was culverted (Morris 1983, 47).

As well as being infilled, the natural channel of Hanging Ditch was also being built over. The *c* 1650 map of the town shows properties not only running along the Cateaton Street side of the ditch but also, to the rear of these, a block adjoining the churchyard boundary, roughly mid way between Hanging Bridge and Half Street (***Ill 2***). Moreover, a continuous range of buildings now ran along the east side of Hanging Bridge from Cateaton Street to the churchyard. The mapping by Casson and Berry shows that by the 1740s buildings also extended along the west side of the bridge (***Ill 4***). At the north end of these, buildings now continued along the north side of Hanging Ditch to the south-west corner of the churchyard, while others ran across the western end of the ditch itself. By the end of the 18th century Hanging Bridge was largely hidden by adjoining buildings, while the channel of Hanging Ditch could be chiefly identified by the lower height of the buildings which occupied its western end below Hanging Bridge (***Ills 4 & 40***). As Aston wrote,

> 'A small part of the old ditch is still visible on the west side, where the sunk yards and the roofs of the buildings below, distinctly mark it; and where from the back window of a hair-dresser's shop, one of the arches of the ancient bridge may still be seen' (Aston 1816, 7).

The process of infilling and building over the ditch in the post-medieval period is also now known from the archaeological excavations at the Wellington Inn/Sinclair's Oyster Bar site in 1997 and the subsequent investigations at the Cathedral Visitor Centre. At the first of these sites, evidence was found for a possible stone-built culvert or open channel designed to control the flow of water to the rear of the early properties on Cateaton Street (see Appendix A6). At a later date, possibly in the early 18th century, this was superseded by a brick-built drain and the ground level across the width of the excavated area was raised to provide a surface on which the stone footings of new cellar walls were built (***Ill 116*, site 57**).

At the Cathedral Visitor Centre, excavation exposed a stone structure abutting the east face of the central pier of Hanging Bridge (see Appendix B7). When the same feature was discovered in the late 19th century it was interpreted as a cutwater, that is a pointed stone 'beak' designed to deflect water to either side of the pier, and was reconstructed as such on contemporary drawings. However, the modern investigations have shown this interpretation to be incorrect. In reality the feature comprises a stone wall running at an angle of 45 degrees roughly north-eastwards from the pier for a distance of *c* 2m. The wall then turned eastwards, along the line of the ditch, and at the same point there is evidence of a northern return wall, running parallel to the eastern face of the bridge. It is likely that the east-west and north-south walls formed two sides of a building constructed in the northern half of the ditch, adjacent to the bridge (***Ill 116*, site 55**). This construction evidently took place at a time when the ditch still carried an open watercourse, which the angled wall at the corner of the building was designed to channel through the southern arch of the bridge. An exploratory trench dug against the south side of the wall revealed silty deposits containing pottery of a mid to late 16th-century date (see Appendix B8.2 and B9).

It is possible that this building stood upon the 'Certayne Lands scituate upon hangingbridge and extending into the Church yard', purchased by Raphe Hudson in or shortly before 1607 (CLR ii, 231). In 1629 Hudson found himself in dispute with a neighbour Edward Johnson over 'a Watercourse issueinge [through their lands] under the hanginge bridge'. Hudson had raised the level of the watercourse 'for the safegard of his owne house', as a result of which part of Johnson's land, including a fence, had been washed away. The court leet ordered Hudson either to reinstate the old water level or to repair the damage to Johnson's property with stonework (CLR iii, 164). The implication is that Hudson had narrowed or dammed the channel adjacent to his house, but the reference is probably too late to be linked with the construction of the 'cutwater'.

Evidence for encroachment against the opposite, western, face of Hanging Bridge was found in 2002 during a watching brief in Hanging Bridge Gardens (see 9.7.3). This uncovered the remains of early brick walling and 18th-century pottery, which together with the evidence of Casson and Berry's map suggest that on this side of the bridge Hanging Ditch was being raised and levelled in preparation for building in the early decades of the 18th century.

## 7.6 Housing

7.6.1 In the 1790s John Aikin remarked that 'Manchester and Salford, in several streets and the market place, bear great marks of antiquity, as there are still standing nearly whole streets of houses built of wood, clay, and plaister' (Aikin 1795, 192). Early illustrations show that at this period within the Medieval Quarter timber-framed buildings still survived on Cateaton Street and Old Bridge Street (***Ill 58; Ill 116*, site 51**), Hanging Ditch (***Ills 59 & 60; Ills 116 & 120*, sites 61 & 62**), Fennel Street (***Ills 46a, 61-63; Ills 115 & 122, site 36, 66 & 69***), Hunt's Bank (***Ills 30, 31, 37 & 38; Ills 115 & 116*, sites 33 & 42**), and above all on Long Millgate (***Ills 44-45, 65-82***; ***Ills 115 & 122*, sites 37, 74-79, 81 & 83**). The east side of that street contained a near continuous row of early buildings well into the 19th century, the last of which, the Sun Inn at Poets' Corner, was demolished in 1923. The extent to which the known timber-framed buildings contained medieval fabric is unknown. Their facades, as shown on illustrations and photographs, generally point to a mid 16th- to 17th-century date. One illustration of a building (**site 83**) situated on Long Millgate near the junction with Toad Lane is particularly intriguing (***Ill 82***). It suggests that behind a much altered facade was a difference in floor heights perhaps indicative of a former open hall.

There is also a small body of archaeological evidence for the development of properties on Long Millgate and Fennel Street during the post-medieval period, derived from excavations on the site of Hurst Court (***Ill 122*, site 80**) and Marsden Court (***Ill 122*, site 71**) in 1980-1. Comparative material is provided by excavations on burgage plots on other towns around Manchester, at Salford, Stockport, Altrincham and Wigan (Noble & Arrowsmith 2005, 25-7).

The evidence from those other places indicates that buildings were concentrated along the street frontages, with the rear of the burgages given over to gardening, agriculture or other activities. At Marsden Court the excavation lay roughly mid way along what is believed to have been a substantial burgage extending from Fennel Street to Toad Lane. The earliest features identified were two groups of postholes, which may each have formed part of a fence and or enclosure (see 9.3.2). These features were partly sealed by cobbling, perhaps forming a yard surface. No dating evidence for either of these phases was obtained, other than that both were sealed by a garden soil which was probably brought onto the site for a new town house, built on the Fennel Street frontage in *c* 1716 (***Ill 64; Ill 122,* site 68**).

The illustrative evidence for many of the timber-framed buildings within the Medieval Quarter shows only the facade of the street range and it is unknown to what extent other early buildings may have stood on the site. In the case of Long Millgate, however, the illustrations and photographs also show that, at number of properties, a timber-framed range extended to the rear of the street range to enclose one or more sides of a court (***Ill 122***). The rearward extension of burgages is known at some other sites within the region, including, on a particularly grand scale, Staircase House in Stockport. Archaeological evidence for such expansion was found at the excavation at Hurst Court in the form of a sandstone footing which may have supported a timber-framed building of a late 17th- or early 18th-century date (***Ill 122, site 80***).

Most of the known timber-framed buildings from the Medieval Quarter were of a post and truss construction, with a frame of upright posts and horizontal beams carrying the roof trusses. An early photograph shows one building at Bakehouse Court on

Long Millgate to have been cruck-framed, that is with the main structural support being provided by timber A-frames (***Ill 73***; ***Ill 122,*** **site 76**). At least one early building on Long Millgate was of stone or brick construction and included hood moulding above the windows (***Ill 81***; ***Ill 122,*** **site 82**). Brick is first documented as a building material in the Manchester area in the closing decades of the 16th century, its most conspicuous early use being at Hough Hall in Chorlton-cum-Hardy which was built as the residence of Nicholas Moseley, the lord of Manchester, in the 1590s. Brick was initially an expensive material and outside the ranks of the gentry its occurrence remained rare in the Manchester area until the second half of the 17th century.

7.6.2 The excavation at Hurst Court also uncovered a stone-lined well, believed to be contemporary with the rear range and possibly situated within that building. The upper part of a well, again stone-lined, was revealed by investigations at Cateaton Street in 1997. In this case the well was located within the cellar of a building erected in about the early 18th century (***Ill 116*****, site 57**) (see Appendix A5.2 and A6.10). Wells were once commonplace in Manchester. Aston in the early 19th century noted of the town, 'The water for culinary purposes is chiefly obtained from wells, furnished with pumps' (Aston 1804, 5). A well on Toad Lane is documented in 1608 and was evidently for general use, since an edict of the court leet prohibited the washing of animal heads or meat, linen or woollen clothes 'or any othr noysome thinge' at the public conduit in the Market Place, the well in Toad Lane 'nor at anye well or pumpe in anye othr streete' (CLR ii, 268). In 1891 a stone-lined well (**site 67**) was uncovered in Fennel Street, following the demolition of a warehouse on a site described as situated mid way between the Cathedral and Withy Grove. This example measured about 3ft 6in (*c* 1.2m) wide, and 44ft 4in (*c* 13.4m) deep (MA MS ff 942.73 R24, vol 3; Bradshaw 1985, 22). A stone lined-well was also uncovered in about 1960 on a site near the old market place in Manchester (Baker 1959), another was excavated to the rear of the site of the Old Bull's Head inn on Greengate in Salford in 1986 (Arrowsmith 2006, 75, 77). Both retained the remains of hollowed tree trunks, used as piping for a pump. The base of the Greengate well contained a number of near complete 19th-century pottery vessels, probably thrown in when the well went out of use.

## 7.7 The Workhouse and House of Correction

7.7.1 For over a century after the time of their establishment, Chetham's Hospital and Library lay adjacent to one of Manchester's earliest prisons, the House of Correction on Hunt's Bank (**site 29**), located for much of that time in the former College Barn (***Ill 115*****, site 30**). A statute of 1575 had authorized the setting up of a house of correction in each county to punish vagrants and other undesirables. By the 18th century these institutions were used as places of confinement for a wider range of offences. The constables' accounts for Manchester show that in 1615-16 money was being collected for the building of a house of correction (Harrison 1885, 94), but no more is heard of this early scheme and it is unknown where the building, if actually constructed, was located.

Traditionally it has been supposed that the House of Correction on Hunt's Bank was originally the site of the Fleet prison. This was established by the government in about 1580-1 to house recusants and remained in use for several years (Harrison 1885, 90-4; Lannon 2010). However, the documentary evidence implies that the barn was only first converted to a prison in the 1650s. The fact that the old college buildings were in the ownership of the earl of Derby raises the possibility that the Fleet may have been contained within the college precinct walls. In 1649 Humphrey Chetham wrote to the earl of Derby's agent, expressing his interest in acquiring the college and describing the present poor condition of the building. According to Chetham, 'Yt hath been a prison a long tyme for as many prisoners as yt would hould, as thereby is become most noysome and fylthey' (Raines & Sutton 1903, 193). However, Chetham's account may exaggerate the situation and could relate to a relatively recent use of the college buildings during the Civil War.

7.7.2 When the executors of Humphrey Chetham took over the college in 1654 to establish a hospital and library, they had no need of the College Barn or of an adjoining house which also formed part of the college property and was then occupied by a Mr Rawsthorne. As a later deed explained, these buildings,

> 'beinge not Conceived to be usefull either for the said hopitall or libraries were heretofore granted conveyed and aliened away unto severall persons Inhabitants within the hundred of Salford and their heires by the said George Chetham and Edward Chetham to bee for and as a howse of correction for the Comon good and benefit of the hundred of Salford for the punishinge of Idle, loose, vagrant and disordered beggars and other wandering persons And for and as a workehouse or workhowses for the settinge poore people on worke in the said hundred' (JRULM CLD/580).

The College minute books show that the feoffees were considering the sale of these buildings by November 1655 (Chetham's Library C/CHL/MIN/1, f 10; Maclure 1922-3, 20). At their meeting in the following April they agreed that the executors could sell,

> 'Rawsthornes howse, the great barne and the cort as it is meered [marked out] forth, unto the Justices or whom they shall appoint, for the some of one hundred and twentie pownds, the same to be for a howse of correction and workehowse, And the purchaser to make the square wall eastward from the barne ten yeards and a halfe or there abouts from the colledge house toward the church, and ten yeards from the end thereof acrosse to the sd barne, as alsoe the backe wall northward to the gate from the little garden, And shall from tyme to tyme repaire and mainteyne the same' (Chetham's Library C/CHL/MIN/1, f 12; Maclure 1922-3, 21).

The site was bought by a group of prominent local men, including several JPs, and the barn was divided into two parts. In April 1657 the southern half of the building, comprising four bays measuring approximately 20 yds (18.2m) long by 10½ yds (9.6m) wide, was conveyed to a group of feoffees entrusted with putting it to use as a workhouse (CLR iv, 186-97).

By this date the northern half of the barn had perhaps already been made into the House of Correction. In October 1657 the court leet found that 'the wall att Hunts bancke under the great Barne att the Colledge is very much decayed and also parte of the wall belonging to the house of Correccion, and is in much danger of fallinge'. The jury ordered the overseer of the House of Correction and the churchwardens and overseers of the poor to repair their respective parts (CLR iv, 203, 229). Shortly afterwards the wall under the part of the College Barn belonging to the House of Correction was repaired by the mason Edward Platte, who charged £18 'for pullinge the wall down and for lime mortar and new stone and staying the barne and for building the wall up agayne' (LRO QSP/216/14).

'Rawsthornes howse' which was included in the sale of the barn now became the residence of the prison governor. Since the earliest person known to have held that office was Edward Rawsthorne in 1657, it is possible that for convenience the existing tenant of the house was simply made governor (LRO QSP/152/11). In 1690 the house was occupied by Edmund Walker and in 1717 by George Walker, both of whom are also known to have been governor (Harrison 1885, 104-5; LRO QSP/376/20, QSP/833/9).

7.7.3 While the establishment of the House of Correction in the College Barn can be dated to 1656-7, the adjoining workhouse was not created until several years later. The reason for this delay is uncertain but in October 1665 the records of the court leet noted that,

> 'Where as there hath bin End[e]voures by his Ma[jes]tis Justices of th'peace and others for the Better p[ro]vission of the poore persons Inhabittinge within the Towne of Manchester that they should not begg And hyther too Could Nott bee Attayned too as was Desired the Jury of this pr[e]sent Leet taking it Into there seriousse Consideration and findinge that for want of worke and Imployment many lustie able p[er]sons goe a begging And for prevention thereof the Jury doth order that one bay off the Colledge Barne shall be made in readines for a worke house to put the poore people on worke to prevent there begginge'.

The court ordered the feoffees of the barn to instruct the tenant, Samuel Davie, to remove 'what hee hath in the said Baye of the Barne' by 24 December. Monies of up to £20 from the town's funds for the poor were to be provided to pay for any necessary work, which was to be completed by 1 March (CLR v, 70-1). Samuel Davie at first refused to comply but at the following session of the court leet, in May 1666, he was threatened with a fine of £10 (CLR v, 83).

The use of a single bay of the barn as a workhouse continued into the early 18th century. In 1702 the churchwardens and overseers of the poor leased 'the three bays of building...comonly called or knowne by the name of the Colledge Barne' to Andrew Moore, a Manchester merchant, for a term of eleven years, the property having been previously leased to a James Wilson. Under the provisions of the lease to Moore, if necessary the churchwardens and overseers could partition off and use one of the three bays (described as the bay 'southward towards the church'). They also reserved the right, at six months' notice, for all three bays 'to bee made into a workhouse or converted to any other use for the use of the poore' (MA M3/2/8).

By 1717 the four southern bays had undergone a major conversion. In that year, the deed of conveyance to a new group of feoffees described the property as 'All that Building now lately converted into several Dwellings or Habitacons for the poor of Manchester lately consisting of four Bays of the South end of a Great Barn'. The deed also included a clause that if a majority of the trustees disapproved of any persons living here they could replace them with other poor inhabitants of the town, suggesting that the form of the workhouse at this period was more akin to an almshouse (Harrison 1885, 107). Indeed accounts for the House of Correction in 1779 use precisely that term, when they list expenditure for making a sough, ie a drain, 'at the Almshouses' (LRO QPS/2098/4). What happened to the occupants of the workhouse when this change of use came about is unknown. The history of the town's workhouse following its removal from Hunt's Bank is problematic until the end of the 18th century when a large new building opened at Walker's Croft (Hindle 1975, 16-27).

7.7.4 At Hunt's Bank, the alterations by which the northern half of the College Barn was converted into the House of Correction are not known but in the late 17th century funding appears to have been limited. The governor Edmund Walker reported to the JPs in 1680 that,

> 'poore prisoners cannot lye dry in theire beds the walls and roof are soe out of repaire, and that there hath but byn very little charges laid out in repaire, since the petitioner was Governor, but as what hee hath laid out upon his owne charge' (LRO QSP/518/11).

A decade later he wrote that 'the house of correction is very much out of repair and the walls soe slender, that the petitioner is afraid every night of the prisoners makeinge theire escapes' (LRO QSO 691/120). If the reference to the thinness of the walls was not an exaggeration, it may indicate that prisoners were housed in one or more buildings in addition to the College Barn.

Later records of the quarter sessions contain successive orders for repairs to be carried out at the House of Correction, in 1700, 1720, 1746-7 and 1757 (DeLacy

1986, 25). The repairs of *c* 1700 included 'work done for Barne', which saw further repair in the 1720s (LRO QSP 901/41, 1284/24). It is unknown if this was part of the College Barn or a separate outbuilding. Work carried out in the 1720s followed a recommendation by visiting JPs that 'an additional Building be erected there for the more safekeeping the prisoners' (LRO QSP/1176/16). This may have heralded the first significant phase of expansion and improvement at the site. The accounts for works undertaken at about this time included monies for the repair in 1721-2 of the glass in 'the Old Prison', 'the New Prison', and 'the House' (presumably the governor's residence), for 17ft of timber 'for the Top Tree for a New Pump' in 1724, for repair of 'the Dungeon', and for work on the roof of 'the House of Office', ie the privy. By this period new works on the site were being carried out in brick (LRO QSP/1180/13-22, 1192/13, 1284/24). The extent of works in the 1740s and 1750s is uncertain. Some building work took place before 1755 for which a sough, or drain, was required. In 1757 it was reported that the House of Correction was 'very much out of repair and that there is not sufficient room therein for lodgeing prisoners safely' but known details of the subsequent phase of work relate principally to improvements in security (LRO QSP/1718/20, 1742/10, 1770/16, 1798/25).

In *c* 1766 there was a proposal to add a new building to the site, details of which are known from a contemporary builder's plan. It shows the ground floor of a building resembling a terraced house, comprising a hallway and room to the front, and a single room to the rear, the whole structure being *c* 14ft (4.2m) wide and *c* 28ft (8.5m) long. Each room was heated by its own fireplace, and the front room was lit by a window *c* 5ft (1.5m) wide. A stairway in the rear room gave access to an upper floor (LRO QSP/1886/3). The building was probably intended to provide accommodation for prison staff but it is unknown if it was actually constructed. What was perhaps a smaller addition is mentioned in accounts of 1770 which list payments totalling just over £10 made to carpenters, bricklayers, slaters, plasterers, ironmongers and glaziers for 'the new Room Yard in the Prison Yard' (LRO QSP/1954/3). The following year, repairs were made to the prison's pump (LRO QSP/1978/6). Accounts of 1774 include repairs to 'the necessary House' (the privy) and 'the Women's Chamber floor', as well as the sum of £2 5s 3d 'for advertising the Prisoners that broke out the House of Correction' (LRO QSP/2018/18).

In that same year, 1774, the House of Correction was rebuilt at a cost of least £1500 (Harrison 1885, 96; LRO QSP/2034/18). A description of the prison both before and after that rebuilding was given in the early 19th century in Aston's *Manchester Guide*:

> 'Until the year 1774, when the old house was taken down and rebuilt, the cells were lighted from the street. The prisoners by the help of bags, let down from the grated windows, were almost constantly employed in soliciting the charity of passengers; pleading not only poverty and sickness, but innocence of the crimes of which they were accused. The profits of their petitionary bags, were but too often exchanged for spirituous liquors, which were very improperly permitted to be sold in the house. On the completion of the new building, the begging by bags was discontinued, as none of the cells were lighted from the street. In lieu of this method of awakening compassion, the magistrates directed a flag to be inserted in the wall, with a drop-apperture in it, and the inscription, "Sick and in prison, and ye visited me not" (Matt. xxv. ver. 43)' (Aston 1804, 246-7).

Two watercolours purport to show the House of Correction prior to the 1774 rebuilding, one painted by Thomas Barritt in 1819 (***Ill 32***), the other, undated by, Paul Braddon (***Ill 33***). Both depict a stone-built range of two storeys, with barred windows in the upper storey from which prisoners are shown lowering bags, as in Aston's description. Abutting the southern end of this range, both paintings include a stone wall, one storey high, running along Hunt Bank's. Barritt shows this broken by a doorway, while Braddon depicts both a wide square-headed door and, close to the House of Correction, an arched opening. Braddon shows a timber-framed building

rising up from behind this wall, with another building to its south, and Barritt's painting suggests a similar arrangement. Abutting the north end of the House of Correction, both artists show a two-storey house (***Ill 115***, **site 32**). It would be very useful to know the relationship between the two paintings, and in particular whether one is based on the other or behind them lies an earlier image. It seems likely that the stone range of the House of Correction and the stone wall to its south together represent the remains of the College Barn. The timber-framed building to the rear of the stone wall might well date from the conversion of the southern half of the site into almshouses. The house at the north end of the House of Correction may perhaps have been 'Rawsthorne's House', which was included in the sale of the north end of the College Barn in 1656 and became the governor's house (***Ill 113*****, site 31**).

7.7.5 An account of the prison after the rebuilding of 1774 is given in Ogden's *Description of Manchester*, published in 1783. By this period the site also contained a 'dungeon' to replace that on the old Salford Bridge, which had been removed when the bridge was widened in *c* 1776.

Ogden writes,

> 'Adjoining to this Hospital [ie Chetham's] is the House of Correction, which was lately repaired by order of the Justices, whose names are at the front door, with that of the Governor under whose direction it was rebuilt, at the charge of Salford Hundred. The upper part of brick, interlaid with oak spars, and hence very secure. The lower consists of cells cut in the rock, and aired by funnels communicating with the atmosphere. To these there is an iron gate of a singular contrivance, to secure prisoners upon locking up, from any attempts upon the Governor or his assistants. On the back way to the prison, next the College, a dungeon has been made, upon the demolition of that heretofore upon the bridge when it was widened...The Constables, who are head magistrates in this town, being then without a prison to confine offenders till they were examined, have here lower cells, very strong, with an upper prison. A guardhouse over all for soldiers, adds to the security of both these prisons and the House of Correction, and does honour to the contrivers, as strength and usefulness are united, and nothing expended upon ostentation'.

The prison reformer John Howard visited the place on several occasions between 1774 and 1782. In 1777 he described it as,

> 'Rebuilt as per date, in the year 1774. Separate Court-yards and Apartments for Men and Women. The former have Work-rooms, over which are Chambers, Their Night-rooms Dungeons in a passage or long room forty-five feet by six are close; eleven feet by eight; eleven steps below the yard; but not properly underground being on the declivity of a hill. Women have three rooms on the ground-floor and three chambers: here is also a dungeon, down nine steps, fourteen feet by thirteen; but women are not put there. The iron grated Door into each court has fastenings of a contrivance singularly curious' (Howard 1777, 439-40).

In a revised account, published in 1792, Howard added mention of '2 rooms for an infirmary (14ft. by 11ft. 8in.)' and of 'an inconvenient bath no water in it', as well as the detail, later repeated by Aston, that 'In the front of the prison is a stone with an aperture into a box having this inscription 'Sick and in prison and ye visited me not' Matt. xxv. 43'. Howard also recorded the number of prisoners on each of his visits, ranging between six in 1775 to 21 in 1774 (Harrison 1885, 97-8).

The House of Correction as rebuilt in 1774 is just visible on illustrations of the late 18th and early 19th centuries as a gaunt building with the lower outer wall possibly battered,

ie set at an angle to the vertical (***Ills 30 & 34***). To its north was a three-storey building, suggestive of an 18th-century town house (***Ills 30, 31 & 34; Ill 115*****, site 32**). On Green's map of 1787-94 this last building is shown separated from the 1774 prison block by a courtyard, fronted by a wall running along Hunt's Bank (***Ill 4; Ill 115*****, site 31**). At this period, this house and the former House of Correction comprised the Castle Inn (see below). Prior to that time the house may have been the governor's residence, perhaps constructed as part of the 1774 rebuilding and replacing the earlier building which had once been used by Edward Rawsthorne. Adjoining the north side of this later house, in the direction of the Irk Bridge, was a two-storey timber-framed dwelling (***Ills 20, 30 & 31; Ill 115*****, site 33**) whose distinctive shape is evident on Green's map. This building was bought in 1782-3 to be added to the House of Correction. It lay on a burgage said to be documented in 1531 and at the time of the sale was divided into three cottages (Harrison 1885, 98-9, 108-10). In 1783 the magistrates of the Salford Hundred also considered acquiring the adjoining almshouses from the feoffees. The purchase is said to have been completed shortly afterwards but other evidence shows that the feoffees retained possession until 1792 (Harrison 1885, 100; MA M/C 277). It is possible that the occupants of the almshouses were then moved to the town's large new workhouse which opened in that same year on Walker's Croft.

7.7.6 In 1782 Salford JPs Thomas Butterworth Bayley and Samuel Clowes were entrusted with the task of inspecting the House of Correction. Their report appeared the following year and found that, despite the recent changes, conditions were inadequate and the prison was overcrowded 'beyond what was possible to be conceived'. Later in 1783 there was an outbreak of gaol fever (typhus) in Lancashire's prisons including that in Manchester. The event may have been crucial to the subsequent decision to close the House of Correction and build an entirely new prison on a site by the Irwell in Salford. Construction work began in 1787 and the prison opened in April 1790 (Harrison 1885, 99-101; DeLacy 1986, 76-7, 79-82). Its name, the New Bailey, has traditionally been seen as a reference to the magistrate Bayley who was instrumental in its creation.

In 1790 the magistrates of the Salford Hundred offered to sell the old House of Correction and the adjoining buildings to Chetham's Hospital (Chetham's Library C/CHL/MIN/2, f 172; Maclure 1922-3, 38). The offer was not taken up and on 1 February 1791 the *Manchester Mercury* advertised that the site was up for sale or lease:

> 'Capital situation for dwellinghouses, warehouses, a steam engine, dyehouses and stables, within 3 minutes' walk of the Market Place, Manchester.
> To be let for a term of years or sold upon a chief rent, All those substantial and well-built premises lately occupied as the House of Correction situate at Hunt's Bank, consisting of 6 dwellinghouses, a very large and spacious Court, a parcel of vacant ground near the old Churchyard suitable for the erection of dwellinghouses, warehouses, or stables. Two other pieces of land and several old buildings adjoining to Hunts Bank Bridge very suitable for dyers or spinners.
> For particulars apply to Mr. James Radford' (Harrison 1885, 102)

Part of the premises was subsequently converted into a public house called the Castle Inn, also known as the College Inn (Baines 1825, 117). Aston reported of this hostelry,

> 'In the year 1790 this building lost its terrors, and the rooms which were wont to fill their inmates with dismay and horror, have for years been the scenes of jollity and pleasure. The grating of hinges, the clanging of fetters, and the groans of solitary despair have, long since, given way to the cheerful - 'Coming Sir!' the jingling of glasses - and the loud laugh of hilarity and social mirth' (Aston 1804, 247).

At an unspecified date the old House of Correction was again put up for sale and was described as comprising the Castle Inn, then occupied by William Nightingale; a dwelling house and livery stables, occupied by John Leigh; and six cottages (Chetham's Library Allen Deeds Parcel S no 11). Aston reported that the former dungeon, which had replaced the gaol on Salford Bridge as a place of temporary confinement, was 'now used as a dung-pit, for the adjoining livery stables' (Aston 1804, 246 n).

## 7.8 The Grammar School

7.8.1 The free grammar school, which later became Manchester Grammar School, was founded in 1515 by Hugh Oldham, bishop of Exeter, on a site on the north side of Long Millgate (***Ill 115*, site 38**), adjacent to the college. It was described at this time as bounded on the east by a stone chimney which was the property of George Trafford. Chimneys were a rarity at this date but no more details are known about this property. Trafford himself, who had sold the school's site to Hugh Oldham, lived at Garrett Hall on the south side of the town. The school was completed by 1525 (MA L1/51/8/12; Whatton 1834, 18; Farrer & Brownbill 1911, 240).

This early school is shown as a modest stone-built structure on a watercolour by Thomas Barritt (***Ill 41*)**. In 1776-7 it was taken down and a new school erected, according to Aston, 'upon the old foundations'. The new building presented a gabled facade to the street, set into which was a stone roundel carved with an owl, the emblem of the founder Hugh Oldham. The building contained two school rooms. The Upper School, which was about 96ft (29m) long and 30ft (9m) wide, had a ceiling 20-30ft high and may have comprised the building from street level upwards. The Lower School was literally lower, in that it was located beneath the Upper School and was about half its size (Aston 1804, 216). It was presumably built into a natural slope from Long Millgate towards the Irk. The essayist Thomas de Quincey (1785-1859), perhaps best known for his *Confessions of an English Opium Eater* and *Recollections of the Lake Poets*, was a pupil at the Upper School and described the other as 'a subterraneous school' which 'lay downwards through long flights of steps' (Graham & Phythian 1965, 27). The building of 1776-7 was replaced by a larger school building in the early 1880s. This later building was partly destroyed during the Christmas blitz in 1940 (Graham & Phythian 1965, 74, 118-9).

7.8.2 In addition to the school building, the early grammar school owned two other properties on Long Millgate. One was a timber-framed building on the site of the former manorial bakehouse (***Ill 115*, site 37**) which was purchased by the school in 1698 and became the High Master's house (see 6.10.3). The other was a burgage on the east side of Mill Brow, which formed part of the early 16th-century endowment of the school. The front part of this property became the Usher's, or assistant master's, house. On the rear part the school built its Lower Mill (***Ill 122, site 86*)** (see 6.10.2). Both houses also provided accommodation for boarders at the school. De Quincey lodged at the High Master's house, which he described as having a little inner quadrangle (Graham & Phythian 1965, 23, 26). In the mid 1830s a new school building was erected on this site and a new house was built for the High Master at the corner of Long Millgate and Fennel Street (***Ill 46b; Ill 115*, site 36**). Later in the 19th century this last building was converted to the Cathedral Inn (Graham & Phythian 1965, 32-34, 45). The new school building was relatively short-lived. The first stage in the major expansion of the school in the late 19th century saw its replacement by a much larger building which now forms part of the Millgate Building of Chetham's School (Graham & Phythian 1965, 71-3; Hartwell 2001, 70).

## 7.9 Hyde's Cross and the Apple Market

7.9.1 Hyde's Cross (**site 28**) (***Ill 141***) which now stands in front of the medieval kitchen at Chetham's School was originally located at the crossroads formed by Hanging Ditch,

Toad Lane, Fennel Street and Withy Grove (***Ill 122*, site 70**). The surviving octagonal shaft carries the date 1653 and must be a replacement of an earlier cross, since 'the Hyde Crosse' is mentioned in the court leet records as early as 1628 (CLR iii, 141). Between 1665 and 1681 the court leet repeatedly ordered that the town's pig market was to be held only at the cross, and at some date prior to 1748 a potato market was also established there. Direct references to the cross seem to cease shortly after that last date. However, the place itself continued to be known as Hyde's Cross and at the beginning of the 19th century Aston wrote 'The market for cattle is at Hyde's Cross, so called from there having formerly been a cross there'. Later in the 19th century John Owen recorded that the base of an octagonal cross was discovered during the construction of Corporation Street in the 1850s. Hyde's Cross may have been named after the Hyde family who seem to have held land in the area of Toad Lane in the mid 16th century (Wild 1908; Aston 1804, 267).

7.9.2 The use of Hyde's Cross for a market was part of a wider trend, as the restrictions of space in the ancient market place and the requirements of an expanding population led to the growth of smaller specialized markets in neighbouring streets (Scola 1992, 150). Aston in 1804 reported that the corn market was then held in Fennel Street. 'It was formerly called "Barley-cross" – whether there was ever a cross there or not, is unknown'. By the late 18th century the west half of Fennel Street was known as the Apple Market, after the fruit market which was held here and in the adjoining part of Long Millgate (Aston 1804, 266-7) (***Ill 4***). On Saturday market days, apples and pears were sold here, mainly sent to the town by local farmers but occasionally supplied from Worcestershire and Herefordshire (Swindells 1906, 53). The market was ended by mid 19th-century road improvements (Scola 1992, 171).

# 8. Historical and Archaeological Background 5: Industrial, *c* 1780 onwards

## 8.1 **The 'Old Town'**

8.1.1 In the last quarter of the 18th century Manchester underwent a massive expansion in both area and population, largely attributable to an upsurge in the cotton industry of which the town was both a manufacturing and a marketing centre. Local enumerations in 1773-4 and 1788 recorded a rise in population from nearly 24,000 to nearly 43,000, and at the time of the 1801 census the figure stood at 70,000 (Arrowsmith 1985, 101). By the mid 18th century the town had already begun to spread beyond the limits shown on the map of *c* 1650, a process which included the foundation of St Anne's Church in 1709 and the laying out of St Anne's Square in 1720 on Acres Field, the old site of the town's fair. Towards the close of the century, fresh development was taking place on an unprecedented scale, based on new grid-irons of streets. Within the Medieval Quarter by the mid 1790s available land to the rear of the old burgage plots had largely been built over (***Ill 4***).

8.1.2 In the late 18th century a large number of the old timber-framed buildings within the Medieval Quarter were still standing. This was particularly true along Long Millgate where many remained well into the 19th century. However, with the massive expansion of the town, Long Millgate with its ramshackle old houses and crowded new buildings to their rear declined into something of a slum. In 1808 the feoffees of the grammar school partly attributed a fall in the number of boarders to the changes in the locality. The Long Millgate houses of the High Master and Usher in which boarders were given rooms were described as 'closely surrounded by Old Buildings chiefly occupied by poor people, in situations neither healthy or comfortable' (Graham & Phythian 1965, 28).

In the 1840s Friedrich Engels, who referred to the pre-industrial core of Manchester as the 'Old Town', wrote,

> 'Here even the better streets, such as Todd Street, Long Millgate, Withy Grove and Shudehill are narrow and tortuous. The houses are dirty, old and tumble-down. The side streets have been built in a disgraceful fashion. If one enters the district near the 'Old Church' and goes down Long Millgate, one sees immediately on the right hand side a row of antiquated houses where not a single front wall is standing upright. This is a remnant of the old Manchester of the days before the town became industrialised. The original inhabitants and their children have left for better houses in other districts, while the houses in Long Millgate, which no longer satisfied them, were left to a tribe of workers containing a strong Irish element. Here one is really and truly in a district which is quite obviously given over entirely to the working classes, because even the shopkeepers and the publicans of Long Millgate make no effort to give their establishments a semblance of cleanliness. The condition of this street may be deplorable, but it is by no means as bad as the alleys and courts which lie behind it, and which can be approached only by covered passages so narrow that two people cannot pass. Anyone who has never visited these courts and alleys can have no idea of the fantastic way in which the houses have been packed together in disorderly confusion in impudent defiance of all reasonable principles of town planning. And the fault lies not merely in the survival of old property from earlier periods of Manchester's history. Only in quite modern times has the policy of cramming as many houses as possible on to such space as was not utilised in earlier periods reached its climax. The result is that today not an inch of space remains between the houses and any further

building is now physically impossible' (Engels 1971, 56-7).

8.1.3 Archaeological evidence for the changing character of the area described by Engels was found during the excavations at Marsden Court (**site 71**) and Hurst Court (**site 80**) in 1980-1 (see 9.3.2). Marsden Court was located on a former burgage plot which had been bought in the late 18th century by John Marsden. He demolished an early Georgian house which had stood at the Fennel Street end of the plot (***Ill 122*, site 68**) and replaced this with warehousing (***Ill 61***). A central passage led through this into the court, a cul-de-sac lined with smaller buildings. From mapping and documentary evidence these are known to have included stabling and warehousing as well as blind-back workers' houses (terraced dwellings with a door and windows only on the front elevation) (J Lloyd in Morris 1983, 60-1). The excavation uncovered the cellars of these buildings on the three sides of the north end of the court. They were mostly brick-built but one had sandstone footings which may have originally supported an earlier building on the site.

At Hurst Court, a more irregular court to the rear of Poets' Corner, the excavations revealed the remains of two brick-built clay pipe kilns of the mid 19th century. Documentary evidence shows that Joseph and Thomas Holland were operating as clay pipe makers in the court between 1846 and 1854, along with a Joseph Halliday in about 1851 (J Lloyd in Morris 1983, 62).

8.1.4 The process of infilling available land extended to the banks of the River Irk. By the mid 19th century the river itself was heavily polluted, and was described by Engels as 'a narrow, coal-black, stinking river full of filth and rubbish' (Engels 1971, 60). In the 19th century two mills stood on its south bank on either side of Mill Brow (***Ills 84-5***). One was the Lower Mill or School Mill (***Ill 122*, site 86**), which was operated by the grammar school for grinding malt and which is believed to have rebuilt in about 1819 (see 6.10.2). The other, on the west side of Mill Brow, was the Phoenix corn mill (***Ill 122*, site 85**), one of a number of corn mills built in Manchester following the end of the grammar school's monopoly of corn milling in 1758. In the early 1850s the Phoenix Mill was operated by Richard Collins, and the mill may have been in existence by 1821 when an individual of the same name is listed as a corn miller at Toad Lane (Pigot & Dean 1821; Slater 1850, 84; Whellan & Co 1853, 401). The rebuilt School Mill seems to have been originally dependent on water-power, to which steam-power was added in about the 1830s. The north elevation of Phoenix Mill contained the characteristic tall arched window of an engine house. There is no evidence for a millrace and the mill was very probably steam-powered from the outset. The School Mill was demolished in the 1880s when Victoria Station Approach was built over Mill Brow. The Phoenix Mill remained intact well into the 20th century. Part of its north and west walls still stand to the east of New College House. More remarkably, an archaeological assessment in 2006 revealed that the east wall was preserved below ground where it formed part of the side wall of one of the arches carrying Victoria Station Approach. It is likely that substantial remains of this mill survive below-ground including much of the engine house (Fletcher 2006).

8.1.5 At Ainsworth Court, on the river bank between the Phoenix Mill and the grammar school, a synagogue (***Ill 122*, site 39**) opened at a date variously given as 1806 and 1810. A small Jewish community was established in Manchester in about the early 1790s, an offshoot of a larger community in Liverpool, and the first synagogue was in a small room in Garden Street off Shudehill. After the Napoleonic wars the size of the Jewish community grew significantly and in 1825 a new purpose-built synagogue was built on Halliwell Street off Long Millgate, but the Ainsworth Court synagogue also continued in use. It was reached by a long narrow flight of outside steps and was situated in a room, formerly used as a school, in what is believed to have originally been a warehouse. It remained in use until the 1850s, when the Halliwell Street synagogue was demolished to make way for the extension of Corporation Street and the Great Synagogue was built in its place on Cheetham Hill Road (Aston 1816, 105; Swindells 1908, 124-8; Dobkin 1994, 4-6).

## 8.2 The Hunt's Bank Improvement: Victoria Street and the Victoria Arches

8.2.1 In the 1830s the western fringe of the study area was radically altered by a major improvement scheme which created the present Victoria Street. This replaced the narrow thoroughfare of Hunt's Bank with a broad new road and for the first time created a direct routeway alongside the Irwell between the Irk Bridge and Salford Bridge, itself replaced in this period by Victoria Bridge. In the process the old buildings along the river bank between the Irk and Cateaton Street were swept away, and the steep rocky bank of the Irwell was replaced by a new riverside wall (***Ill 35***). Behind this, the southern half of the new road was carried on a series of arches (***Ill 118*****, site 43**), designed to be leased out as industrial and commercial premises. Work on the scheme began in 1833-4 and the new road was officially opened on 5 June 1838, a week ahead of the annual Whitsuntide races at Kersal Moor which traditionally saw traffic on Hunt's Bank at its busiest. Victoria Bridge opened a year later, on 22 June 1839, and the road improvement scheme was officially completed on 21 September 1839 with the opening of an extension to the south of Cateaton Street (Warrender 2009, 134-47). This extension was originally known as Victoria Street, while the new road to the north of Victoria Bridge retained the name Hunt's Bank (***Ill 8***).

8.2.2 The arches, which still survive below the southern part of Victoria Street, principally comprise a row of seventeen barrel-vaulted rectangular chambers, facing onto the Irwell, where arched openings in the riverside wall admitted natural light (now blocked). While the riverside wall was stone-built, the barrel-vaulted chambers, hidden behind that façade, were largely of brick. The chambers are *c* 4-6m in width, and *c* 11-36m in length, the longest being at the southern end where there is also a row of six smaller side chambers. These smaller chambers underlie the edge of the approach to Victoria Bridge and, on their south side, contain stone walling which may form part of the bridge abutment (Arrowsmith 2010b). Access to the vaults was via a barrel-vaulted passageway running along the east side of the complex. It is reported that there was originally a cartway entrance at the southern end of this passageway by Cateaton Street, and that in 1845 this was replaced with steps and a new cartway entrance was made at the northern end of the passageway, by Fennel Street (Warrender 2009, 150).

Trade directories and rate books show that from the 1840s until about the 1880s the arches were divided into several separate workshops, occupied predominantly by engineers, metal works and merchants, along with letter press printers, silk finishers and dyers, and builders (Warrender 2009, 160-1). Steam-power was used in these workshops, which were served by a substantial chimney (***Ills 35, 54 & 118***). It stood on the east side of the new Hunt's Bank, between Cateaton Street and Cathedral Yard and, at about 130 ft (*c* 40m), was of a similar height to the tower of the neighbouring Cathedral. The upper part was taken down after being damaged by lightening in 1871 (Warrender 2009, 157-9). The lower part remained until Victoria Street was widened in the 1890s.

8.2.3 In the Second World War the arches were put to a new use as an air raid shelter. The conversion of the arches was under consideration by Manchester Corporation's Air Raid Precautions Special Committee by July 1938 and plans had been drawn up by January of the following year (***Ill 92***). The final instruction for the work to begin was given on 27 August 1939, just over a week before Britain's declaration of war. As part of their conversion, a number of internal brick-built blast walls were constructed within the arches and entrance passageway. An original forecast of a capacity for 3330 persons was later revised to 1619. This still made the Victoria Arches the largest of Manchester's dedicated below-ground air raid shelters, followed by a shelter off Quay Street created from a underground section of the disused Manchester and Salford Junction Canal, with a capacity of 1368 (Arrowsmith 2010b).

8.2.4 As part of the construction of Victoria Street in the 1830s, the old arches of the Irk Bridge seem to have been retained but new arches were added on the west (see

6.11.2). Drawings held by Manchester City Council show these later arches to be greater in height than their predecessors, reflecting the level nature of the new street in contrast to the old Hunt's Bank which sloped towards the river. In 1974 a borehole dug on the south side of the bridge revealed a cavity from a depth of 1.4m to 3.8m below street level (Morris 1983, 45-7). It has been suggested that this cavity was perhaps contained within an archway (Fletcher 2006), in which case this could have been built in the 1830s as part of the process of raising and levelling the street.

## 8.3 The Churchyard

### 8.3.1 *The Closure and New Boundary of 1819*

In the course of the 19th century a series of alterations reduced the churchyard (**site 47**) from the area shown on Green's map of 1787-94 (on which see 7.4.1) to its present extent (***Ill 117***). The ancient churchyard was already overcrowded by 1768 when a new burial ground (***Ill 116*****, site 34**) was opened on the north side of Fennel Street, only to close twenty years later (see 7.4.2). Burials continued at the old churchyard and in 1819, as later recorded in the churchwardens' journal, 'in consequence of the very crowded state of the Collegiate Church-yard, and the frequent and disgusting exposures which took place on the opening of the graves, a Faculty was obtained by the Wardens and Fellows, in conjunction with the Churchwardens, entirely to prohibit funerals in the Church-yard for a period of thirty years' (Mancath/1/4/1). Such was the problem of overcrowding within the churchyard that in 1811 a sexton is said to have found his own solution by exhuming burials and tipping the remains down the adjacent river bank (Swindells 1906, 51-2). In advance of the closure of the churchyard, land for a new burial ground was purchased by the churchwardens at Walker's Croft and was consecrated on 1 January 1815 (Swindells 1908, 147).

In 1819, in addition to the prohibition of burials, the churchyard was enclosed with railings (Dobb 1978, 46). This process also involved reducing the size of the churchyard on the south and west. On the south a narrow strip was removed to create the passageway of Cathedral Yard, which at this date was only half its present width (***Ills 116 & 126***). A somewhat broader thoroughfare was created along the western boundary and was accessed at its north end by a curving flight of steps from Fennel Street. These new boundaries were defined by a low wall capped by ornamental railings and the eastern and northern boundaries were rebuilt in the same style (***Ills 50-1***). Comparison between Green's map and later mapping, of the 1820s-1840s, suggests that the line of the north boundary may have undergone some minor modification at the same time (***Ills 4-8***). On the south side of the churchyard, there was a gate in the new boundary wall opposite Hanging Bridge and, to the east of these, other larger gates at the end of Church Gates (later Cathedral Gates), a new street leading from Cateaton Street.

In 1831 the churchwardens' journal noted of the old churchyard that 'In direct violation of the Faculty, funerals have for some years been occasionally allowed; the applications for permission to open graves have lately increased to such an extent, as entirely to render void the objects for which the Faculty was obtained'. The churchwardens resolved that no more burials were to be allowed during their time in office, and recommended that their successors did the same. In 1866 an exception was made for Canon Cecil Daniel Wray who was buried in the south-east corner of the churchyard (Mancath/1/4/1).

### 8.3.2 *The Modifications of the 1830s*

A second major phase of alteration to the boundaries of the churchyard occurred in the 1830s, as a result of the construction of Victoria Street and the Victoria Arches. The arches were designed so that on the east they extended as far as the ancient (pre-1819) boundary of the churchyard (***Ill 118***). The western boundary wall was

rebuilt along this old line and was provided with an elaborate stone screen framing a new entranceway into the churchyard from Victoria Street (***Ills 8, 53-4***). The eastern wall of the entrance passageway of the Victoria Arches so closely followed the new churchyard wall that the one may have supported the other. The north-west corner of the churchyard had formerly wrapped around a timber-framed building occupied as the Blackamoor's Head public house (***Ill 116,* site 42**). Like other buildings along the old Hunt's Bank, this was taken down for the creation of Victoria Street. Its site was subsequently used for the northern entrance into the Victoria Arches (see above, 8.2.2).

8.3.3 *The Reduction and Landscaping of the 1890s*

Mapping shows that between 1849 and 1873 the northern boundary was altered by the loss of a strip towards its eastern end, enabling the widening of Fennel Street (***Ill 117***). In 1873 a more drastic reduction of the size of the churchyard was proposed (***Ill 88***) but such a scheme was not put into effect for two decades. In 1894 the Cathedral authorities and Manchester Corporation agreed for the churchyard to be reduced on all sides to enable the widening of the surrounding streets, resulting in the churchyard's present boundary (Mancath/1/4/1). On the south, the narrow Cathedral Yard created in 1819 was now doubled in width (***Ill 89***). On the east, the equally narrow Half Street was replaced by the new Cathedral Street. On this side, a small strip of land was actually added to the churchyard, formed by a bend in the old street. On the west, the entrance screen erected in the 1830s was removed as the boundary shifted to the east. Here an extension to the tower was planned which would give access to the church directly from Victoria Street. The remainder of the churchyard was provided with a new boundary wall, piers and railings. This modified churchyard was to be a public area, landscaped with paths and grass (***Ills 90***).

Prior to work commencing, the Corporation surveyed the position of all gravestones or other monuments within the churchyard (***Ill 91***) and recorded their inscriptions. By this period, as well as the many ledger stones, there were two 'tombs', both on the south side of the churchyard. One was that of Canon Wray distinguishable on early photographs by its railings, while the other was a chest tomb of the Bower family, a prominent hatting family in 18th-century Manchester (***Ills 56 & 57***). According to the terms of the 1894 agreement, where it was necessary to lower the churchyard to create the new boundary, excavation was to be carried out to a depth of 1ft (0.3m) below the pavement level. Human remains and soil were also to be removed within a line within 3ft (0.9m) of the new boundary. Remains were to be reburied in the churchyard or in a Corporation cemetery at the discretion of the churchwardens, who could also instruct for gravestones to be taken up and stored in the churchyard as they saw fit. The churchyard itself was to be landscaped to a level which was 'on the whole somewhat lower than the present level' and superfluous earth could be reused for infilling behind the new boundary walls. The 1894 agreement allowed the removal of any gravestones and human remains except for the tomb of Canon Wray. Comparison of photographs taken before and after the landscaping suggests that all the gravestones were removed except for Wray's tomb and that of the Bowers.

The size of the open area of the churchyard was reduced in the early 20th century by additions at the south-east corner of the Cathedral, beginning with the Library Annex in 1904, followed by the Refectory and Choir School in 1934 (Dobb 1978, 34).

8.3.4 *The Archaeological Evidence for Burials*

The graveyard plan surveyed in 1895 shows a concentration on gravestones on the south side of the Cathedral, also evident on earlier illustrations and photographs (***Ills 49, 51 & 56***), with a more scattered distribution on the west and north, and none at the east end which was partitioned off from the rest of the churchyard (***Ill 91***). Some relaying of stones seems to have taken place to create pavements in front of the north and south porches and the west tower, possibly following the closure of the graveyard and the creation of the new boundary wall in 1819. Conversely, the 1895 plan shows

a band largely free of gravestones running east-west on the south side of the church which possibly indicates the position of a pathway shown on Casson and Berry's map of 1741 (***Ill 48***) (see 7.4.1).

Given the long history of the church and the reported overcrowding of the graveyard in the early 19th century, the gravestone plan probably provides only a partial picture of full extent of actual graves.

Archaeological evidence for the surviving burials is derived principally from modern investigations at Cathedral Yard (see 9.6). In 1997 excavation at the east end of this street, in an area which formed the south-east corner of the churchyard until 1895, uncovered graves containing approximately 170 burials, with some graves revealing as many as seven inhumations within a 2m deep cut. In the remainder of Cathedral Yard, trial pitting in 1999 and a watching brief in 2000 also recorded grave cuts.

The known locations of the graves uncovered at Cathedral Yard all appear to lie on the north side of the churchyard boundary of 1819. No tests pits in 1999 were situated to the south of this boundary, although one appears to have been located directly on its line and revealed a small stone structure of at least four courses (***Ills 110 & 111; Ill 117,*** **site 50**). In the case of the 1997 excavation, on the available evidence the southernmost part of the site was disturbed by service trenches. However, the presence of burials between the 1819 boundary and the original southern extent of the churchyard seems to be confirmed by successive works at Hanging Bridge Chambers, immediately to the south of Cathedral Yard. Human remains are reported to have been found during the construction of the building in 1880 (see Appendix B4.4.2) and in 2001 removal of part of the north wall of the basement also resulted in the uncovering of human remains (see Appendix B5.6).

On the south side of the church, the initial creation of Cathedral Yard in 1819 and its widening in 1895 would both appear to have been achieved by paving over the churchyard with no significant reduction in its level. The situation on the north and east sides of the churchyard was different, with successive alterations to Fennel Street in the 19th century and the widening of Victoria Street in 1895 reducing the ground levels on those sides. At Fennel Street, trial trenches dug in 1999 to locate services revealed a small number of human bones. All appear to have been situated in disturbed contexts and no evidence of intact burials was found (see 9.4.2) (***Ill 117***).

## 8.4 Chetham's School

8.4.1 The creation of Victoria Street in the 1830s had an impact on the western side of Chetham's Hospital, where the Castle Inn, formerly the House of Correction (**site 29**), was taken down in advance of the construction of the new street. On the southern part of this site, the Palatine Stables opened in March 1837 (Axon 1886, 189). Adjoining these on the north, the Palatine Hotel was built in 1842-3, probably in anticipation of the opening of Victoria Station (Hartwell 2004, 110).

On the south side of the college precinct the old burial ground (**site 34**) was also partly removed to enable the widening of Fennel Street at its junction with the new street (GMCRO AO/2752/-/1). At the newly created street corner the governors of the college decided in March 1837 to build a new gateway, completed in April 1839 (Maclure 1922-3, 41; Axon 1886, 189) (***Ill 137***).

Mapping shows that between 1831 and 1845 the walls bordering the northern and western sides of the old college garden (**sites 18 & 19**) were removed and the college yard (**site 22**) extended over the garden site (***Ills 6, 7, 113***). These changes may have been a consequence of the building of the new gateway, from which by 1845 a broad roadway ran to the main college buildings. The last known mention of the garden (**site 17**) is in 1834 when the governors agreed to a request by the trustees of the grammar school for the construction of a main sewer through the College Garden to the Irk

(Maclure 1922-3, 40). This was must have been in connection with the new school building and High Master's house which were built at this time at the south end of Long Millgate. To the rear of those buildings, by 1845 the hospital governors had given up a portion of the college precinct for use as a playground for the grammar school (Graham & Phythian 1965, 33). The creation of this area, shown as a 'ball court' on large-scale OS mapping of 1849 (***Ill 8***), must have been at the cost of the south end of the eastern college precinct wall. This area was reincorporated into the hospital's own playground later in the 19th century, perhaps as a consequence of the High Master's house becoming the Cathedral Hotel.

8.4.2 In 1868 the land to the west of the High Master's House, including the old burial ground, was sold by the Corporation to the hospital to add to the playground (Chetham's Library C/CH/GRAM/15; C/CHL/MIN/4 ff 114-5, 124-5). The purchase extended the hospital's southern boundary to Fennel Street and must have meant the loss of most of the south medieval precinct wall (**site 16**).

In 1869 a stone wall and railings were built along the new southern boundary of the hospital grounds. The newly acquired land to the north of that boundary seems to have been levelled. It was also found to be without any drainage, resulting in a drain being inserted, linking to a sewer in Fennel Street. The governors were keen to ensure that the new boundary wall would prevent communication between the children in the playground and persons on the outside, and ordered the ground surface immediately on its inside to be reduced by one foot (Chetham's Library C/CHL/MIN/4 ff 144-5, 150-1).

No mention has been found of burials being disturbed or uncovered by the groundworks at this period. The wall on the east side of the roadway leading from the 1837-9 gateway incorporates two inscribed gravestone fragments. One reads '[th]e Body.../...[o]f Manch[ester]...the 18[th]' and probably dates from the 17th or 18th century, the other is worn and less legible but carries the date 1757. Their original provenance is not known.

# 9. Archaeological Recording within the Study Area

## 9.1 Introduction

The following chapter summarizes the results of archaeological investigations undertaken within the study area from the late 19th century onwards. This initially took the form of watching briefs by local antiquarians, in particular Charles Roeder. The first modern excavation within the study area was carried out in 1974 at Fennel Street by the late Professor Barri Jones of Manchester University and was followed by work undertaken in the early years of the Greater Manchester Archaeological Unit (GMAU) at Long Millgate in 1980-1 and Chetham's School in 1983. The new building work and development which followed the Manchester bombing of 15 June 1996 resulted in a sustained programme of investigation and recording between 1997 and 2002 by the University of Manchester Archaeological Unit (UMAU). More recently trial pitting and evaluation have been carried out at Chetham's School by Matrix Archaeology, following a desk-based assessment of the school (Fletcher 2006) and ahead of the construction of the New School Building.

## 9.2 Chetham's School

### 9.2.1 *Watching Brief, 1900*

In July 1900 Roeder recorded a trench (**site 25**) excavated to the south of Chetham's Library in connection with an extension to the Vallins Building. It was dug at a distance of 14 yds (12.8m) from the Library and extended from the medieval west precinct wall for a distance of about 27½ft (8.4m) into the yard (***Ills 94 & 114***). The trench was mostly dug up to a depth of about 7ft (2.1m) but mid way along its length a shaft was excavated to about 12½ft (3.8m). Roeder initially reported his findings in the local press and they were subsequently published by the Lancashire and Cheshire Antiquarian Society, along with a schematic section drawing (Roeder 1899, 185-8; *Manchester City News* 4 August 1900) (***Ill 93***).

Revealed within the trench was a rock-cut ditch, with a visible depth of 3ft 6in (1.1m). It had a primary fill of silt and a secondary fill of sand 30in (*c* 0.8m) deep. The ditch was sealed by a layer of boulders, cobbles and sandstone chippings, 15in (*c* 0.4m) thick. An eastern edge was found to this layer at a distance of about 4.5m from the precinct wall, but its extent in other directions was not identified. Above it was a build-up of several sandy layers, some streaked with clay and charcoal 4ft 6in (*c* 1.35m) in thickness, sealed in turn by 30in (0.75m) of recent make-up. Roeder interpreted the cobbled surface as a Roman road and believed a block of mortar, 12in (0.3m) square and 6in thick, and a fragment of tile, both recovered from the overlying layer, also to be Roman. He further concluded that the underlying ditch was Iron Age.

### 9.2.2 *Excavation, 1983*

In August and September 1983 the Greater Manchester Archaeological Unit carried out a small-scale excavation at Chetham's School between the school courtyard and the Palatine Building (***Ills 95 & 114***). The results of this work are known from a published summary (Tindall 1983). The original site archive has not been traced. Renovation work here had revealed the lower part of the west precinct wall. As well as standing 2.4m above the level of the courtyard, on the west this wall was found to continue for *c* 4.45m in depth. At the base was a broad flat arch, *c* 7m wide (***Ills 133 & 134***), which carried the precinct wall over a continuation of the rock-cut ditch recorded by Roeder (**site 26**).

A trench *c* 2m wide was excavated across the face of the arch in order to reveal the profile of the ditch and recover dating evidence from its fill. The ditch was 6.8m wide at the top and was cut in the natural sandstone at an angle of between 45 and 65

degrees to the horizontal. For safety reasons, the excavation was not continued below 2.2m, at which depth the ditch was still 3.5m wide. The ditch was also found to be aligned north-west to south-east, and met the precinct wall at an oblique angle. The fill of the ditch is reported to have consisted of alternating bands of orange-red sand and black organically-rich silt. The ditch section produced three large unbraded sherds of late material pottery and organic material which included several leather shoes of similar date, scraps of wood and plant remains.

Since the ditch was crossed by a relieving arch for the precinct wall of the college and its fill contained late medieval finds, the boulder and cobble surface recorded by Roeder was now recognized as also being medieval in date, and contemporary with the college.

9.2.3 *Trial Pits, 2009*

In April 2009 five trial pits were dug by Matrix Archaeology within the passage between the medieval college and New College House, in connection with a proposed footbridge to the New School Building (Fletcher 2009a) (***Ill 114***). This passage descends from the college gatehouse to the now culverted course of the Irk, in three levels linked by flights of steps. Trial pit TP5 was positioned on the upper level against the east wall of the medieval college. It revealed that the wall continued for at least five courses of masonry which were soot-stained and therefore had once been open to the air. The evidence indicates that ground level in this northern part of the passageway had been raised by at least 1.5m, probably in the late 19th century. By contrast, in trial pit TP2, which was situated at the south end of the middle level, the sandstone bedrock was found immediately below the modern ground covering. As the bedrock was unweathered, this part of the site had evidently been truncated.

The Greater Manchester Archaeological Unit holds photographs, dated 1994, which show a brick-arched vault uncovered below the upper level (Fletcher 2006).

9.2.4 *Evaluation, 2009*

In September 2009 Matrix Archaeology carried out an evaluation at Walker's Croft on the site of the New School Building. Two trenches were dug by machine to a maximum depth of *c* 3m. This site lies on the north side of the now culverted River Irk in an area which from cartographic evidence remained largely undeveloped until the mid to late 19th century (***Ills 4-10***), when office buildings were constructed by the LYR. The evaluation found no remains predating that 19th-century development, the construction of which had involved a substantial reduction in ground level truncating the sandstone bedrock (Fletcher 2009b).

## 9.3 Long Millgate (Former NCP Car Park/Urbis Site)

9.3.1 The following section relates to the area bounded by Long Millgate on the west, Todd Street on the north, Corporation Street on the east and Fennel Street on the south. This site now contains Urbis and the adjacent area of landscaped public realm. Prior to its current usage the site was occupied in the late 20th century by an NCP car park.

9.3.2 *Excavation, 1980-1*

In 1980-1 excavation was carried out within this area by the Greater Manchester Archaeological Unit (Morris 1983, 52-9). Until the 1970s the area had been occupied by large commercial and warehousing premises dating from the 19th and early 20th centuries. These had largely been removed at the time of the excavation which took place in advance of a proposed, but unfulfilled, development. Trial trenching was initially carried out across the site, from which it was concluded that development from the late 19th century onwards had removed the earlier levels over much of the area. There were two exceptions, one being the site of Marsden Court (**site 71**), the other

that of Hurst Court (**site 80**), both of which were then examined by excavation (***Ill 121***).

*Marsden Court*

Marsden Court was first laid out in the late 18th century and remained a thoroughfare leading off Fennel Street until demolition in the 1970s. The Marsden Court roadway was retained for access purposes during the excavation and was not itself excavated. Cellarage extending back *c* 40m from the street frontage had removed early levels but the rear, northern, portion of Marsden Court was found to be relatively undisturbed. Despite this being a raised area from which the ground surface sloped down towards Fennel Street, the lack of deep cellarage here meant that the surviving early levels included a natural topsoil above the gravel subsoil. The earliest features identified were two groups of postholes, cut into that subsoil, and perhaps also the topsoil, which may each have been associated with some form of fence or enclosure. These features were partly sealed by cobbling, perhaps representing a yard surface (***Ill 96***). Subsequently a garden soil appears to have been brought onto the site, probably in connection with a new town house built towards the Fennel Street frontage in *c* 1716 (**site 68**). Pits had been cut into this soil, probably as refuse dumps. A linear clay band was found within the soil deposit and contained a row of postholes. It roughly followed the edge of a burgage boundary and may have been a fenceline or perhaps the footings of a shed (***Ill 97***). Evidence for the late 18th-century redevelopment of the site was found in the form of wall footings and cellars (***Ill 98***). The lowest courses of one building, on the east side of Marsden Court, were found to be of sandstone, supporting a brick superstructure. The frontage of this building was also set back from its neighbours and it is possible that it was originally built at an earlier date. The other building footings uncovered, on the west and north sides of Marsden Court, were of workers' housing and can be associated with the late 18th-century development of the former garden area.

*Hurst Court*

The site of Hurst Court lay in the north-west corner of the area under investigation, roughly opposite the Long Millgate entrance to Chetham's School. Hurst Court had been situated to the rear of the Sun Inn (**site 81**), demolished in 1923 when Long Millgate was widened at this point. The site had not been cellared, although it was bounded by deep cellarage on both the south and east. Hurst Court was shown, but not named, on Green's map of 1787-94 and was still an open area, bounded by buildings, in the early 20th century (***Ills 4-13***). In the 1970s a car showroom and garage occupied the site.

At Hurst Court most of the archaeological features were cut into or lay upon the natural gravels, which lay only 0.5m below the modern concrete flooring then covering the site. Early soil build-up had been removed, probably by levelling in the post-medieval period. The earliest features were a well and a fragment of sandstone walling, partly set within a clay band (***Ill 99***). The well, 1.5m in diameter, was lined with sandstone blocks to a depth of 5.5m, below which it was cut through the sandstone bedrock, giving a total depth of 8m. Probably in the late 18th or early 19th century, the well had been cleaned out and shortly afterwards backfilled. The sandstone walling included fragments of brick which suggested a date no earlier than the 17th century and may have served as a footing for a building with a timber-framed or possibly brick superstructure. In the late 18th or early 19th century this wall was incorporated within a new building, constructed with brick walls raised over footings of sandstone rubble (***Ill 100***). Adjoining that structure were the remains of two brick-built clay tobacco pipe kilns, in production during the mid 19th century. Small shallow cellars lay on the Long Millgate side of the site and had been backfilled in the late 19th century.

9.3.3 *Evaluation, 1999*

In 1998 a desk-based assessment of the area of the NCP car park was carried out by UMAU, designed to inform an archaeological response to the proposed development of the area (Arrowsmith 1998a). The assessment identified two areas which had not been available for investigation in 1980-1 due to buildings still standing there at that date, one being at the corner of Long Millgate and Fennel Street, the other extending along the west side of Corporation Street. The assessment also raised the possibility that within the area examined in 1980-1 some archaeological features, including deeply cut features such as wells, may have survived but had been missed by the trial trenches.

Following this assessment, in January 1999 an archaeological evaluation was carried out by UMAU within the area of the NCP car park (Eyre-Morgan *et al* 1999). Three trial trenches were dug but encountered no significant archaeological deposits (***Ill 121***). Trench 2, excavated adjacent to Corporation Street in an area not available in 1980-1, and Trench 1, dug in the north of the car park close to the area of the Hurst Court excavation, both found only deep back-filled cellarage overlying the natural deposits. Trench 3, located towards the north-east corner of the car park, revealed a brick wall to a depth of *c* 1.5m abutting a layer of possibly redeposited sand and gravel.

9.3.4 *Watching Brief, 2000*

Following the evaluation, in April 2000 UMAU undertook a watching brief during groundworks for the new development (Mottershead 2000). The two areas identified by the archaeological assessment as previously untested both proved to be cellared and the excavations were not of sufficient depth to show whether any archaeological features survived below the cellarage.

Most of the remainder of the former car park contained cellars and again the excavations did not go deeper than these. There were some areas where no cellarage was present and the excavations were cut through multiple layers of what appeared to be modern ground make-up and the footings of 19$^{th}$-century buildings. Below this what appeared to be natural gravels were observed across all the uncellared areas, extending to Todd Street and Corporation Street. No features of archaeological significance were visible within the gravels.

9.3.5 *Watching Brief on Long Millgate, 2000*

In January 2000 a watching brief which was being carried out by UMAU at Cathedral Yard was extended to cover groundworks on Long Millgate. A service trench, 6m long, 0.5m wide 0.5m deep, revealed only modern made ground overlying a wall of machine-made brick (Connelly 2000).

## 9.4 Fennel Street

9.4.1 *Excavation, 1974*

In 1974 Professor Barri Jones of the University of Manchester excavated two trenches in the west half of Fennel Street in advance of the construction of a sewage pumping station (Morris 1983, 50-1) (***Ills 103 & 114***). In both trenches, much of the ground was found to have been heavily disturbed by modern activity. Natural sands and gravels were encountered at a depth of *c* 1m below the modern surface. Trench B, the more westerly trench, is reported to have been archaeologically sterile but some early features survived in Trench A between the cuts for services (**site 64**).

The earliest of these comprised several negative features cut into the natural gravels (***Ills 101, 103-106***). Of these, F34 was a ditch, aligned roughly east-west 0.7m wide

and 0.5m deep, with evidence of having been recut. At its west end, it continued as F17, a shallower gully curving towards the north. A second gully, F32, ran roughly southwards from the junction of F34 and F17. The gullies survived to a depth of *c* 0.25m and a width of *c* 0.25-0.35m. It is inferred from the profile of F32 and F34, which noticeably widened at the top, that their original depth had not been greatly altered. The fills of these three features suggested natural silting, implying that they had remained open for some considerable time. They were also evidently in contemporary use and F17 and F34 both contained medieval pottery, possibly of 13th- or 14th-century date. A fourth early cut feature, F70, was situated immediately to the east of F32, but their precise relationship is uncertain. F70 was also cut through the natural gravel and survived to a depth of 0.6m. It is reported to have contained a few flints (no further details of these are given), the end of a bronze pin, and possibly some slag. This feature may have been deliberately backfilled.

Sealing F32, F34 and F70 was a cobble spread, F49, *c* 50-80mm deep (***Ill 102***), associated with which were several sherds of medieval pottery, again possibly of 13th- or 14th-century date. Where this did not overlie the early cut features, it rested directly on the natural gravels. In the south-east of the trench, overlying this cobbling was a silty spread, F55, containing pebbles, cobbles and silty clay. A sherd of medieval pottery was found on the surface of this feature. To the north of, and partly overlying F34, was a layer of redeposited gravel.

It is possible that the cobble layer F49 represents an early metalled surfaced of Fennel Street, in which case F55 can be seen as silting on that surface with the pebbles and cobbles within this layer perhaps being evidence of repair. The gravel spread F53 may be indicative of widening of the street. The function of the earlier linear features is unclear.

9.4.2 *Watching Brief, 1999*

In March 1999 nine trenches were dug along Fennel Street to locate services. UMAU carried out a watching brief on five of these trenches (***Ills 114 & 120***, T4, 5, 7, 8 & 9). The other four had been dug and backfilled before the watching brief commenced and information on those trenches is much less detailed (Peers & Arrowsmith 1999).

The watching brief agreed with the findings of the excavation in 1974, namely that although Fennel Street had suffered disturbance from the laying of service pipes the disturbance is not continuous. The only certain archaeological feature indentified was a brick wall in Trench 4 on the north side of the west end of Fennel Street. This contained bricks of probable 18th-century date. It lay roughly within the area of the southern boundary wall of the late 18th-century burial ground (**site 34**). However, its apparent orientation, running north-east to south-west, was at an angle to that wall as shown on Green's map of 1787-94 (***Ill 4***).

Human remains were found in Trench 4 (a rib fragment), Trench 5 (fragments of tibia, ulna and clavicle) and Trench 6 (a femur), in the western half of the street. All appear to have been found in disturbed contexts rather than in situ. It is presumed that these had originally been located in graves either on the north side of the churchyard or in the burial ground on the north side of Fennel Street, and had been disturbed during the widening of the street in the 19th century. Trenches 1 and 4 both encroached into the area of the northern burial ground (***Ill 117***), but no evidence of intact burials was noted in either trench. Trench 6 lay within the former area of the churchyard, while the southern end of Trench 5 may have just encroached within that area. Again no evidence for the survival of burials was noted within Trench 5, while Trench 6 was not seen by an archaeologist.

## 9.5 **Manchester Cathedral**

### 9.5.1 *Watching Brief, c 1863-72*

In the 1860s and 1870s during restoration work at the Cathedral a watching brief was maintained by the local antiquarian John Owen. In 1863 following dismantling of the old tower, he recorded that its foundations were constructed of a rubble of sandstone and boulders embedded in boulder clay and continued from ground level to a depth of 7ft (*c* 2.1m). In 1866 work at the west end of the north side of the choir revealed the chamfered plinth of an earlier phase of building, comprising three courses of masonry, laid on a rubble foundation. Excavations in 1872 below the chancel arch found a rubble foundation extending about 6ft (*c* 1.8m) northwards from the south pier and a similar foundation extending about 3ft (*c* 0.9m) towards this from the north pier. Other footings were discovered in 1867 during groundworks at the chapter house. Here a rubble wall was found at a depth of up to 4ft (*c* 1.2m) below the chapter house and church foundations. It ran below the chapter house from east to west at a distance of 4ft from the church foundation and was described as 'going down to the gravel'. Charles Roeder supposed that all these various foundations were of Roman date and evidence for a group of major Roman buildings on the Cathedral site (Roeder 1899, 182-5; 1905, 96-7) (***Ill 107***). However, their correspondence with the known fabric and alignment of the church effectively confirms that these footings were of medieval date.

Although not mentioned by Roeder, in 1884 restoration work uncovered the remains of the medieval north porch of the church below the Holy Trinity Chapel towards the west end of the north aisle (***Ill 47***). These comprised both the foundations of the porch and architectural fragments, including vaulting, of 15$^{th}$-century date (Crowther 1893, 21). Footings on the site of the chapter house were also noted during works in 1828 when workmen removed earth which had accumulated against the building. Here 14in (0.35m) below the base mouldings of the octagonal chapter house were the mouldings of an earlier medieval phase of building running parallel to the south aisle of the choir (Crowther 1893, 16).

### 9.5.2 *Trial Excavation, 1972*

In 1972 three trial pits, each 1m square, were dug against the north and east external walls of the Cathedral. Only a summary report of this work is known (Morris 1983, 49-50). According to this, the foundations were found to rest on hard-packed gravel, possibly redeposited to provide a hardcore footing for the wall. The lower courses of walling were unmortared and were also of a smaller size than the upper foundations. Evidence was also found of a construction trench for the wall which had been backfilled with clean sand.

### 9.5.3 *Watching Brief, 1986*

In 1986 the Greater Manchester Archaeological Unit carried out a watching brief within the Cathedral during groundworks for the installation of a new heating system (Burns 1986). These works involving lifting the floor in an area measuring 11m long and 8m wide, located immediately to the east of the north entrance and extending from the north wall of the Cathedral to the pillars on the north side of the nave. This area thus extended across the width of both the north aisle of the nave and the former Holy Trinity Chapel built at the close of the 15$^{th}$ century (***Ill 108***). Beneath the floor, the works exposed a layer of inscribed gravestones and other stone slabs (***Ill 109***). A total of 30 grave inscriptions were recorded, the earliest dated burial being in 1692 and the latest in 1848. The graves were not in any particular alignment and many had been deliberately broken to fit in with each other, indicating that they were not in their original position. Rather, it is believed likely that they were arranged in this way with the sole purpose of providing a firm base for the flooring above.

The report of the watching brief makes no mention of burials, graves or vaults being

discovered below the gravestones but notes that the underlying soil was a rich brown loam. This was present to the maximum excavated depth (*c* 1.7m in places), and nowhere were natural deposits reached. This same soil is also reported to have extended below the north wall of the Cathedral, and may be evidence that the chantry chapel had been built over the site of earlier burials.

## 9.6 **Cathedral Yard**

### 9.6.1 *Excavation, 1997*

In 1997 UMAU carried out an excavation of an area extending from Cathedral Yard to Cateaton Street, prior to the erection on this site of the Wellington Inn and Sinclair's Oyster Bar, which were dismantled and removed from the Old Shambles. The southern part of the site was crossed from east to west by the line of Hanging Ditch, which is reported separately (see below 9.7.1, and Appendix A). The northern part of the proposed development lay within the south-eastern corner of the churchyard until street widening in 1895 reduced the churchyard to its present extent, and a plan drawn at that time shows a dense concentration of gravestones here (***Ill 91***).

Approximately 170 burials were excavated and recovered from this area. The majority of the remains were sent to Durham University for analysis, along with the relevant site archive. At the time of compiling the present report, this archive was still held at Durham and has not been consulted for the report. An available plan site shows the southern part of the excavation disturbed by service trenches (***Ills A1 & A15***), with grave cuts to the north of these. Some graves are reported to have contained as many as seven inhumations within a 2m deep cut (UMAU 1999c, 10).

### 9.6.2 *Test Pits, 1999*

In February 1999 UMAU excavated four test pits in Cathedral Yard (UMAU 1999c) (***Ill 117***). Three of these were located on the north side of the street, close to the churchyard wall. Of these, TP3 was located opposite Victoria Gardens, TP2 opposite Hanging Bridge Chambers, and TP1 opposite the Mitre Hotel. All three were found to contain burials, at a depth of *c* 0.35-0.5m below the modern ground surface, reflecting the former inclusion of Cathedral Yard within the area of the churchyard.

The fourth test pit, TP4, was located on the south side of Cathedral Yard *c* 1m to the north of Hanging Bridge Chambers. No burials were identified within this test pit, but it included the remains of a stone structure, made of at least four courses of roughly dressed stone *c* 1m in height (***Ills 110 & 111***). Although it was suggested at the time that this may have been a possible cross base, it seems too insubstantial for such a purpose. Comparison with early mapping shows that the structure coincides with the line of the boundary wall built on the south side of the old churchyard in 1819, which first created Cathedral Yard, at that date a much narrower passageway (***Ill 116***). That wall remained standing until 1895 when Cathedral Yard was widened and the present boundary of the churchyard established.

### 9.6.3 *Watching Brief, 2000*

In January 2000 UMAU carried out a watching brief in Cathedral Yard during machine stripping to allow a new foundation layer of hardcore and relaying of the flagstone surface (Connelly 2000). The lifting of the flagstones immediately revealed a compact black clinker, running almost the full length of Cathedral Yard, except at the western end which slopes down toward Victoria Street where there was a dark brown sandy silt. The clinker was stripped away and found to be 0.25-0.31m deep, below which was a continuation of the sandy silt (***Ill 112***). The average depth of machine stripping was 0.3m, with a maximum recorded depth of 0.46m.

The sandy silt layer contained occasional fragments of pottery, glass, bones and brick

and a small number of broken yellow sandstone flags, the whole assemblage seemingly being of the second half of the 18th century or later. Three slab fragments carried incised letterings, the largest having a partial name and complete date which read as '...ppleton 1771'. This was relaid within Cathedral Yard, at the west end against the churchyard wall. The machine stripping uncovered the top of one grave cut but this was not investigated further. It also disturbed an unarticulated skull which, on the advice of the County Archaeologist, was reburied where it was found.

## 9.7 Hanging Ditch and Hanging Bridge

### 9.7.1 *Evaluation and Excavation, 1997*

In 1997 the investigations by UMAU at Cathedral Yard and Cateaton Street included the evaluation and excavation of an area of Hanging Ditch (**site 54**) (***Ill 119***). A detailed interim report on the excavation is included as Appendix A of the present assessment, and the following provides a summary of the key points.

The excavation showed that the ditch had originated as a natural post-glacial channel, containing waterborne deposits below a possible ditch cut. The uppermost of those deposits produced a sample of charred material which has provided a radiocarbon date of 1880-1650 BC (**site 5**). The base of the 'cut' contained a thin primary fill above which was up to 1.5m of dark organic deposits rich in medieval finds (**site 56**). These included pottery, bone, wood, metal and a considerable quantity of leatherwork, and amounted to by far the largest assemblage of medieval material from Manchester. The present dating evidence probably places them between the mid 14th and the early 15th century. The evaluation revealed evidence of a later possible stone-lined channel or stone-built culvert built within the ditch. This was superseded by a brick-built French drain, possibly dating from the early 18th century. Following its construction, infilling and levelling took place across the width of the ditch to create a ground surface on which the stone footings of cellar walls were then built (**site 57**).

### 9.7.2 *Hanging Bridge Chambers, 2000-2*

Between 2000 and 2002 UMAU carried out a programme of archaeological recording at Hanging Bridge Chambers and the adjoining building Nos 10-12 Cateaton Street, during groundworks and building works undertaken for the conversion of these properties to the Cathedral Visitor Centre (***Ill 119***). A detailed report on these investigations is included as Appendix B.

The work allowed the most accurate record to date to be made of Hanging Bridge (**site 53**), whose eastern elevation was revealed for the first time since the early 1880s. It also corrected a former misconception about its construction. A stone footing on the east side of its central pier had been partly uncovered in the late 19th century and interpreted as a cutwater. The recent recording showed this wall (**site 55**) to have been probably situated at the corner of a building constructed against the bridge, within the northern half of Hanging Ditch, the purpose of the so-called 'cutwater' being to deflect water through the southern arch. A trial pit dug against the side of this feature revealed ditch silts containing 16th-century pottery. The work at Hanging Bridge Chambers also provided evidence for the profile of the ditch.

### 9.7.3 *Hanging Bridge Gardens, 2002*

In 2002 UMAU undertook a watching brief during groundworks for the landscaping of Hanging Bridge Gardens, on the west side of the bridge's north arch (SMR 15888.1.0) (Arrowsmith & Thompson 2003) (***Ill 119***). Much of the ground-make up here was found to comprise the fill of the cellarage of the Tower Hotel, demolished in 1900, but beneath were the remains of brick walling which appeared to belong to an earlier

building. A test pit dug immediately adjacent to the bridge arch contained 18th-century pottery at a similar depth to these walls.

## 9.8 **Exchange Square**

### 9.8.1 *Test Pits, 1998*

In 1998 UMAU observed the digging of a series of test pits on the site of the proposed Exchange Square (Arrowsmith 1998b, 11). These were dug to a depth of *c* 1m and included pits positioned on the line of the Hanging Ditch street (***III 120***). One, roughly at the mid-way point on that street, uncovered a surface of stone setts at a depth of *c* 1m, overlaid by sandstone flags, above which was a compacted layer of ash and modern road make-up. Test pitting at the west end of the street revealed only modern make-up and services.

### 9.8.2 *Watching Brief, 1999*

In June and July 1999 UMAU carried out a watching brief during groundworks for the construction of Exchange Square, involving the excavation of seventeen trenches (UMAU 1999b; SMR 11257.1.0). Sixteen of these were foundation trenches for the terracing of the Square and ran in an east-west direction from Corporation Street. These were dug to a depth of 1m and revealed only modern disturbance and cellarage. The seventeenth trench was dug for a new water feature in front of the Triangle, on a curving line which closely followed the southern side of the old Hanging Ditch thoroughfare (***III 120***). This trench was mostly of a depth of 1m and revealed modern made-ground and services. Within an extension at its western end, back-filled cellarage was found with a brick and stone rubble fill. This was tested by a machine trench and was found to continue to a depth of at least 3.5m. This trench lay over the site of a range of timber-framed buildings which included a house belonging to the 18th-century diarist John Byrom (**site 61**). The cellarage, however, almost certainly probably belonged to later, 19th-century, buildings on this site.

# 10. Gazetteer of Sites

### Prehistoric and Roman

**1.** Bronze Age dagger and axe fragment, and Roman coin of Hadrian, SJ 8386 9870, SMR 394.1.0 (***Ill 16***).

Found in Hanging Ditch on the north-east side of Hanging Bridge in 1880. The Bronze Age finds were possibly votive deposits. See 4.1. The Roman coin is described as a 'Roman brass (second) of Hadrianus (117-138 A.D.), rev. SPES AUG. leaning on a column' (Roeder 1899, 180).

**2.** Flint flake, *c* SJ 8389 9871, SMR 407.1.0 (***Ill 16***).

Found by the antiquarian Charles Roeder in the south side of the Cathedral churchyard.

**3.** Bronze Age perforated stone hammer c SJ 8405 9883, SMR 280.1.0 / 2009.1.0 (***Ill 16***).

Found in 1870 at the junction of Corporation Street and Todd Street, reputedly at a depth of 20ft (6m).

**4.** Flint scraper, SJ 8399 9886 (***Ill 16***).

Found in excavation at Hurst Court in 1980-1. Probably late Neolithic or early Bronze Age. (Morris 1983, 66).

**5.** Bronze Age Material, SJ 8391 9867 (***Ill 16***).

Charred material recovered from a waterborne deposit within Hanging Ditch during excavation at Cateaton Street/Cathedral Yard in 1997. Radiocarbon-dated to 1880-1650 BC (calibrated, with 95% probability) (David Shimwell, pers comm).

**6.** Roman glass, SJ 8385 9870 (***Ill 16***).

Two pieces found in the fill of Hanging Ditch in 1900 at a depth of 20ft (6m) in a shaft dug against the north-west arch of Hanging Bridge (Roeder 1899, 179). See 4.2.2.

**7.** Roman pottery, SJ 8391 9867 (***Ill 16***).

Four sherds of redeposited coarseware found during the Hanging Ditch excavation at Cateaton Street/Cathedral Yard in 1997. See Appendix A7.2.

**8.** Roman pottery, *c* SJ 8393 9869, SMR 8417.2.0 (***Ill 16***).

Found by Charles Roeder in 1888-9 in a possible intact Roman deposit at a depth of 4ft (1.2m) on the site of the Corn Exchange.

**9.** Coins of 306-40 AD, *c* SJ 8379 9869 (***Ill 16***).

Found in 1828 during works at the Manchester end of Salford Bridge (Roeder 1899, 180).

**10.** Roman Road (site of), *c* SJ 8378 9864, SMR 14.1.0 (***Ill 16***).

The Roman road from Manchester to Ribchester is believed to have followed the line of Deansgate and to have possibly crossed the natural channel of Hanging Ditch in the area of the later Hanging Bridge. It may have crossed the River Irk at the site of the later Irk Bridge. See 4.2.

## Anglo-Saxon

**11.** Anglo-Saxon fortified burh (possible site of), SJ 8390 9880, SMR 410.1.0.

**Burh** documented in 919. Possibly situated in the Cathedral area and defended by Hanging Ditch, although an alternative location is the Roman fort in Castlefield. See 5.2.1 and 6.5.2.

## Chetham's School

**12.** Chetham's Hospital and Library, Listed Building Grade I, SJ 8390 9890, SMR 2020.2.0 (***Ill 113***).

Originally erected in the 15th century, on the site of the former manor house, to house the college of priests attached to the parish church. Converted in the 1650s into a hospital (charity school) and library under the terms of the will of Humphrey Chetham.

**13.** College gatehouse, Listed Building Grade I, SJ 8395 9887, SMR 2020.2.5 (***Ill 113***).

Surviving medieval gatehouse of the college, possibly built on the site of an earlier gatehouse of the manor house. The eastern elevation facing Long Millgate was rebuilt in 1816 (***Ills 42 & 43***).

**14.** Medieval college east boundary wall, Listed Building Grade I, SJ 8394 9885, SMR 2020.2.3 (***Ill 113***).

Boundary wall extending southwards from the gatehouse, now partly contained within a 20th-century range adjoining the Millgate Building. This wall includes several reused stone blocks with curved indents, possibly originally associated with a wheel or gearing. The southern end of this wall was dismantled in the mid 1830s to mid 1840s.

**15.** Medieval college west boundary wall, Listed Building Grade I, SJ 8387 9885, SMR 2020.2.4 (***Ill 113***).

Boundary wall extending southwards from the library. It may survive for most its original length, in part used to support the east wall of the Palatine Building, but much is hidden by the Vallins Building. The western face of the wall is visible next to the library. Here the wall rises from a stone revetment at the base of which is an arch *c* 7m wide, known from excavation in 1983 to span a rock-cut ditch. To the north of the arch, rock-cut channels run from the base of the wall. See 7.2.1. The southernmost end of the wall has been demolished and replaced with a later and taller wall probably of the late 1830s. To the west of the library a further section of the medieval boundary wall, partly abutted by the Palatine Building, defines the south and west sides of the Fish Court. The northern boundary wall of the Fish Court is a late 19th-century replacement.

**16.** Medieval college south boundary wall (site of), SJ 8390 9884 (***Ill 113***).

Site of boundary wall, presumably originally of a similar build to the surviving lengths on the west and east.

**17.** College garden (site of), SJ 8391 9885, SMR 2020.2.7 (***Ill 113***).

Garden in existence by the 1580s, though previously probably part of the medieval college and perhaps of the manor house before that. Continued in existence until the mid 1830s to mid 1840s. See 7.2.6 and 8.4.1.

**18.** College garden north wall (site of), SJ 8390 9887 (***Ill 113***).

Wall running roughly east-west and separating the college garden from the yard to the north, access between the two being provided by a central doorway within the wall. Shown on Casson and Berry's map of 1741. Removed in the mid 1830s to mid 1840s. See 7.2.6 and 8.4.1.

**19.** College garden west wall (site of), SJ 8388 9887 (***Ill 113***).

Wall dividing the college garden from a passageway which was also bounded by the west wall of the college precinct and ran from the gate at the south-west corner of the precinct to the college yard. In existence by 1787-94 when shown on Green's map, but may be much earlier. Taken down between the mid 1830s and mid 1840s.

**20.** College gatehouse (site of), SJ 8387 9883, SMR 2020.2.8 (***Ill 113***).

College gatehouse documented in the late 16th and 17th centuries although its existence is also assumed in the grant of the manor house to the collegiate church in 1422. Possibly the site of the manor house gatehouse mentioned in 1322, outside of which at that date were stables and a house which had been converted from the lord's kennel. See 7.2.3 and 7.3.3.

**21.** Little Barn (site of), SJ 8394 9886 (***Ill 113***).

Little Barn, or Hay Barn, documented from the 1650s, and used between 1653 and about 1657 as a Baptist chapel. Located at the north-east corner of the college garden. Taken down by 1787-94 and the site used as a coal yard. See 7.2.5 and 7.3.1.

**22.** College Yard or Court (site of), SJ 8392 9889 (***Ill 113***).

Area of early yard of college, bounded by the medieval college buildings on the north and the garden wall on the south. Possibly the location of the Wash House and Slaughter House documented in *c* 1654. See 7.3.4.

**23.** Manchester Castle, SJ 8391 9887, SMR 2020.1.0 / 2020.1.2.

Castle of the de Grelleys, the barons of Manchester, documented 1184-1215. Believed to have been located on the site of the later manor house, later Chetham's Hospital and Library. See 6.2.

**24.** Manor house, SJ 8391 9887, SMR 2020.1.2

Documented from the late 13th century. In 1422 its site was given by the lord and rector of Manchester, Thomas de la Warre, for accommodation for the new college of priests, later Chetham's Hospital and Library. The manor house site included a gatehouse and garden, both possibly on the site of later features of the same type. See 6.3.

**25.** Inner Ditch (Antiquarian Observations), SJ 8388 9887, SMR 2020.1.1 (***Ill 114***).

Rock-cut ditch recorded by Charles Roeder in 1900 at a depth of 2.5m on the south side of Chetham's Library, sealed by a cobbled layer. Continues to the west as **site 26** (SMR 2020.1.2). Possibly part of a ditch of Manchester Castle. See 6.4.4 and 6.5.1.

**26.** Inner Ditch (GMAU Excavation), SJ 8388 9888, SMR 2020.1.2 (***Ill 114***).

Rock-cut ditch spanned by an arch at the base of the college's west precinct wall. The ditch lies *c* 5m below the level of the school yard and is over 2.2m deep. Its fill contained medieval pottery and leatherwork. Continues to the east as **site 25** (SMR 2020.1.2). Possibly part of a ditch of Manchester Castle. See 6.4.4 and 6.5.1.

**27.** Inner Ditch, River Irk to Long Millgate (site of), SJ 8395 9890 (***Ill 114***).

Possible rock-cut ditch of Manchester castle shown in section on the bank of the Irk on a drawing of 1815. This ditch may also be the watercourse recorded as the north-east boundary of the manor house in 1422 and of Chetham's Hospital in 1676. See 6.3.2 and 6.4.4.

**28.** Hyde's Cross, Listed Building Grade II, SJ 8392 9889, SMR 2020.3.0

Octagonal cross shaft, inscribed with date 1653. Originally located at the junction of Fennel Street, Withy Grove, Hanging Ditch and Toad Lane (now Corporation Street).

**29.** House of Correction/former College Barn/later Castle Inn (site of), SJ 8387 9888, SMR 406.1.0; now Palatine Building, SMR 2020.2.6 (***Ill 115***).

This site includes **sites 30-33**. The Palatine Building was erected in 1830s and 1840s. Until its closure in 1790 most of this site was occupied by a prison or House of Correction, which began in 1657 in the former College Barn. The buildings of the House of Correction were later partly occupied by the Castle Inn.

**30.** College Barn (site of), SJ 8386 9886 (***Ill 113***).

Stone-built barn, of eight bays, *c* 40 yds (36.5m) long and 10.5 yds (9.6m) wide, documented from the 1580s and originally possibly the tithe barn of the collegiate and parish church. The northern half was converted in 1657 into a House of the Correction. The southern half was later converted to almshouses. The House of Correction was rebuilt in 1774. See 7.2.4, 7.3.2 and 7.7.

**31**. House and yard north of College Barn (site of), SJ 8387 9888 (***Ills 113 & 115***).

Two-storey house shown at the north end of the College Barn (then the House of Correction) on early illustrations. Possibly the prisoner governor's house, documented from the 1650s when it was occupied by Edward Rawsthorne. Demolished by the late 18th century, when Green's map of 1787-94 shows the site as part of a yard belonging to the Castle Inn.

**32.** Castle Inn (site of), SJ 8387 9890 (***Ill 115***).

Large 18th-century house, occupied by the Castle Inn from 1790s to 1830s. Possibly built as the governor's house when the House of Correction was rebuilt in 1774. See 7.7.5.

**33.** Timber-framed building, at north end of Castle Inn (site of), SJ 8387 9892 (***Ill 115***).

Timber-framed building bought in 1782-3 to be added to the House of Correction. See 7.7.5.

**34.** Burial ground (site of), SJ 8387 9881, SMR 1370.1.1 (***Ill 115***).

Burial ground, opened in 1768 and closed in 1788. Site partly removed in the 1830s for road widening and again in 1868 when the remainder was added to the playground of Chetham's Hospital. See 7.4.2 and 8.4.2.

**35**. *c* 18th-century buildings adjoining burial ground, SJ 8390 9881 (***Ill 115***).

Group of buildings shown on Green's map of 1787-94, and named as an inn. Identified on the 1849 OS map as two separate public houses, the Blackamoor's Head, and the Old Pack Horse. Demolished later in 19th century, possibly for widening of Fennel Street prior to 1868 when the site was bought by Chetham's Hospital and added to the playground. Brick foundations are reported to have been discovered during the construction of a modern adventure playground in this area.

**36.** Timber-framed building/later Grammar School High Master's House/Cathedral Hotel (site of), SJ 8392 9880 (***Ill 115***).

Site of irregular timber-framed building shown on an early engraving (***Ill 46***). Demolished in the 1830s when a new house for the High Master of the grammar school was built on the site; later in the 19th century that building was converted to the Cathedral Hotel, demolished in the mid 20th century. See 7.8.2.

**37.** Manorial bakehouse/later Grammar School High Master's House/later school building (site of), SJ 8395 9882 (***Ill 115***).

Site of manorial bakehouse, or common oven, documented in 1282, which continued in use until the late 16th or 17th century. Property sold in 1698 to the grammar school and became the High Master's house until the 1830s when a new school building was erected on the site. This was in turn replaced in the 1880s by a larger school building, now the Millgate Building of Chetham's School. See 6.10.3 and 7.8.2. Illustrations of the early 19th century show the High

Master's house as a large timber-framed building of two storeys and three bays, the two end bays being gabled, with cellar windows below the north bay (***Ills 44 & 45***).

**38.** Manchester Grammar School (site of), SJ 8396 9889, SMR 2020.4.0 (***Ill 115***).

Site of original building of school founded in 1515, rebuilt in 1776-7 and again *c* 1880. See 7.8.1. Fragmentary remains survive of the *c* 1880 grammar school which was partly built over the culverted River Irk and was badly damaged during the blitz of 1940 (SMR 2020.4.2)

**39.** Synagogue (site of), SJ 8398 9890 (***Ill 122***).

Synagogue established in 1806 or 1810 in the upper room of a possible former warehouse; continued in use until about 1856-8. See 8.1.5. Grammar school building later constructed over the site, *c* 1880.

## Hunt's Bank/Victoria Street

**40.** Irk Bridge (Hunt's Bank Bridge), SJ 8386 9894, SMR 272.1.0 / 16023.1.0 (***Ill 115***).

A bridge was in existence at this point by 1422 but may have been rebuilt on at least one occasion. Two arches within the Irk culvert below Victoria Street probably originally formed the bridge, the more westerly being a widening of *c* 1826.

**41.** Hunt's Bank (site of), SJ 8384 9883 (***Ill 115***).

Street running from Irk Bridge to Fennel Street until the 1830s when Victoria Street was built over its line. The 'Hunt Hall' is recorded here in 1422 and 1598. See 6.11.1. By the time of the *c* 1650 plan of Manchester the western side of Hunt's Bank, alongside the river, was lined with buildings.

**42.** Blackamoor's Head public house (site of), SJ 8384 9878 (***Ill 116***).

Timber-framed building, situated at the north-west corner of the churchyard (***Ills 37 & 38***), demolished in the 1830s for the construction of Victoria Street. Its site was then used for an entrance into the Victoria Arches.

**43.** Victoria (Cathedral) Arches, SJ 8382 9874 (***Ill 118***).

A row of seventeen barrel-vaulted chambers, running east-west below Victoria Street, with a group of smaller chambers at their south end, below the approach to Victoria Bridge. Mainly brick-built but faced with stone walling along the River Irwell. Built as part of the construction of Victoria Street in the 1830s and designed to house industrial and commercial businesses. See 8.2.

## Manchester Cathedral

44. Cathedral Church of St Mary, St George and St Denys, Listed Building Grade I, SJ 8388 9875, SMR 1370.1.0

Originally the parish church of Manchester, dedicated to St Mary and probably the site of the church of St Mary mentioned in Domesday. Refounded in 1421 as a collegiate church and subsequently rebuilt in the 15th and early 16th centuries, replacing a church built in the 13th and 14th centuries in the Early English and Decorated styles. The church was elevated to cathedral status in 1847 and extensively restored and rebuilt in the late 19th century. Further repair and rebuilding was carried out in the 20th century following bomb damage in 1940. See 5.2.2, 6.7.

**45.** Angel Stone, SJ 8388 9875, SMR 1370.2.2

Stone carved with the figure of an angel in relief and an incised inscription. In recent years the dating of this stone has been revised from the Anglo-Saxon period to probably the late 11th or 12th century. See 5.2.3.

**46.** Ely Chapel (site of), SJ 8390 9877 (***Ill 116***).

Chapel built by Sir John Stanley to commemorate James Stanley (d 1514-5), bishop of Ely and former warden of the collegiate church of Manchester (Hartwell 2001, 46). The chapel was destroyed by bombing in 1940 and was not rebuilt.

**47.** Cathedral churchyard, SJ 8388 9872 (***Ills 116 & 117***).

The churchyard is explicitly mentioned from the late medieval period and by the 1560s is known to have been surrounded by a wall. The churchyard boundaries were changed on several occasions in the 19th century, the last of which, in the 1890s, reduced the churchyard to its present extent. See 7.4.1 and 8.3.

**48.** 'Paved road' below south side of churchyard, *c* SJ 8386 9873 (***Ill 16***).

A cobbled surface is reported to have been found below the churchyard in the 1890s, 5ft (1.5m) wide and at a depth of 10ft (3m). Described at the time as a Roman road but the nature of this feature is uncertain. See 4.2.3.

**49.** 'Paved road' below north side of churchyard, *c* SJ 8387 9878 (***Ill 16***).

Stone layer found in 1859 on the north side of the churchyard at a depth of 7ft (2.1m) and interpreted as a possible road, about 9ft (2.7m) wide, but the nature of this feature is uncertain. See 4.2.3.

**50.** Stone structure, Cathedral Yard, SJ 8386 9871 (***Ill 117***).

Structure of at least four stone courses discovered in a test pit in 1999. Lies on the line of the boundary between Cathedral Yard and the churchyard created in 1819. See 8.3.4.

**South end of the Victoria Street, Hanging Bridge and Cateaton Street**

**51.** Timber-framed buildings on Old Bridge Street and Cateaton street (site of), SJ 8383 9868 (***Ill 116***).

Two groups of gabled single-bay two- and three-storey timber-framed buildings shown on a watercolour by Thomas Barritt (***Ill 58***). Later shop windows had been inserted into the ground floors, and the upper floor in each of the two northern buildings was in use as warehousing.

**52.** Gold brooch, SJ 8384 9865, SMR 9914.1.0 (***Ill 116***).

Medieval gold brooch, of the 13th or 14th century, found on the spoil heap of a service trench in 1971, on the east side of Victoria Street *c* 10 yds from the junction with Cateaton Street. Its original provenance is uncertain (Key *et al* 1983; J Cherry in Morris 1983, 77-8).

**53.** Hanging Bridge, SJ 8385 9869, Scheduled Monument, SMR 130.1.0 (***Ill 116***).

Stone-built bridge of two arches, constructed over the natural channel of Hanging Ditch, probably in the 15th century following the collegiation of the parish church. The north abutment incorporates an older buttress, probably part of an earlier bridge. Hanging Bridge is documented in 1343 and may have been in existence in the first half of the 13th century when the north porch of the parish church seems to have been added or rebuilt. See 6.8.2, 7.5.1 and Appendix B.

54. Hanging Ditch SJ 8391 9868, SMR 130.2.0 (***Ill 119***).

Modern archaeological investigations have shown that the channel known as Hanging Ditch originated as a large natural post-glacial gully carrying water into the River Irwell. In the medieval period, probably between the mid 14th and early 15th century, the ditch was used as a refuse dump. By the 16th and 17th centuries the fill of the ditch was being built upon. It is also likely that prior to the 13th century the natural channel was also extended to create a defensive ditch system running from the Irwell to the Irk, which was subsequently reused as the course of the medieval streets of Hanging Ditch and Toad Lane. See 6.4.2, 7.5.2 and Appendix A.

**55.** Wall footing on east side of Hanging Bridge, SJ 8386 9869 (***Ill 116***).

Stone footings abutting the central bridge pier, interpreted as a cutwater when uncovered in the 1882 but now known from recent excavations to probably belong to a house built in the northern half of the Hanging Ditch in the 16th or early 17th century. See 7.5.2 and Appendix B7.

**56.** Medieval deposits in Hanging Ditch, north side of Cateaton Street, SJ 8391 9868 (***Ill 119***).

Waterlogged deposits found during evaluation/excavation in 1997 to be rich in medieval material probably dating between the mid 14th and early 15th centuries and including pottery, leatherwork, animal bone and metalwork. This is by far the largest and best preserved assemblage of medieval finds from Manchester. See Appendix A.

**57.** Sandstone walls in Hanging Ditch, north side of Cateaton Street, SJ 8391 9867 (***Ill 116***).

Wall footings excavated in 1997, set over what appear to have been deliberate levelling layers within Hanging Ditch containing 17th- or 18th-century pottery. The walls were associated with the cellars of properties on the north side of Cateaton Street. The upper part of a stone-lined well was also uncovered. See 7.5.2, 7.6.2 and Appendix A.

**58.** Cateaton Street, SJ 8387 9867 (***Ill 116***).

Street built along the southern edge of Hanging Ditch and originally considered to be part of the Hanging Ditch thoroughfare, though the name Cateaton Street was in use by the mid 17th century. See 6.8.1.

**Cathedral Street and the Hanging Ditch thoroughfare**

**59.** Half Street (site of), SJ 8392 9872, SMR 9885.1.0 (***Ill 116***).

A narrow street formerly running along the east side of the churchyard, documented by the mid 16th century. Possibly created by removing a strip from the churchyard. Half Street was replaced in the 1890s by Cathedral Street. See 7.4.1 and 8.3.3.

**60.** Hanging Ditch thoroughfare (site of), SJ 8399 9869 (***Ill 120***).

Described in early accounts as set within a channel with a raised pavement on either side. This channel may originally have been a continuation of the natural gully of Hanging Ditch, later adopted for use as a street in the medieval town. See and 6.4.2 and 6.8.3.

**61.** Timber-framed building on south side of Hanging Ditch, including John Byrom's House (site of), SJ 8392 9866 (***Ill 120***).

Row of three-storey timber-framed houses which stood on the south side of Hanging Ditch, between the former Hunters Lane and Old Millgate, shown on a watercolour by Thomas Barritt (***Ill 59***). The westernmost house, decorated with quatrefoils, belonged to the 18th-century diarist John Byrom, and was fronted by a 'mount', a large raised area accessed by a flight of steps and with a stone revetment and parapet.

**62.** Timber-framed building on Hanging Ditch, at junction with Fennel Street (site of), SJ 8403 9872 (***Ill 120***).

A substantial building of four bays and three storeys shown on a watercolour by Thomas Barritt (***Ill 60***). The westernmost bay was gabled and carried the carved inscription 'This house was built for and by George Thorp 1659'.

**Fennel Street, Corporation Street and Todd Street**

**63.** Fennel Street, SJ 8398 9876, SMR 9850.1.3 (***Ill 122***).

The name Fennel Street is documented from the early 16th century, the previous name of the street being Middlegate, 'the middle street', documented in the 14th century. These names may have originally applied to the eastern half of the street, with the western half being known as 'Churchyardside' and later as the Apple Market, after a fruit market held there. See 6.9.2 and 7.9.2.

**64.** Fennel Street excavation, SJ 8392 9879, SMR 9850.1.1 / 2 (***Ill 114***).

Medieval ditch and gully running roughly east-west excavated in 1974, sealed by a cobbling which may represent an early road surface of Fennel Street.

**65.** Medieval tavern and barn (site of), SJ 8393 9876 (***Ill 120***).

Site of burgage described in 1469 as containing a messuage, a wine tavern, a high chamber, a garden and a barn. See 6.9.2.

**66.** Timber-framed building on north side of Fennel Street (site of), SJ 8340 9876 (***Ill 122***).

Shown on a watercolour by Thomas Barritt as comprising four bays (***Ill 61***). The southern three seem to have been a single build, with a gabled bay at either end and an unusual colonnaded ground floor. The northernmost bay projected forward from the others.

**67.** Well, Fennel Street, *c* SJ 8397 9876, SMR 271.1.0

Stone-lined well discovered in 1891 during demolition of a warehouse at a location described as mid way between the Cathedral and Withy Grove. See 7.6.2.

**68.** Lever's House (site of), SJ 8401 9876 (***Ill 122***).

Town house erected in 1716 by John Lever, set back from the street and fronted by a garden with summer houses at the corners (***Ill 64***). Later occupied by Thomas Deacon whose son was executed as a Jacobite in 1745. Demolished in the late 18th century by John Marsden who built a warehouse on the site (Morris 1983, 60).

**69.** Dog and Partridge and New Church public houses (site of), SJ 8403 9876 (***Ill 122***).

Shown on early illustrations as a substantial timber-framed building on the corner of Fennel Street; demolished in 1792 (***Ills 61-63***).

**70.** Hyde's Cross (site of), c SJ 8404 9874 (***Ill 122***).

Hyde's Cross, dated 1653, which now stands in Chetham's School, was originally sited at the junction of Fennel Street, Withy Grove, Hanging Ditch and Toad Lane (now Corporation Street). An earlier cross stood here by 1628. See 7.9.1.

**71.** Marsden Court (excavations), SJ 8402 9883, SMR 9905.1.1 (***Ill 122***).

Excavations carried out in 1980-1 towards the rear of a burgage plot identified several phases of activity, including early postholes and a yard surface, a garden soil probably associated with the 18th century Lever's House (**site 67**) and cut by rubbish pits, and intensive development in the late 18th century when Marsden Court, lined with workers' houses and other buildings, was constructed on the site.

**72.** Toad Lane (site of), SJ 8407 9881 (***Ill 122***).

Street documented from the 14th century but perhaps only sparsely developed in the medieval period. In the late 18th century Whitaker described Toad Lane as set within a channel, which was possibly a continuation of Hanging Ditch. See 6.4.2 and 6.9.1.

**Long Millgate (east side)**

**73.** Long Millgate, SJ 8397 9888, SMR 409.1.039 (***Ill 122****).*

One of the major streets of the medieval town, originally known as Millgate 'the road to the mill'. The street is documented from the early 14th century and the manorial corn mill after which it was named was in existence by the mid 12th century. See 6.10.

**74.** White Lion and White Lion Court (site of), SJ 8395 9879 (***Ill 122****).*

White Lion public house, Long Millgate, shown on early photographs and other illustrations as comprising a two-bay street range, possibly timber-framed but with a later facade, and a three-bay timber-framed rear wing in White Lion Court. On the north side of the pub was a timber-framed building on a sandstone footing, which presented a jettied gabled facade, one bay wide, on Long Millgate and to the rear also projected into White Lion Court (***Ills 65, 67, 68, 70 & 71***). Demolished in1908. The White Lion is documented by 1798 (Morris 1983).

**75.** Three Tuns (site of), SJ 8395 9880 (***Ill 122****).*

Three Tuns public house, Long Millgate, shown on a watercolour by Thomas Barritt as three bays long; the central and northern bay were refronted in the 19th century (***Ills 65, 68 & 69***). Demolished *c* 1900. The Three Tuns is documented by 1765 (Morris 1983).

**76.** Timber-framed buildings (Bakehouse Court) (site of), SJ 8396 9881 (***Ill 122****).*

Shown on early photographs and other illustrations as two adjacent gabled bays fronting Long Millgate, timber-framed but refronted in brick, with a timber-framed range to the rear in Bakehouse Court, the latter being cruck-framed (***Ills 65, 66, 72 & 73***). Demolished in 1875.

**77.** Timber-framed building to north of Bakehouse Court (site of), SJ 8397 9882 (***Ill 122****).*

Shown on early photographs and other illustrations as a two-bay range on Long Millgate, the south bay being gabled, the north bay resting on a stone footing. There is also believed to have been a timber-framed rear wing (***Ills 65 & 66***). Demolished in the late 19th century.

**78.** Timber-framed buildings to south of Travis Court (site of), SJ 8397 9884 (***Ill 122****).*

Shown on early illustrations as two bays of timber-framed buildings on Long Millgate, the north bay being gabled and of three storeys, with a jettied upper floor (***Ill 75***). The buildings were each accessed via steps and were probably cellared. Demolished in the late 19th century.

**79.** Timber-framed buildings (Travis Court) (site of), SJ 8398 9885 (***Ill 122****).*

Property of three gabled timber-framed bays on Long Millgate, the north bay being of two storeys above a cellar. The other two bays were of three storeys above a cellar and seem to have been a single build (***Ills 74 & 75****)*. Travis Court to the rear was flanked by ranges of two-storey timber-framed buildings (***Ill 76***). Demolished in the late 19th century.

**80.** Hurst Court (excavations), SJ 8398 9886, SMR 9905.1.0 (***Ill 122****).*

Excavations in 1980-1 revealed the footings of a possible late 17th- or early 18th-century timber-framed rear range, a stone-lined well of a similar date, and two brick-built clay pipe kilns of *c* 1850.

**81.** Sun Inn, Poets' Corner (site of), SJ 8399 9887, SMR 9891.1.0 (***Ill 122****).*

The Sun Inn comprised a two-storey timber-framed range aligned parallel to Long Millgate, dated 'W A H 1616' (for William Hunt), and, adjoining this on the east, a three-storey gabled bay with a jettied upper floor, believed to have been added later in the 17th century (Lloyd in Morris 1983, 62). Among the most photographed of Manchester's timber-framed buildings (***Ills 77-80***). This part of Long Millgate became known as Poets' Corner when a series of literary meetings were held in the Sun Inn in 1841-3 (Swindells 1908, 73-9). Demolished for street widening in 1923.

**82.** Brick or stone building, to east of Sun Inn (site of), SJ 8400 9887 (***Ill 122***).

Shown on early photographs and illustrations as a three-storey building of two gabled bays. It had mullioned and transomed windows, with hood moulds. Believed to have been built in the second half of the 17th century by a Joseph Moxon (Lloyd in Morris 1983, 62). Demolished in the early 20th century (***Ill 81***).

**83.** Timber-framed building (site of), SJ 8401 9887 (***Ill 122***).

Range of two or three bays on Long Millgate, shown on an illustration of 1850. The irregular arrangement of the facade suggests that this building originally contained an open hall into which a floor was later inserted (***Ill 82***).

### Victoria Station Approach

**84.** Mill Brow (site of), SJ 8403 9889 (***Ill 122***).

Former street running from Long Millgate to a bridge on the River Irk. Site of a medieval watercourse described as a 'common lode' or 'Hunt's lode'. Mill Brow was also possibly the lost medieval street of Wallgate. It was built over in the 1880s by Victoria Station Approach but the bedrock side of a possible channel survives below that later street. See also 6.4.2.

**85.** Phoenix Corn Mill, SJ 8401 9891, SMR 2020.4.1 (***Ill 122***).

Steam-powered corn mill probably established by 1821. Part of the brick-built north and west walls of the mill still stands to the east of New College House. The north end of the east gable is visible within an arch below Victoria Station Approach. Other substantial remains of this building are likely to survive below ground. See 8.1.4.

**86.** School Mill (Lower Mill) (site of), SJ 8403 9893 (***Ill 122***).

Water-powered corn mill established in the 16th century and owned by the grammar school; believed to have been rebuilt in 1819 and steam-power added in about the 1830s; demolished in the 1880s. See 6.10.12.

# 11. Significance and Potential of the Archaeological Resource

## 11.1 Heritage Assets

11.1.1 *Planning Policy Statement 5: Planning for the Historic Environment* (TSO 2010) sets out national planning policies on the conservation of the historic environment and in particular on those elements considered to be a heritage asset, ie 'a building, monument, site, place, area or landscape positively identified as having a degree of significance meriting consideration in planning decisions'.

Heritage assets are deemed to be of significance because of their heritage interest. This interest may be archaeological, ie 'an interest in carrying out an expert investigation at some point in the future into the evidence a heritage asset may hold of past human activity'; or architectural or artistic, 'interests in the design and general aesthetics of a place'; or historic, 'an interest in past lives and events'.

Under the PPS's Policy HE6, planning applications should include a description of the significance of heritage assets affected and the contribution of their setting to that significance. Where an application site includes or has the potential to include heritage assets of archaeological interest there is a requirement for developers to provide a desk-based assessment and, where appropriate, field evaluation.

11.1.2 The sites identified within the study area fall into three main groups:

- significant standing buildings and structures, both designated and non-designated;
- sites with the potential for significant below-ground remains;
- sites of historic interest with little or no potential of significant below-ground remains.

11.1.3 For each of these sites Table 11.1 includes:

- the type of heritage interest, ie archaeological, architectural, artistic or historic;
- the significance of the heritage asset, ie whether national, regional or local;
- the contribution of the setting to that significance, whether none, low, moderate, or high;
- additional comments, including the potential for surviving below-ground remains.

11.1.4 Heritage assets of archaeological significance have been assessed using the Secretary of State's criteria for the scheduling of ancient monuments, namely: period, rarity, documentation, group value, survival/condition, fragility/vulnerability, diversity, and potential.

## 11.2 Below-ground Archaeological Potential

11.2.1 The below-ground archaeological potential of the study area can be assessed by taking into account:

- the known or potential sites;
- the results of previous archaeological investigations;
- the known or potential level of disturbance or preservation resulting from previous developments.

For the purposes of the following the study area has been divided into four main zones. These exclude the area to the north of Walker's Croft which is currently being redeveloped as the New School Building of Chetham's School.

11.2.2 *The North-east Quadrant (Long Millgate)*

This area principally includes Urbis and the adjacent public realm and the surrounding streets of Long Millgate, Todd Street, Corporation Street and Fennel Street. The area has seen the most extensive archaeological investigations carried out within the Medieval Quarter (***Ill 121***).

The greater part of the area, comprising the former NCP car park, was evaluated by trial trenching in 1980-1, resulting in excavations at Hurst Court and Marsden Court, and was again tested by limited trial trenching in 1999 followed by a watching brief in 2000. With the exception of the two excavation sites, this work revealed extensive cellarage of late 19th/early 20th-century buildings and found scant evidence for significant survival of archaeological remains in those areas where cellars were absent. Given the previous work, the survival of significant remains may at best be limited to small localised deposits or to deeply-cut wells of which residual remains might potentially survive below the later cellarage.

These is some limited potential for the survival of early deposits outside the former area of the NCP car park, that is within the present surrounding streets and the southern edge of the public realm, formerly part of Fennel Street. Previous street widenings mean that the sites of a number of early buildings along the western side of Long Millgate, the southern side of the same street opposite New College House and the south side of Fennel Street now lie within the present streets (***Ills 115, 120 & 122***). Previous archaeological investigations at those streets have been limited to archaeological watching briefs. That at Fennel Street revealed disturbance from the laying of pipes and backfilling with rubble below the pavement on the south side of the street, presumably associated with the construction of the Corn Exchange, and similar forms of disturbance are likely to have occurred on Long Millgate. However, the excavation in the western half of Fennel Street in 1974 found that despite later disturbance some localized medieval deposits had survived.

A desk-based assessment carried out in 1998 ahead of works for Urbis and the associated public realm noted the possibility of remains of an early ditch surviving along the former line of Toad Lane (Arrowsmith 1998a) (***Ill 122***). The subsequent watching brief was not able to examine the line of the Toad Lane where it crosses the north-east corner of the public realm (Mottershead 2000). The greater part of the course of Toad Lane now lies within the area of Todd Street and Corporation Street. Any future works along the course of the line of Toad Lane have the potential of clarifying the street's origin.

The area on the north side of Long Millgate between New College House and Victoria Station Approach can be considered as an adjunct to the north-east quadrant. It includes the remains of the 19th-century Phoenix Corn Mill (***Ill 122*, site 85**). An assessment carried out by Matrix Archaeology has found that in addition to fragments of the north and west walls which stand above ground, there are below-ground remains incorporated within one of arches carrying Victoria Station Approach (Fletcher 2006). Together these point to the survival of substantial below-ground remains of the mill, including remains of the engine house.

11.2.3 *The South-east Quadrant (The Triangle)*

This area mostly comprises the Triangle, but also includes on the west Cathedral Street and on the south the former line of the Hanging Ditch street, now part of Exchange Square.

Investigations were carried out along the line of the Hanging Ditch street in 1998-9. These revealed a 19th/early 20th-century street surface at a depth of *c* 1m below the modern ground level. Excavation only went significantly below that depth at the site of timber-framed buildings which had stood on the south side of the west end of the street, and here revealed only later deep cellarage (***Ill 120***). It is possible that remains of an early ditch survive below the modern make-up and the Victorian street level.

As a result of street improvements in the late 19th century, Cathedral Street and Exchange Square both include the sites of earlier buildings. In the case of Cathedral Street, these had fronted its predecessor, the narrow Half Street, while those at Exchange Square had been situated on the north side of Hanging Ditch. The southern end of Cathedral Street also fell within the area of archaeological investigations carried out in 1997 on the new site of the Wellington Inn and Sinclair's Oyster Bar (***Ill 120***). This area had once contained the south-east corner of the churchyard, which is shown as densely packed with gravestones on the churchyard plan of 1895 (***Ill 91***). The site archive for the excavations of burials in 1997 was not available at the time of the present assessment. However, it is reported that a trench dug on the west side of Cathedral Street to the south of the former churchyard revealed over 2.5m of modern make-up for a sewer (see Appendix A5.4).

11.2.4 *The South-west Quadrant (the Cathedral, Hanging Ditch and Hanging Bridge)*

This area is centred on the Cathedral but also includes Cateaton Street on the south, Fennel Street on the north and the southern half of Victoria Street, with Victoria (Cathedral) Arches, on the west. This area has seen the largest number of archaeological investigations within the Medieval Quarter. They have included relatively large-scale projects at Fennel Street in 1974, Cateaton Street/Cathedral Yard in 1997 on the new site of the Wellington Inn and Sinclair's Oyster Bar and at the Cathedral Visitor Centre in 2000-2, as well as watching briefs and test pitting.

The Cathedral was largely rebuilt in the 15th and early 16th centuries, replacing an earlier church whose footprint is believed to have been contained within the present building. Outside that building is the site of the Ely Chapel, destroyed by bombing in 1940. Restoration works in the 19th century revealed remains of buried walls of the collegiate church or its predecessor. In 1986 a watching brief below the floor of the former Chapel of the Holy Trinity found evidence to suggest that the chantry chapels of the collegiate church were built over areas which were formerly part of the burial ground.

The present churchyard is the result of successive boundary changes in the 19th century. On the south the churchyard formerly included Cathedral Yard. Burials on the new site of the Wellington Inn and Sinclair's Oyster Bar were excavated and removed in 1997 but subsequent investigations show that burials still remain elsewhere below Cathedral Yard. On the north and west, areas of the churchyard also lay within Fennel Street and Victoria Street but here street widening schemes involved a reduction of ground levels and the removal of burials. Test trenching at Fennel Street in 1999 revealed only residual disarticulated remains. That last work also found similar remains on the site of the 18th-century burial ground within the northern part of Fennel Street.

Modern investigations have significantly advanced understanding of Hanging Ditch and Hanging Bridge. They have shown that Hanging Ditch survives as a substantial deep feature below the properties between Cateaton Street and Cathedral Yard, and that it contains medieval organic deposits rich in finds such as leather, metalwork and animal bone as well as pottery.

On the west side of the Cathedral, Victoria Arches, built in the 1830s, survive largely intact, with some modifications made for their use as a Second World War raid shelter. It is possible that below the arches, further remains survive of Hanging Ditch (Arrowsmith 2010b).

11.2.5 *The North-west Quadrant (Chetham's School)*

This area mainly comprises Chetham's School, excluding the site of the New School Building on the north side of Walker's Croft. Despite its considerable historical and architectural importance, this area has seen relatively little archaeological investigation. Small-scale but important investigations by Charles Roeder in 1900 and the Greater Manchester Archaeological Unit have established the presence of a rock-cut ditch running to the south of the library, containing medieval organic deposits with finds which included leatherwork. Documentary evidence points to a possible continuation of that ditch along the line of the passageway between the medieval buildings and New College House, and test pitting by Matrix Archaeology in 2009 has begun to provide a better understanding of the ground make-up along that line. A desk-based assessment by Matrix Archaeology in 2006 has highlighted the archaeological potential of the school site as a whole.

In addition to the standing medieval college buildings and boundary walls, the area of the modern school contains the sites of a number of other early buildings and features. Within the boundaries of the early college precinct, these included the southern gatehouse, the Little Barn, and the college garden, defined by an inner wall on the west and a northern wall which separated it from the college yard. In the mid 17th century that yard is believed to have contained other structures, including a possible pentice running along the south side of the service wing. The southern boundary of the precinct was also defined by a boundary wall. The buildings of the medieval college were themselves the successor to the manor house of Manchester, prior to which the Norman castle is believed to have stood on this site. To the west of the medieval precinct, the Palatine Building stands on the site of the College Barn and other early buildings, which in the 17th century became a House of Correction and poorhouse. To the south of the medieval precinct, the school contains part of the site of the 18th-century burial ground and of former buildings on Fennel Street.

The extent of modern disturbance and alterations to ground level across the site is not fully understood. Roeder's record of his investigations in 1900 implies that the rock-cut ditch was overlaid by deposits contemporary with the medieval college. The uppermost layer comprised 30in (760mm) of 'recent building rubbish' (Roeder 1899, 186). In 1994 prior to the creation of the new garden on the north side of the school yard, a test pit was dug to a depth of 500mm and found a homogenous, relatively recent deposit of made ground (information provided by GMAU). Intrusive works for the garden are reported to have been 300mm deep and likewise found only modern made ground (Barry Johnson, pers comm).

Within the southern part of the site there has been a clear raising of ground level, except upon the west where the routeway running from the south-west gate presumably preserves its original level. By that gate ground level is now *c* 1.5m below the raised ground to its east. The revetment wall which divides the routeway from that higher ground is clearly shown on mapping from the 1900s onwards (***Ills 12-15***). This alteration was presumably carried out to create a more level playground. It may represent a later scheme of works than those undertaken when the Hospital first obtained land on the south side of the medieval precinct in 1869. These earlier works included a ditch running immediately inside the new boundary wall to limit communication between the children and people in the street. That feature seems to be shown on mapping from the 1880s onwards and to have been retained well into the 20th century (***Ills 10-15***). Evidence for it is provided by the more recent stonework at the south end of the revetment wall and by a stone drain which emerges from its base.

In the most general terms, the variations of ground make-up within the school may have resulted in differences of archaeological survival, by which the uppermost levels have been truncated in the northern part of the modern school yard and a lesser degree of disturbance has occurred in the raised ground in the south. Within the southern area it is unknown as to what extent remains survive of the 18th-century

burial ground although contemporary accounts refer to a levelling of the site when it was acquired by the Hospital. To the east of its site, brick walling is reported to have been found when the post pits were dug for the modern adventure playground, suggesting the survival of remains of the buildings of probable 18th-century date which stood on that site.

No investigative works are known to have been carried out below the floor of the Palatine Building. However, it has been noted that the basement floor of the southern half of the building gently slopes down from south to north towards the River Irk, possibly following the earlier ground level (Fletcher 2006). In addition to the College Barn and the buildings associated with the House of Correction, the projected line of the rock-cut ditch uncovered in 1900 and 1983 crosses the footprint of the Palatine Building.

Adjoining the Palatine Building, the northern part of Victoria Street can also be considered as part of the north-west quadrant. This followed the earlier Hunt's Bank but towards its northern end is known to lie at a higher level as it approaches the River Irk. Plans held by Manchester City Council show that the Irk Bridge which predated the construction of Victoria Street in the 1830s was retained and incorporated within the new scheme and survives hidden away from view.

## 11.3 Summary of the Resource

11.3.1 The Medieval Quarter retains the two most important buildings of the late medieval town, the collegiate church, now the Cathedral, and the college which housed the church's body of priests, now part of Chetham's School of Music. Both buildings are considered to be of national importance, as shown by their designation as Grade I Listed Buildings. They form parts of a group of surviving medieval structures which also includes Hanging Bridge, whose own national importance is shown by its designation as a Scheduled Monuments. The survival of both the college and the bridge was fortuitous. The college was preserved by being acquired first as a house by the earl of Derby at the time of the dissolution and then as the hospital and library set up under the terms of the will of Humphrey Chetham. Hanging Bridge survived by being enclosed by adjoining buildings. A second early bridge is believed to survive over the Irk below Victoria Street but it is unknown as to whether this is also a medieval structure or a later rebuild.

11.3.2 In addition to its surviving buildings the Medieval Quarter retains significant elements of the medieval street pattern, principally in the form of Long Millgate, Fennel Street and the curving sweep of Cateaton Street and the Hanging Ditch thoroughfare, now part of Exchange Square.

11.3.3 Important below-ground remains are known to survive in the form of Hanging Ditch channel and the rock-cut ditch at Chetham's School.

The school as a whole is an area of great, and largely untapped, archaeological potential. Possible below-ground archaeology here includes remains of the medieval castle and manor house, the lost buildings of the college, and the House of Correction.

Below ground-remains relating to the development of the church have been recorded within the present footprint of the Cathedral, while outside its north wall lies the site of the Ely Chapel.

There is also varying potential for the survival of below-ground remains within the streets of the study area.

11.3.4 While no example survives of the domestic buildings of the medieval town, a number of early structures, mostly of the post-medieval period, remained standing into the

industrial era and are known from illustrations and photographs, while mapping evidence enables their position to be located with some accuracy on the ground. This material would be an important resource for any visual interpretation of the Medieval Quarter.

11.3.5 The Quarter also contains two significant sites from the industrial era which are both largely hidden below-ground. The better known of these are the Victoria (or Cathedral) Arches which remain largely intact and are currently only accessible via an entrance in the pavement in front of the Cathedral. The other site is the Phoenix corn mill, fragments of whose walls survive to the east of the New College House of Chetham's School, while other more substantial remains are visible below ground in an arch beneath Victoria Station Approach.

**Table 11.1:** Summary of significance of heritage assets in the study area.

| Site No | Site Name | Archaeological | Architectural | Artistic | Historic | Significance of Setting | Assessment of significance | Comments |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Bronze Age dagger and axe fragment, and Roman coin of Hadrian | | | | Y | High | Regional | Found in 1880 in fill of Hanging Ditch on site of Hanging Bridge Chambers. Potential for further remains. |
| 2 | Flint flake | | | | Y | Moderate | Regional | Found in side of Cathedral Churchyard, possibly during landscaping in 1890s. Probably redeposited. Exact findspot uncertain. |
| 3 | Bronze Age perforated stone hammer | | | | Y | Moderate | Regional | Found in 1870 at junction of Corporation Street and Todd Street. Exact findspot unknown. |
| 4 | Flint scraper | | | | Y | Moderate | Regional | Found in excavation in 1980-1 at Hurst Court. Redeposited. |
| 5 | Bronze Age material | | | | Y | High | Regional | Charred sample recovered from Hanging Ditch excavation in 1997. |
| 6 | Roman glass | | | | Y | High | Regional | Found in fill of Hanging Ditch in 1900, from the west side of Hanging Bridge. |
| 7 | Roman pottery | | | | Y | Moderate | Regional | Found during Hanging Ditch excavation in 1997. Redeposited. |
| 8 | Roman pottery | | | | Y | Moderate | Regional | Found in 1899 in possible intact Roman deposit on the site of the Corn Exchange. Exact findspot uncertain. |
| 9 | Coins of 306-40 AD | | | | Y | Moderate | Regional | Found in 1828 at Manchester end of Salford Bridge. Exact findspot unknown. |
| 10 | Roman Road | Y | | | | Moderate | Regional | Believed to follow the course of Deansgate and possibly Hunt's Bank (later Victoria Street). |
| 11 | Anglo-Saxon fortified burh (possible site of) | Y | | | | High? | Regional | Precise location uncertain. Possibly within the study area but a perhaps more likely location is the Roman fort at Castlefield. |
| 12 | Chetham's Hospital and Library | Y | Y | | | High | National (Grade I Listed Building) | Standing medieval buildings at Chetham's form a group of national importance with the Cathedral and Hanging Bridge.<br>High potential for below-ground remains within and outside the footprint of the standing buildings. |

| | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 13 | College gatehouse | Y | Y | | | High | National (Grade I Listed Building) | Standing medieval buildings at Chetham's form a group of national importance with the Cathedral and Hanging Bridge.<br>High potential for below-ground remains, including remains of a possible earlier gatehouse. |
| 14 | Medieval college east boundary wall | Y | Y | | | High | National (Grade I Listed Building) | Standing medieval buildings at Chetham's form a group of national importance with the Cathedral and Hanging Bridge.<br>High potential for below-ground remains of the demolished southern end of the wall. |
| 15 | Medieval college west boundary wall | Y | Y | | | High | National (Grade I Listed Building) | Standing medieval buildings at Chetham's form a group of national importance with the Cathedral and Hanging Bridge.<br>High potential for below-ground remains of demolished sections of the wall. |
| 16 | Medieval college south boundary wall | Y | | | | High | Regional | High potential for below-ground remains. Forms a group with the surviving eastern and western boundary walls. |
| 17 | College garden | Y | | | | High | Regional | Moderate potential for below-ground remains. Forms a group with **sites 18** and **19**. |
| 18 | College garden north wall | Y | | | | High | Local/regional | Moderate/high potential for below-ground remains. Forms a group with **sites 17** and **19**. |
| 19 | College garden west wall | Y | | | | High | Local/regional | Moderate/high potential for below-ground remains. Forms a group with **sites 17** and **18**. |
| 20 | College gatehouse | Y | | | | High | Regional | High potential for below-ground remains. Forms a group with site of south college wall and surviving east and west walls. |
| 21 | Little Barn | Y | | | | High | Local/regional | Moderate/high potential for below-ground remains. Site largely built over by annex to the Millgate Building. |
| 22 | College Yard or Court | Y | | | | High | Local/regional | Moderate potential for below-ground remains. |
| 23 | Manchester Castle | Y | | | | High | Regional | High potential for below-ground remains. |
| 24 | Manor house | Y | | | | High | Regional | High potential for below-ground remains. |
| 25 | Inner Ditch | Y | | | | High | Regional | Ditch below west medieval boundary wall confirmed by excavation in 1983. Likely survival of below-ground remains below the Palatine Building, with high potential for organic deposits. Continues to east as **site 26**. |
| 26 | Inner Ditch | Y | | | | High | Regional | Ditch below north end of Vallins Buildings confirmed by watching brief in 1900. Line can be assumed to continue eastwards below the school yard, with high potential for organic deposits. Continues to west as **site 25**. |
| 27 | Inner Ditch | Y | | | | High | Regional | Ditch documented on site of passageway between the medieval college and New College House. Moderate/high potential for survival of below-ground remains. |
| 28 | Hyde's Cross | | Y | | | Low | Regional (Grade II Listed Building) | Moved from original location at junction of Hanging Ditch, Fennel Street, Withy Grove and Toad Lane (Corporation Street). |

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| 29 | House of Correction/ former College Barn/later Castle Inn | Y | | | | High | Regional | House of Correction, prison established in 1657 and in use until 1790. Includes **sites 30-33**. Site now occupied by the Palatine Building. Moderate/high potential for survival of below-ground remains. |
| 30 | College Barn | Y | | | | High | Regional | Northern half (House of Correction) was rebuilt in 1774. Site now occupied by the Palatine Building and Victoria Street. Moderate/high potential for survival of below-ground remains. |
| 31 | House and yard north of College Barn | Y | | | | High | Regional | Site now occupied by the Palatine Building and Victoria Street. Moderate/high potential for survival of below-ground remains. The site of the yard is also crossed by the projected line of the inner ditch (**site 25**). |
| 32 | Castle Inn | Y | | | | High | Regional | Site now occupied by the Palatine Building. Moderate/high potential for survival of below-ground remains. |
| 33 | Timber-framed building, at north end of Castle Inn | Y | | | | High | Regional | Site now occupied by the Palatine Building. Moderate/high potential for survival of below-ground remains. |
| 34 | Burial ground | Y | | | | Moderate | Regional | Site lies partly within Chetham's School, partly within Fennel Street. Site has been levelled. Test trenching in Fennel Street in 1999 revealed some disarticulated human remains. |
| 35 | *c* 18th-century buildings adjoining burial ground | Y | | | | Moderate | Local/regional | Site lies largely within Chetham's School. Buildings demolished in 19th century and site made part of playground. Brick remains are reported to survive below ground. |
| 36 | Timber-framed building/later Grammar School High Master's House/ Cathedral Hotel | Y | | | | Moderate | Local/regional | Site of timber-framed building largely built over in 1830s by High Master's house, itself built over by Nicholls Building. Low potential for survival of early remains outside the footprints of those buildings. |
| 37 | Manorial bakehouse/later Grammar School High Master's House/later school building | Y | | | | Moderate | Local/regional | Post-medieval house occupied by the High Master is known to have been cellared, and there is low/moderate potential for remains surviving below the west side of Long Millgate. Adjacent Millgate Building of Chetham's School contains a basement which is likely to have removed any earlier deposits. |
| 38 | Manchester Grammar School | | | | Y | Moderate | Local/regional | Original school building of *c* 1515, was rebuilt in 1774, following by larger rebuilding in *c* 1880. Site now occupied by New College House. Minimal potential for survival of early remains. |
| 39 | Synagogue | | | | Y | Moderate | Local/regional | Located in upper floor of warehouse, replaced in *c* 1880 by new grammar school building. |
| 40 | Irk Bridge (Hunt's Bank Bridge) | | Y | | | High | Regional | Bridge widened in 1830s for the new Victoria Street. City Council plans show two surviving earlier arches, the more westerly being a widening of *c* 1826. |
| 41 | Hunt's Bank | Y | | | | High | Local/regional | Line of street now lies below Victoria Street. Low/moderate potential for below-ground remains, particularly towards the north where original street fell towards the Irk Bridge. |

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| 42 | Blackamoor's Head public house | | | | Y | Moderate | Local/regional | Demolished in 1830s and site used for north entrance to Victoria Arches (**site 42**). |
| 43 | Victoria (Cathedral) Arches | Y | Y | | | High | Regional | Arches built in 1830s survive largely intact, with some alterations for their use as a WWII air raid shelter. North and south entrances now closed and access via manhole at west end of the Cathedral. |
| 44 | Cathedral Church of St Mary, St George and St Denys | Y | Y | | | High | National (Grade I Listed Building) | Forms a group of national importance with the medieval buildings at Chetham's School and Hanging Bridge. High potential for below-ground remains. |
| 45 | Angel Stone | | Y | | | High | Regional/ national | Found reused in south porch of Cathedral; original position and function uncertain. Now displayed on north side of the choir arch. |
| 46 | Ely Chapel | Y | | | | High | Regional/ national | Moderate/high potential for below-ground remains. |
| 47 | Cathedral churchyard | Y | | | | High | Regional | Area of churchyard reduced in the late 19th century. Outside current boundaries, burials remain below Cathedral Yard but have been removed on the west and north, along Victoria Street and Fennel Street where a lowering of ground level has taken place. Some apparently disarticulated remains were found during test trenching in Fennel Street in 1999. |
| 48 | 'Paved road' below south side of churchyard | Y | | | | Moderate | Local/regional | Uncovered in the 19th century. Precise location and nature of this site are uncertain. |
| 49 | 'Paved road' below north side of churchyard | Y | | | | Moderate | Local/regional | Uncovered in the 19th century. Precise location and nature of this site are uncertain. |
| 50 | Stone structure | Y | | | | High | Local | Uncovered in test pit in 1999. Its position on the 1819 churchyard boundary suggests that other structural remains may survive along that boundary line. |
| 51 | Timber-framed buildings on Old Bridge Street and Cateaton street | Y | | | | Moderate | Local/regional | Site later largely occupied by Victoria Arches and successive buildings to west of Hanging Bridge. Low potential for localised survival of remains. |
| 52 | Gold brooch | | | | Y | Low/ moderate | Regional/ national | 13th- or 14th-century gold brooch found in spoil of service trench in 1971. Original provenance has been disputed. In collection of Manchester Art Gallery. |
| 53 | Hanging Bridge | | Y | | | High | National (Scheduled Monument) | Part of a group of national importance with the Cathedral and the medieval buildings at Chetham's School. |
| 54 | Hanging Ditch | Y | | | | High | Regional | Known from recent investigations to have originated as substantial natural channel, later partly infilled and built upon. Bronze Age, Roman, medieval and post-medieval finds and material have been recovered from its deposits during building works and excavations. Surviving ditch deposits have been identified below later disturbances between Victoria Street and Cathedral Street. |
| 55 | Wall footing on east side of Hanging Bridge | | Y | | | High | Regional | Formerly believed to be a cutwater of Hanging Bridge but now recognised as probably belonging to a house of the 16th or early 17th century. Truncated on north but |

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| | | | | | | | | full southern extent of the wall has not been exposed. |
| 56 | Medieval deposits in Hanging Ditch, north side of Cateaton Street | Y | | | | High | Regional/ national | Located during evaluation and excavation in 1997, when trenches were dug through the ditch to record its profile and fills and to recover dating material. Substantial remains of medieval deposits are still in situ. |
| 57 | Sandstone walls in Hanging Ditch, north side of Cateaton Street | | | | Y | Moderate | Regional | Excavated in 1997. |
| 58 | Cateaton Street | Y | | | | High | Local/regional | Low/moderate potential for survival of early deposits below the present street, including towards the east end of the street possible remains of Hanging Ditch. |
| 59 | Half Street | Y | | | | Moderate | Local/regional | Line of street now largely occupied by west side of Cathedral Street, where excavation in 1997 suggests that early deposits have been destroyed by modern services. Opposite the south-east corner of the Cathedral the line of Half Street now lies within the churchyard and here there is better potential for the survival of below-ground remains. |
| 60 | Hanging Ditch thoroughfare | Y | | | | High | Local/regional | Low/moderate potential for survival of early remains including ditch deposits. |
| 61 | Timber-framed building on south side of Hanging Ditch, including John Byrom's House | | | | Y | Moderate | Regional | Eastern end of site replaced by street widening, remainder by later buildings with deep cellarage (found in 1999). Minimal potential for survival of early remains. Historical association with John Byrom. |
| 62 | Timber-framed building on Hanging Ditch, at junction with Fennel Street | | | | Y | Moderate | Local/regional | Site built over by later buildings, in turn demolished in late 19th century for road widening and construction of the Corn Exchange. Low potential for the survival of remains. |
| 63 | Fennel Street | Y | | | | High | Local/regional | Moderate potential for survival of early deposits. |
| 64 | Fennel Street excavation | | | | Y | High | Regional | Medieval features and deposits excavated in 1974. |
| 65 | Medieval tavern and barn | | | | Y | Moderate | Local/regional | Site built over by later buildings, demolished in late 19th century for construction of Cathedral Street and Corn Exchange. Low potential for survival of remains. |
| 66 | Timber-framed building on north side of Fennel Street | | | | Y | Moderate | Local/regional | Site later built over by late 19th/early 20th-century warehousing known from Goad's insurance plan to have contained a basement. Negligible potential for survival of early remains. |
| 67 | Well, Fennel Street | Y | | | | Moderate | Local | Location and condition of site uncertain. Uncovered during demolition works in 1891. |
| 68 | Lever's House | Y | | | | Moderate | Local/regional | Town house of 1716. Demolished in late 18th century and warehouse built on the site. Goad's insurance plan shows that the warehouse contained a basement. Low/moderate potential for survival of remains of Lever's House on footprint of access road to Marsden's Court. |
| 69 | Dog and Partridge and New Church public houses | | | | Y | Moderate | Local/regional | Timber-framed buildings demolished in 1792. Later buildings erected on site including the Douglas Hotel, known to have |

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| | | | | | | | | included cellarage. Eastern side of the site extends into Corporation Street. Low potential for survival of remains below street. |
| 70 | Hyde's Cross (site of) | Y | | | | Moderate | Local/regional | Original site of cross now situated in Chetham's School (**site 28**). Precise location is uncertain. |
| 71 | Marsden Court excavations | | | | Y | Moderate | Local/regional | Excavated in 1980-1. Site now occupied by Urbis. |
| 72 | Toad Lane | Y | | | | Moderate | Local/regional | Line of Toad Lane now largely occupied by Corporation Street and Todd Street, with its extreme northern end partly lying within the public realm at the junction of Todd Street and Long Millgate. Low potential for survival of below-ground remains including evidence of possible ditch. |
| 73 | Long Millgate | Y | | | | High | Local/regional | Low/moderate potential for early below-ground remains. |
| 74 | White Lion and White Lion Court | | | | Y | Moderate | Local/regional | Demolished in early 20th century and site built over. Minimal potential for survival of below-ground remains. |
| 75 | Three Tuns | | | | Y | Moderate | Local/regional | Demolished in *c* 1900 and site built over. Minimal potential for survival of below-ground remains. |
| 76 | Timber-framed buildings (Bakehouse Court) | | | | Y | Moderate | Local/regional | Demolished in late 19th century and site built over. Minimal potential for survival of below-ground remains. |
| 77 | Timber-framed building to north of Bakehouse Court | | | | Y | | Local/regional | Demolished in late 19th century and site built over. Minimal potential for survival of below-ground remains. |
| 78 | Timber-framed buildings to south of Travis Court | | | | Y | | Local/regional | Demolished in late 19th century and site built over. Minimal potential for survival of below-ground remains. |
| 79 | Timber-framed buildings (Travis Court) | | | | Y | | Local/regional | Demolished in late 19th century and site built over. Minimal potential for survival of below-ground remains. |
| 80 | Hurst Court (excavations) | | | | Y | High | Regional | Post-medieval and industrial remains excavated in 1980-1, including mid 19th-century clay pipe kilns. |
| 81 | Sun Inn, Poets' Corner | Y | | | | High | Local/regional | Low potential for surviving remains below south side of Long Millgate and northern fringe of public realm. |
| 82 | Brick or stone building, to east of Sun Inn | Y | | | | High | Local/regional | Low potential for surviving remains below south side of Long Millgate and northern fringe of public realm. |
| 83 | Timber-framed building | Y | | | | High | Local/regional | Low potential for surviving remains below south side of Long Millgate and northern fringe of public realm. |
| 84 | Mill Brow | | | | Y | High | Local/regional | Line of former street built over in 1880s by Victoria Station Approach. Exposure of sandstone bedrock in southern arch may be part of an early ditch. |
| 85 | Phoenix Corn Mill | Y | Y | | | High | Regional | Remains of west and north walls stand above ground and the east wall survives within an arch below the Victoria Station Approach, pointing to the survival of substantial below-ground remains of this site, including the engine house. |

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| 86 | School Mill (Lower Mill) (site of) | Y | | | | Moderate | | Site built over by Victoria Station Approach and Victoria Station. Low potential for survival of below-ground remains below the station. |

# 12. Recommendations

## 12.1 Future Development and Public Realm Works

12.1.1 Future development or public realm works within the Medieval Cultural Quarter have the potential to affect significant elements of the archaeological and heritage resource, either by directly impacting upon heritage assets or by altering their setting.

12.1.2 It is recommended that, where such works are proposed, consultation is made at an early stage with the County Archaeologist for Greater Manchester to discuss their potential impact and to allow an appropriate strategy of mitigation to be formulated. Where proposed works may affect the Quarter's Listed Buildings or Scheduled Monument (Hanging Bridge) consultation should also be made with English Heritage.

*Planning Policy Statement 5: Planning for the Historic Environment* instructs that in the case of heritage assets which either have designated status or are non-designated but are of a significance demonstrably comparable with a Scheduled Monument, ie of national importance, the assumption should be in favour of conservation (Policy HE9). Where the loss of the whole or a material part of a heritage asset's significance is justified by a development, the developer should be required first to record that asset and advance understanding of its significance (Policy HE12.3).

12.1.3 Future development and public realm works within the Quarter also have the potential for enhancing its heritage assets. This might include the consolidation and display of excavated below-ground remains, or the reference to heritage assets within the design. PPS5 encourages developments which change the setting of a heritage asset so as to better reveal it significance (Policy HE10). Again consultation should be made at an early stage with the County Archaeologist and English Heritage.

12.1.4 Much previous archaeological investigation within the Quarter has been in the form of watching briefs. The excavation at Fennel Street in 1974 revealed shallow medieval deposits with relatively little dating evidence, remains whose form and significance might well have been missed by a watching brief alone. In order to gather as much information as possible from remaining early deposits in the Quarter, it is recommended that, where possible, intrusive groundworks are carried out as controlled archaeological test pitting or excavation.

## 12.2 Outstanding Post-Excavation Work

12.2.1 The evaluation and excavation of Hanging Ditch in 1997 on the present site of the Wellington Inn and Sinclair's Oyster Bar produced medieval finds which included leather, metalwork and animal bones as well as pottery. This represents by far the largest assemblage of medieval finds discovered in Manchester and is a collection of at least regional significance. Lack of funding at the time of discovery has meant that only a preliminary assessment was carried out for most categories of finds, while in the case of the metalwork even this does not appear to have been undertaken (see Appendix A7). The lack of more detailed analysis means that there is an incomplete understanding of these finds, both as individual objects and as part of an assemblage which represents the single most important source for the material culture of the medieval town.

It is recommended that funding is sought for the detailed specialist analysis to be carried out on the medieval finds and other material from the site where appropriate, and for significant finds to be drawn and photographed.

The results should be incorporated within a final report on this site, which for wider dissemination could take the form of a published monograph also including the results of the investigations at Hanging Bridge.

There is also the potential to publish the results of both sites as an article in an academic journal and as a popular publication.

12.2.2 The 1997 excavation also included the former south-east corner of the churchyard. The majority of the burials recovered from that site were sent to Durham University for analysis and are understood to have been used since for teaching and research purposes. The university also currently holds the archive for this part of the site.

It is recommended that the original archive is returned to Manchester to inform any future proposals which may affect burials within the churchyard. A request should also be made for copies of any research results on the burials to be deposited with the site archive. A summary of any significant findings might also be included within any final report on the Hanging Ditch excavation.

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