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## **Summary**

The western half of a block of back-to-backs was uncovered comprising four identical brick units. These buildings were probably constructed between 1810 and 1840 and despite their modest construction appeared to have been sound dwellings until their demolition during the 1950s.

Each dwelling possessed a parlour (Room 1) containing a central fireplace or range, a flight of stairs to an upper storey, a small ante-room (Room 2) possibly serving as a store or kitchen and a cupboard (Room 3) beneath the stairs that may have served as a larder or coal store.

An annex was added at the western end of the building that may have housed a laundry.

There was no direct evidence for extreme poverty but the basic amenities available suggest that the inhabitants were economically poor.

## 1. Introduction

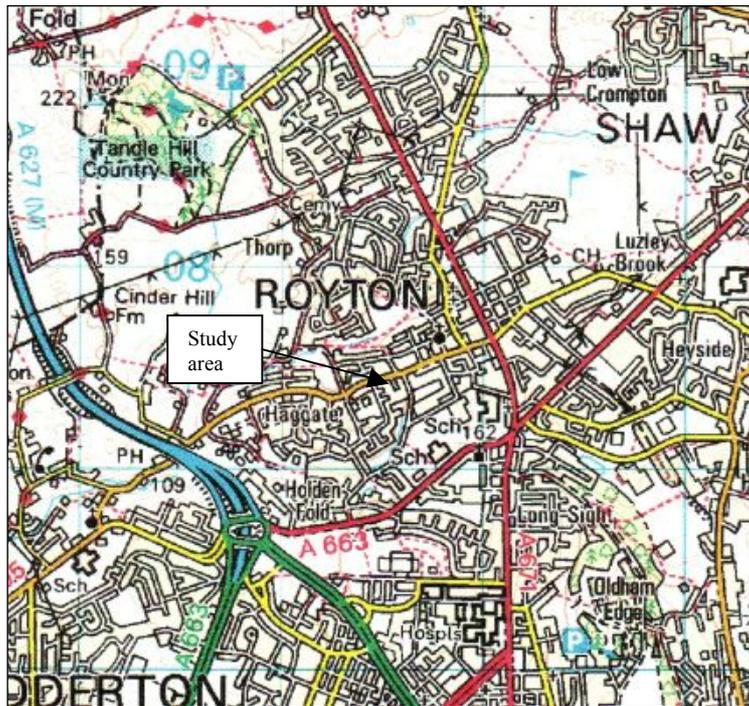
The author of this report Gerry Martin has been commissioned by Mr Mike Dockwray to enact a Programme of Archaeological Watching Brief Action relating to the ground works for an industrial building at land off Middleton Road, Royton, Greater Manchester OL2 5LS (grid reference, SD91555 07434).

The watching brief action requested by Oldham Metropolitan Borough Council, following the guidance of A.M.Myers, Assistant County Archaeologist, suggested potential and significant archaeological remains could be encountered primarily the ground plan of a small back-to-back brick tenement comprising of eight units dating from the early 19<sup>th</sup> Century. The watching brief was also a condition of the Planning Consent, Application Number PA/055714/08.

The archaeological watching brief was required to monitor the uncovering of early 19<sup>th</sup> Century cultural remains and where necessary, record on paper these deposits should their integrity be compromised by the development.

The fieldwork necessitated the removal of the existing rubble overburden to the depth of the former brick tenement.

The watching brief was conducted between January 18<sup>th</sup> and January 23<sup>rd</sup> 2009.



*Figure 1. Site location (OS copyright licence no. 100044205). Scale 1:50,000*

All projects are carried out in accordance with PPG 16 and PPG 15 (DoE, 1990) and the guidelines and recommendations issued by the Institute of Field Archaeologists and English Heritage

## 2. Site History

The study area (SD 91555 07434) lies adjacent to the one of the weaving sheds that formed part of an early 19<sup>th</sup> Century cotton mill, Lane End Mill (SMR 6289.1.0) and which lay in the shadow of a similar but later, larger cotton mill, Vine Mill (SMR 6313.1.0).



*Figure 2. Location of study area (study building in red)*

Royton possessed one of the earliest powered cotton mills built at nearby Thorp Clough in 1764 by Ralph Taylor.

In 1780, Royton village was described as “contained only a few struggling and mean-built cottages” but with the introduction of the weaving of fustians and other branches of the cotton manufacture it increased rapidly (Farrer & Brownbill 1911, 112-115).

From around 1800, the cotton industry expanded rapidly due in part to the military requirements of the Napoleonic War, difficulty in trading with continental Europe and a growing imperial commitment that drew in new markets.



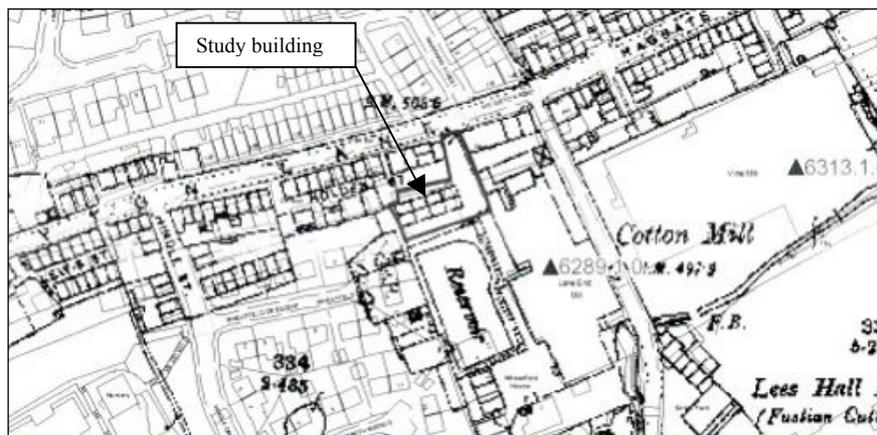
*Figure 3. First Edition Ordnance Survey map 1848*

By the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> Century, forty cotton mills employed 80% of the towns' population.

The 1848 Ordnance Survey map illustrates widely dispersed cotton mills utilising the benefit of a fast running water as a source of mechanical power, but also a number of mills such as Vine Mill that do not appear to be close to a leet or beck. It is likely that mechanical traction was offered by steam at these sites inferring a later date for establishment than those utilising water-courses.

The shift to steam power required access to cheap and readily available coal through improved transport links that also provided an efficient means to deliver finished and raw goods to the market. Remote locations became increasingly unviable, whilst mill sites with economic advantages begin to develop their own infrastructure.

The 1892 Ordnance Survey map illustrates this activity. Ribbon development is intense along Royton Lane (now Middleton Road) with terraces of houses backing onto each other. The study area as described above encompasses a rectangular tenement, sub-divided into eight units of identical size, detail that cannot be ascertained from the First Edition 1848 map.



*Figure 4. 1892 Ordnance Survey map*

By the 1950s, the study area had been flattened as part of a municipal slum clearance scheme (J. Crothers *pers comm.*).

However, examination of the various processes that created early industrial era societies has largely focused on technical innovation e.g. industrial archaeology and the consequences of social deprivation e.g. 19<sup>th</sup> Century Parliamentary Commissions and the work of social and political commentators such as Engels. Moreover, significant but influential sectors of the community such as working class woman, children, the aged and infirm have largely remained archaeologically and culturally silent.

The result of this focus has been less concern for evolving and complex social dynamics and organisation with an over-emphasis on the general rather the particular (Brennard 2007, 133). Armed with an increasing data set that includes oral history, photographs, account books, architects plans, regulations and legislative enquiry, the

opportunity exists to develop new methodologies that provide a narrower scrutiny on past industrial culture (Brennard 2007, 134).

The current developing archaeological methodology that seeks to examine past industrial cultural activity, relies heavily on archaeological form and structure with a stress on environmental determinism. The Manchester landscape-based approach examines the “processes and effects behind the transition from an agrarian to an industrial society (Nevell & Walker 2004a, 56).

The Manchester methodology characterised this transition by the development and expansion of monument types through time. This enabled the rate of physical change to be checked, monument types to be related to social groups and for the significance of archaeological data to be better appreciated.

The programme of investigation has comprised of a three stage approach: Stage 1, making sense of the archaeological database; Stage 2, ownership of archaeological site types and Stage 3 developing a local model of industrialisation (Nevell 2005, 87-95).

The outcome of this approach is to create typologies and a base-line from which archaeological interpretations can be developed (Brennard 2007, 134).

Adopting this approach, Coulin-Casella during her excavation of industrial era cottages at Alderley Edge noted a conservative use of space with little development of the study buildings (Hagg Cottages) and a physical durability that overrides changes in the rural and industrial landscape, social obligations, diversity and rising incomes (Coulin-Casella 2005, 80).

Despite the conservative social trajectory of Hagg Cottages there existed a complicated arrangement of communal obligations that reinforced social stability. However, as investment in the property declined, alienation set in with only the elderly and the retired, a group who possessed the lowest economic incomes remaining to the end of the buildings use (Coulin-Casella 2005, 83-84).

This model suggests that basic working class housing despite its various privations could attain a level of stasis that created successful and stable communities in which there was considerable pride and emotional attachment, not the “cesspits of humanity” that is popularly advocated.

It is only when a state of stasis is disturbed that social flux ensues resulting in deteriorating conditions. This may be the result of a breakdown in the infrastructure e.g. water supply and sanitation; economic fluctuations e.g. unemployment; social mobility e.g. rising incomes or social dislocation e.g. 19<sup>th</sup> Century inward migration of cheap labour from Ireland.

Utilising this model, the fieldwork described below sought to test the current nascent hypothesis and hopefully add to the diversity of this area of study.

### **3. Methodology**

The objective of the watching brief investigation is to carry out a formal programme of archaeological observations and investigations during any operations on site that may disturb or destroy archaeological or architecturally informative deposits or remains. The specific aims of the work are to:

- Provide a record of those works associated with the removal of the topsoil or overburden
- Provide a record of any significant archaeological or architectural features encountered by intrusive activities such as foundations and services trenches

In order to achieve these objectives, a record of all archaeological informative deposits encountered during the ground operations were made consisting of detailed context records on individual pro-forma sheets and field drawings, according to the protocols set out in the GMA manual.

The ground-works were undertaken by machine under archaeological supervision.

Using a toothless bucket, an excavating machine removed overburden from within a building footprint measuring 17m x 14m (238 sq m).

The overburden, a level of former hard-standing 80, comprised brick rubble, broken slabs and other discarded building material mixed with clay, sand and developing silt that was between 0.10 and 0.30m in depth.

Beyond the footprint of the former tenement, a dark brown garden soil 1 was partially removed to reveal a sterile horizon of yellow-brown sand and clay 76 forming the natural drift geology.

The uncovered tenement was hand-cleaned, photographed in detail, context recorded and planned at a scale of 1:50. A number of small hand-dug interventions answered specific questions regarding the depth of the buildings foundations, but the integrity of the tenement was left *in situ*.

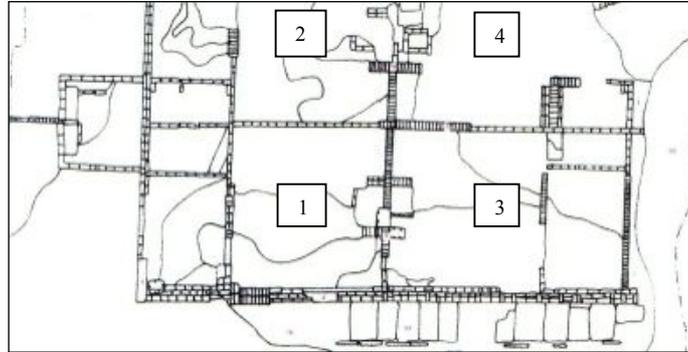
In total, 80 contexts were issued and their properties are described in Appendix A.

### **4. Results**

The uncovering of the ground plan revealed the western four units of a tenement illustrated on the 1892 Ordnance Survey map. The southern frontage of the tenement was fully exposed but the northern frontage was approximately 1.00m outside of the building footprint and was not uncovered.

Each unit yielded three rectangular rooms, a large parlour, a small kitchen or store and an adjoining larder or coal store that would have been below a flight of stairs leading to an upper storey. Every parlour possessed a brick hearth that probably served as a range, possibly a later adaptation.

The nomenclature used describes each unit as a “Dwelling” e.g. the southwest unit being Dwelling 1, northwest Dwelling 2, southeast Dwelling 3 and northeast Dwelling 4, with the parlour always being “Room 1”, the possible kitchen as “Room 2” and the below stairs room as “Room 3”.



*Figure 5. Lay-out of dwellings*

The building possessed six phases of activity of which phases one to four were wholly associated with the buildings construction. These are summarised as:

- Phase 1 Clearance of the site, truncation level 70
- Phase 2 Insertion of foundations 69 for the buildings shell
- Phase 3 Construction of fireplaces and the buildings brick super-structure
- Phase 4 Laying of the flagstone floor
- Phase 5 Adaptation during the lifetime of the building e.g. water pipes
- Phase 6 Demolition during the 1950s

#### Phase 1: clearance

Before the building was constructed the footprint was reduced to natural forming a truncation horizon 70 that marked an interface with a yellow brown clayey sand 2 representing the subsoil overlaying a yellow brown sand 76 forming the natural drift geology.

#### Phase 2: foundation construction and internal lay-out

A large rectangular plan cut 69 orientated east-west was inserted measuring at least 35m x 10m that contained a linear east-west aligned wall foundation 4 on its southern limit and a north-south aligned linear wall foundation 5 on its western flank.

Wall foundation 4 comprised a triple thickness of unfrosted, hand-made red bricks (all bricks approximately 250mm x 120mm x 80mm) set on bed and forming a stretcher pattern, bonded by a cream lime mortar. No headers were visible in this configuration conjoining the walls, nor was there a cavity between the three brick skins. The two outside stretches of wall continued upwards as the buildings super-structure whilst the internal course of wall remained buried as a foundation plinth.

Wall foundation 5 consisted of a double thickness of the same type of red brick, set on bed and forming the same stretcher pattern, bonded by a cream lime mortar. The

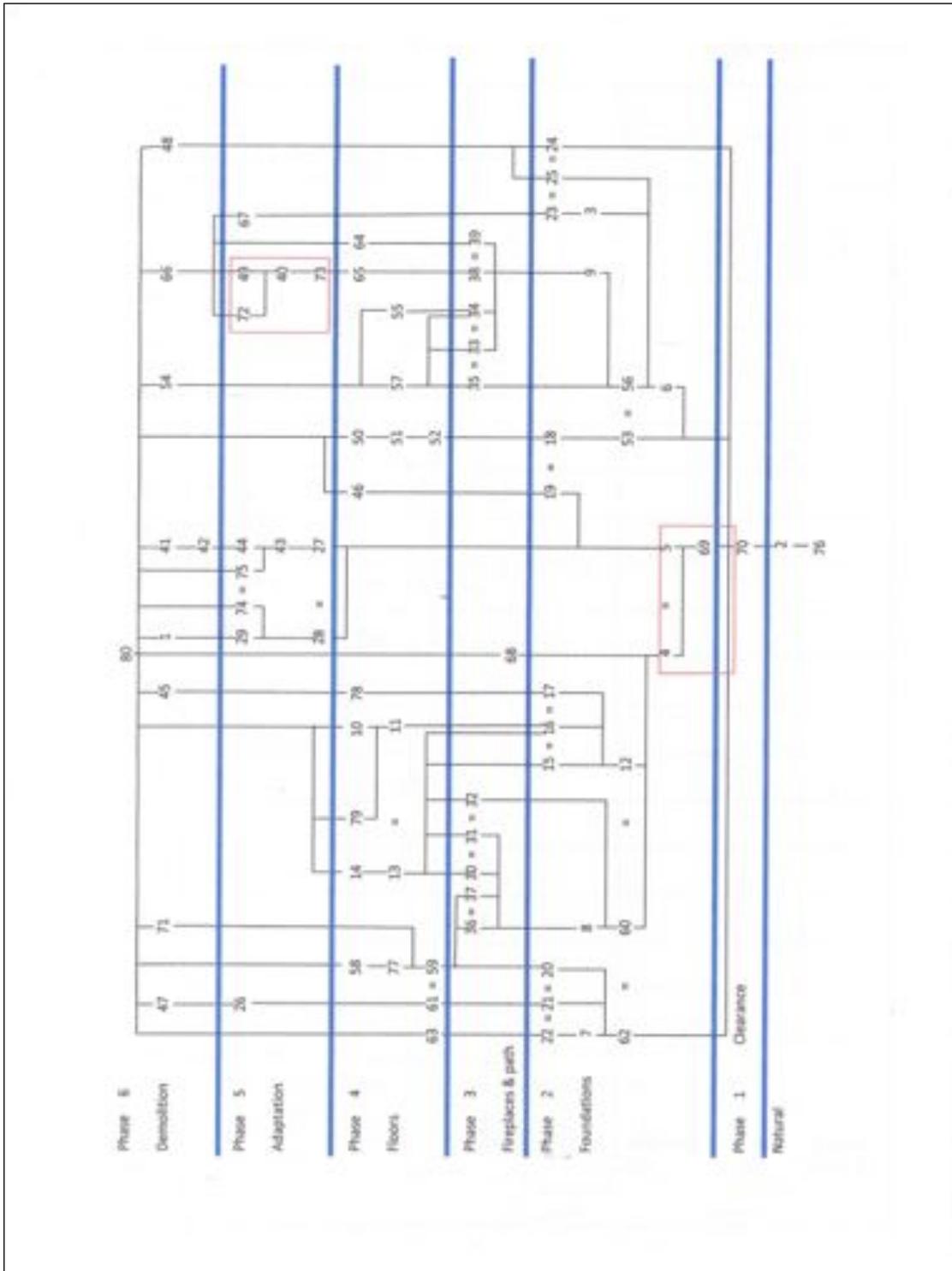


Figure 6. Site matrix

outside stretch of brickwork continued upwards as the buildings' super-structure, whilst the inside length of brickwork remained buried as a foundation plinth.

The inside course of brickwork of the foundation (within the building and where visible) was sealed by a thin spread of light greyish cream mortar with brick dust 60 and 12 that represented a construction horizon, an area in which the builders were working from in order to raise the building and install the internal brickwork.

Physically resting above truncation horizon 70 (phase 1) was a similar spread of light creamy grey lime mortar and brick dust 53, whilst butting walls 7 and 6 described below was a patchy creamy lime mortar surface 62 and a cream lime mortar with brick dust 56.

Dividing the shell of the building at the midpoint of its east-west axis was a central alignment of unfrogged, hand-made red bricks 6, set on bed and forming a stretcher pattern. A second course of red bricks were set crossways on edge, probably to form a plinth for the brick superstructure. This foundation rested directly onto truncation horizon 70 (phase 1).

The internal lay-out of the building was divided by a series of linear brick walls and foundations. All the walls were bonded by a cream lime mortar and consisted of a single course of hand-made, unfrogged red bricks set on bed in a stretcher pattern, overlain by a single course of red bricks set crossways on edge upon which a double thickness of brickwork was constructed. This last course formed the super-structure of the building and consisted of primarily stretcher pattern but with intermittent header pattern in order to consolidate and strengthen the internal walls.

Dwelling 1 was separated from Dwelling 3 by a north-south party brick wall 8 that continued northwards as wall 9 forming a party wall between Dwelling 2 and Dwelling 4.

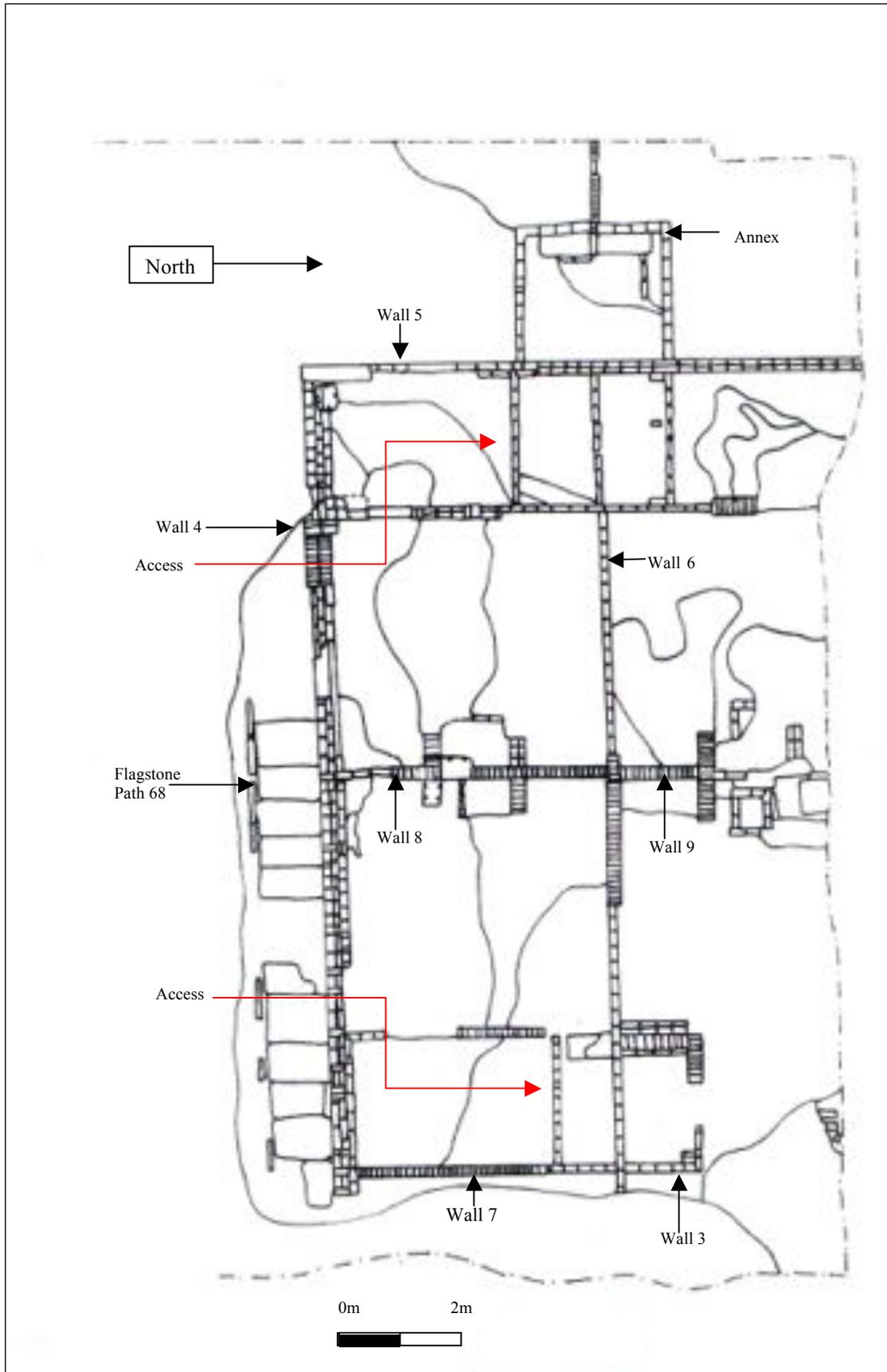
Dwelling 3 was separated from unexcavated Dwelling 5 by a north-south party brick wall 7 that continued northwards as wall 3 forming a party wall between Dwelling 4 and unexcavated Dwelling 6.

Dwelling 1 was sub-divided into three spatial units with the installation of a north-south aligned brick wall 15 that continued northwards with brick wall 16, Room 2, where it met central party wall 6. Between wall 16 and wall 5, an east-west brick wall 17 was inserted to form a small cell, Room 3.

Dwelling 2 was also sub-divided into three spatial units with the installation of a north-south aligned brick wall 18 north of central party wall 6 forming Room 2 to the north. Between wall 18 and wall 5, an east-west brick wall 19 was inserted to form a small cell, Room 3, adjacent to party wall 6.

Dwelling 3 was similarly sub-divided into three spatial units with the installation of a north-south aligned brick wall 20 that continued northwards as brick wall 21 where it met party wall 6 and formed Room 2 in conjunction with wall 4. Between wall 21 and wall 7, an east-west brick wall 22 was inserted to form a small cell, Room 3, adjacent to party wall 6.

Dwelling 4 originally possessed three rooms but due to later refurbishment or demolition the physical evidence was lost by modern truncation. Room 2 was not visible but Room 3 comprised of north-south wall 25 adjacent to party wall 6 turning eastwards at right-angles continuing as brick walls 24 and 23.



*Figure 7. Site plan with principal features*

Phase 3: Installation of fireplaces and path

Four uniform fireplaces serving Dwellings 1-4 were situated beside north-south party walls 8 and 9 (both phase 2). The construction method consisted of a single course of hand-made, unfrogged red bricks set on bed in a stretcher pattern, overlain by a single course of red bricks set crossways on edge, upon which a double thickness of brickwork was set. The bonding agent was a cream lime mortar. All the fireplaces were approximately 1.70m in width and extended 0.70m into their respective rooms, sharing communal chimney breasts within party wall 8 and 9 (both phase 2)

The fireplace in Dwelling 1, Room 1 comprised two parallel east-west aligned brick walls 30 and 31 originally linked by north-south brick wall 32.

The fireplace in Dwelling 2, Room 1 consisted of two parallel east-west aligned brick walls 33 and 34. A brick right-angle 35 was situated within the space between these two walls, possibly representing an unexcavated ash box comparable to brick feature 40 (phase 5). However, as brickwork 35 was apparently sealed by unexcavated layer 57 (phase 4), this physical relationship suggests that brickwork 35 belonged to phase 3.



*Figure 8. Fireplace in Dwelling 2, Room 1*

The fireplace in Dwelling 3, Room 1 was formed by robber trench 71 (phase 6) and east-west aligned brick wall 36. Within the space between these two features was a small stub of east-west aligned brick wall 37, possibly representing an unexcavated ash box comparable to brick feature 40 (phase 5).

The fireplace in Dwelling 4, Room 1 combined east-west aligned brick wall stubs 38 and 39. A later intrusion 73 containing brick feature 40 (both phase 5) appeared to remove the brick link wall between walls 38 and 39.

Outside of the building, yet butting southern wall 4 (phase 2) was an east-west orientated flagstone pathway 68 measuring over 8.00m in length and 1.20m in width. The path consisted of rectangular flags approximately 1.00m x 0.60m in size lined to the south with stone edgings creating a formal border.

Phase 4: floor surfaces

Following the construction of the building during phases 2 and 3 a series of either floor surfaces or floor make-ups were lain.

In Dwelling 1, Room 1 a yellow clay surface 13 was deposited that butted walls 15, 16, 30, 31 and 32 (all phase 2). Overlying surface 13 was a loose dark grey charcoal and clinker spread 14 beneath demolition horizon 80 (phase 6).

In Dwelling 1, Room 2 and butting wall 16 (phase 3) was yellow clay 11 overlain by a yellow sand 10 sealed by demolition horizon 80 (phase 6). Layer 11 was also overlain by a cream mortar spread 79 also sealed by demolition horizon 80 (phase 6).

In Dwelling 2, Room 1 were two spreads of yellow clay and charcoal 55 and 57 that butted wall 34 and walls 33 and 35 (all phase 2) respectively. A spread of loose, dark grey, clean clinker 54 covered layers 55 and 57 and was sealed by layer 80 (phase 6).

In Dwelling 2, Room 2 butting wall 18 (phase 2) was a yellow clay spread 52, overlain by further yellow clay 51, that was sealed by a yellow sand 50 sealed by demolition horizon 80 (phase 6).

In Dwelling 2, Room 3 butting wall 19 (phase 2) was a yellow clay 46 sealed by demolition horizon 80 (phase 6).

In Dwelling 3, Room 1 butting walls 36 and 37 and wall 21 respectively, (both phase 2) were yellow clay spreads 59 and 61, respectively. Layer 61 was overlain by stone step 26 (phase 5), whilst layer 59 was beneath a light grey silty sand 77 grouting a *Yorkshire greys* flag surface 58 sealed by demolition horizon 80 (phase 6).

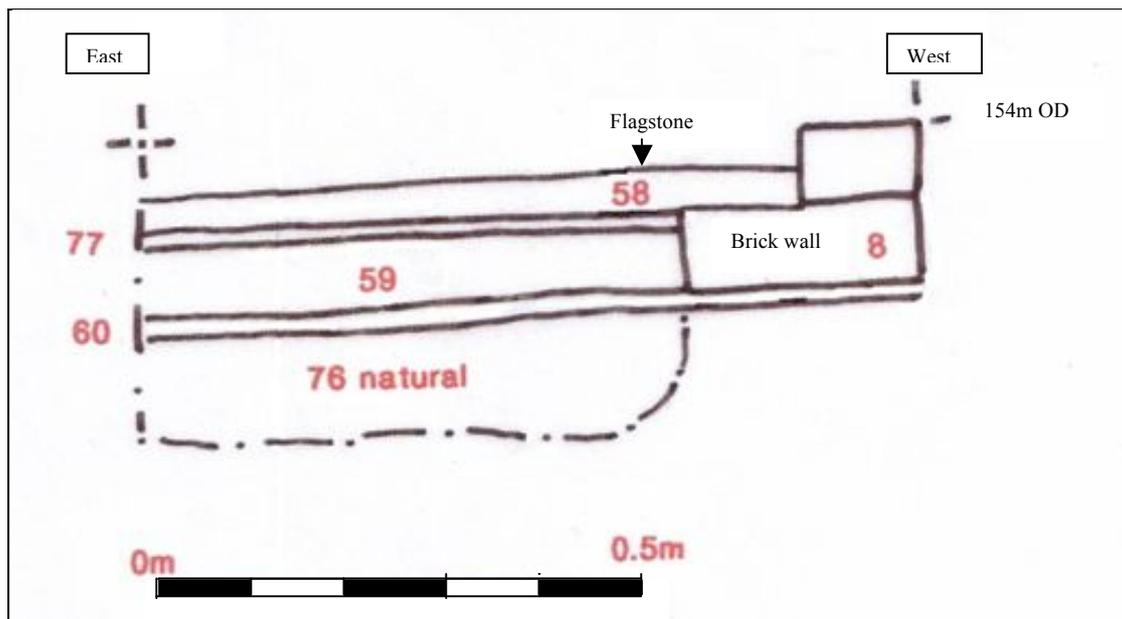


Figure 9. Section through floor deposits

In Dwelling 3, Room 2 butting wall 22 (phase 2) was a yellow clay 63 sealed by demolition horizon 80 (phase 6).

In Dwelling 4, Room 1 butting wall 39 (phase 2) was yellow clay 64 beneath layer 66 (phase 5) and butting wall 38 (phase 2) was a buff sand 65 truncated by cut 73 (phase 5).

#### Phase 5: adaptations during the buildings lifetime

A number of undetected adaptations occurred during the longevity of the building including the installation of gas and water services. The putative fireplaces were probably replaced with ranges in the mid 19<sup>th</sup> Century (Dwelling 4 see below), a thermally efficient successor to open hearths.

In Dwelling 4, Room 1 layer 65 (phase 4) was intruded by a square plan cut 73 that contained a square plan, red brick box 40 measuring 0.60m x 0.60m. The feature comprised a single skin of lime mortared brick set on bed in a stretcher pattern butted by yellow sand 72 within the construction backfill, whilst the square brick recess was filled by brick rubble and cream lime mortar 49 sealed by layer 66 (phase 6).

This dwelling appears to have undergone a spatial reorganisation with Room 2 merged into Room 1 with the installation of a light grey cement floor 67 that butted wall 23 (phase 2) and sealed by layer 66 (phase 6).

Butted by fill 47 (phase 6) was a stone slab 26 (0.70m x 0.45m) resting above layer 61 (phase 4) that probably represented the bottom step for a lost stairway rising above Room 3 in Dwelling 3.

Within Room 3, Dwelling 1 butting wall 17 (phase 2), a diagonal concrete beam 78 was inserted that was butted by rubble 45 (phase 6).



*Figure 10. Annex beside Dwelling 1*

Butting the western end of the building wall 5 (phase 2) was a brick annex formed by L-shaped brick walls 28 (adjacent to Dwelling 1) and 27 (adjacent to Dwelling 2). The two contexts comprised a single skin of red brick set on bed in a stretcher pattern,

bonded by cream lime mortar enclosing an area measuring 2.50m x 2.20m. This space was probably divided into two parts along an axis suggested by party wall 6 (phase 2) to the east and continued westwards as an un-mortared red brick wall 29 set on bed in a stretcher pattern. This wall appears to be a property division between Dwellings 1 and 2 and was butted by a dark grey garden soil 1.

Butting wall 27 in Dwelling 2, was a short stub of east-west aligned brickwork 43 measuring 0.60m in length that supported a stone slab 75 (0.80m x 0.35m) and butted by a yellow sand 44. Resting above this material was a creamy yellow mortar surface 42 that was beneath a spread of brick rubble 41 which spilled into Dwelling 1.

A similar stone slab 74 (0.80m x 0.35m) butted wall 28 within Dwelling 1 and as with adjacent stone slab 75 and spread 41 was sealed by demolition material 80 (phase 6).

#### Phase 6: demolition

During the 1950s the building was demolished. The fabric of the super-structure and its upper storey were removed from site whilst the probable flagstone floors were robbed. This action may have coincided with the removal of a brick wall stub forming a fireplace in Dwelling 3, Room 1, leaving an east-west aligned robber trench 71 filled by brick rubble 80.

Room 3 in Dwellings 1, 3 and 4 (space below a flight of stairs) was partially backfilled with brick rubble 45, 47 and 48 respectively sealed by brick rubble 80.

In Dwelling 3, Room 1, fill 49 and layers 72 and 67 (all phase 5) was a loose charcoal and brick material 66 sealed by brick rubble 80.

## **5. Discussion**

By drawing parallels from previous fieldwork and documentary sources it may be possible to deduce a narrower time frame for the buildings construction and collectively understand the significance of both this and similar tenements in Greater Manchester during the Industrial Revolution.

Addressing the discussion as a series of themes, the following discourse attempts to resolve some of these issues.

### Construction

The tenement of back-to-backs was constructed from brick indicating that

- There was a significant financial investment
- Returns were deemed sufficient to construct this building
- This was intended to be a permanent structure
- Brick production was nearby and that the local economy was sufficiently prosperous that it could support such services

Brick construction appears typical of a practice initiated from the late 18<sup>th</sup> early 19<sup>th</sup> Century. The closest parallel between the study area and other examples in the

Greater Manchester area appears to be the Bradley Street dwellings at Ancoats (Lupton et al 2005).

At Bradley Street and as with the study area, construction was formed by a triple brick skin forming a rectangular plan shell divided by a single brick widths central partition and further sub-divided by internal partitions of the same one brick widths, a technique similarly repeated at Piccadilly Place (Miller et al 2006, 23) and Loom Street (Gregory & Higgins 2006, 20).

Internal dwelling space at Bradley Street was approximately 6.60m x 3.60m (approximately 24 sq m) as opposed to 6.10m x 4.25m (approximately 26 sq m) at the study area.

The fireplaces at both sites consisted of brick buttresses either side of a party wall sharing a common chimney breast, with ranges being installed into these recesses at Bradley Street during the 1850's (Lupton et al 2005, 30-34) and probably similar to phase 5 activity in Dwelling 4 (see above) .

The only significant difference in the design of the foundation configuration and the ground floor spatial lay-out was the ground plan at Bradley Street was located in the cellar, whereas no cellar existed at the study area. The interpretation that access was from a single flight of wooden steps or a trap door (Lupton et al 2005, 47) appears flawed as at least one range of rooms (the back rooms of a dwelling) would have been in perpetual darkness with no form of ventilation.

Later refurbishment may have obscured the original architectural detail at Bradley Street. Most probably, the original intention was to access the cellared dwellings from each side of the buildings long axis, allowing these cellared buildings to exist as independent dwellings as is the case with the study building.

### Dating

The building under study was built between 1780 when Royton was described as possessing only a few decrepit cottages and 1848 when it appears on the First Edition Ordnance Survey map.

The earliest parallels are represented by the eight back-to-back, finely constructed, cottages built in 1791 at Portland Street (Roberts 1993, 17) with ground plans of approximately 4.20m x 3.20m per unit (13.5 sq m), significantly smaller than the examples currently under study.

The close parallel in form with Bradley Street may narrow construction at the study area to the early 19<sup>th</sup> Century. On Aston's map of 1804, no building existed but by 1819 it is illustrated on Pigott's map (Lupton et al 2005, 30).

The unfrogged, hand-made bricks (frogged bricks were introduced from the mid 19<sup>th</sup> Century onwards) used at the study area appear to be similar in character and size (230mm x 120mm x 70mm) to those used at Bradley Street, suggests that the building tradition and technique encountered at Bradley Street was similarly utilised at the study area.

However, this does not prove that the study area buildings were executed between 1804 and 1819, merely that the technique and practice existed to replicate such buildings.

Other common attributes have been observed with the set of back-to-backs at Piccadilly Place, where similar stylistic fireplaces were built between 1836 and 1850 (Miller et al 2006, 23), whilst the square plan, four unit back-to-backs uncovered at Area G, Loom Street were built between 1831 and 1848 (Gregory 2007, 40).

It would appear highly likely therefore, that the study buildings conformed to a model of intensive occupation in functional, speculative new buildings, at a period between approximately 1810 when demand for cotton products was high and 1840 when the Factory System had become well-established in Manchester. Further documentary research in due course may refine this date.

### Spatial organisation

The building was originally divided into eight units of which four were archaeologically visible. These four dwellings all displayed considerable internal spatial uniformity and symmetry.

Dwellings 1 and 2 were in their ground plan a mirror image of Dwellings 3 and 4 with all four properties sharing two chimney breasts on the party wall between these two sets of dwellings.

Dwelling 1 articulates the typical organisation of space within one of these dwellings. Access was through a threshold (0.80m in width) denoted by a double set of bricks set head-to-head and adjacent to Room 2 where a doorway (0.70m in width) existed between walls 15 and 16.



*Figure 11. Threshold into Dwelling 1*

Entry from outside would be into a parlour approximately 4.20m x 4.00m (16.8 sq m) with a central fireplace furthest from the door beside a shared party wall 8 with Dwelling 3. The fireplace was the hub of domestic activity providing warmth, light, cooked food, dry clothes and hot water. Probably during the 19<sup>th</sup> Century it was converted to a range and most definitely by the early 20<sup>th</sup> Century (Crothers *pers comm*).

The floor to the parlour from the outset would have been stone, formed from *Yorkshire Greys*. Beneath these flagstones was a layer of grouting sand and a membrane of impermeable yellow clay (usually two layers). In Dwelling 1, the original grouting sand may have been replaced by clinker as a bedding material. Although rudimentary, an attempt has been made to seal the floor from rising damp yet allow excess water to be dispersed.

As the super-structure did not exist, architectural embellishments such as window and door jambs cannot be described. However, there was a second storey to the building denoted by a flight of steep stairs that would have overlain Room 3, an observation corroborated by a stone step 26 in Dwelling 3, Room 3. These stairs would have been at an angle of approximately 45 degrees (headroom approximately 2.00m x length of Room 3, 2.10m).

Room 2 (2.80m x 2.00m) possibly served as a store or kitchen, although all cooking would be on the range, whilst Room 3 (2.10m x 1.10m), the room beneath the stairs, may have served as a larder or according to Mr Crothers (*pers comm*) was largely used as a coal store.

The original construction appears to have taken little heed to sanitation. Throughout the lifetime of the building, privies were outside in a block now removed by a modern bungalow just to the southwest beyond the study area.

Water was collected presumably from a communal well and heated on the range. A small annex attached to Dwellings 1 and 2 may have served as a laundry. Flagstones 74 and 75 may have supported coppers, as ash and charcoal was prevalent nearby.



*Figure 12. Flagstones in laundry annex*

The annex did not feature on the Second Edition 1892 Ordnance Survey map suggesting its construction was after 1892.

The annex was equally divided along an axis imposed by central party wall 6. This continued westward as a garden wall 29 thus defining communal and private space.

Social significance

The ownership arrangement for these dwellings is unknown but it is highly probable that the inhabitants were tenants paying rent to a landlord. The relationship between landlord and employer is unknown but may have been intimate as these dwellings are in short proximity to the weaving sheds of Lane End Mill.

In conversation with Mr John Crothers, he believed that the tenement was originally constructed for the benefit of weavers. In the early 19<sup>th</sup> Century, this group was the labour aristocracy who would have considered themselves as skilled artisans and in great demand as mechanisation had not seriously impinged on their craft.



*Figure 13. Adjacent weaving sheds*

The intention to locate housing close to the mill was probably deliberate as social control could be subtly exercised or if necessary coerced whilst reinforcing notions of dependence and communal loyalty. The conservative use of space also indicates that land was fully utilised in order to maximise profits for the builder, most probably a speculative third party. Back-to-backs provided high returns but with low material costs with speculative development maximising the return on land (Goodall & Taylor 2001, 19).

Ownership of these tenements, certainly during the early 20<sup>th</sup> Century was probably not directly through the mill. Unlike the agricultural tradition of tied cottages where eviction could occur when employment ceased, the tenants appeared to remain even after retirement thus suggesting that rents were paid to an outside agency.

At 65 and 67 Ducie Street, Manchester, tenure by skilled workers and artisans was on average for 20-30 years (Roberts 1984) during the Industrial era. This suggests that rather than transient and economically desperate populations many of these communities were socially stable with strong local identities.

However, archaeological visibility of these often unique, self-generated identities is best articulated through cultural material rather than physical structures such as buildings. Yet, even this methodology has to be treated with caution. Petrol cans found within a back-to-back does not necessarily indicate car ownership.

Squalid conditions did exist, highlighted by certain notorious quarters. At Bradley Street, it was reported that up to nine people were living in an area twelve square yards (Lupton et al 2005, 48). This intense social deprivation was however, a result of social stress through overcrowding, ignorance, low wages and a breakdown in the infrastructure e.g. sanitation management.

The buildings currently under study, do not suggest crippling poverty but a poor neighbourhood that matured into a stable community populated largely by single, retired people (Crother *pers comm*) during the early 20<sup>th</sup> Century.

### Conclusion

Although the workmanship of the study building is unpretentious, there are architectural limitations that inhibit the buildings performance e.g. lack of cavity walls, these dwellings were probably a considerable improvement on other contemporary dwellings, possessing solid floors, purpose-built chimneys and being largely free of damp (Crothers *pers comm*). Indeed, these were the new builds of their day and must have possessed a favourable social kudos.

The example at Royton studied above, does suggest an economically poor area but there is no overt evidence for crippling and destabilising poverty.

The buildings had by the mid 20<sup>th</sup> Century become blighted by reputation and were no longer fit for purpose. Moreover, the inhabitants being socially marginalised (largely elderly) had little political or economic power to challenge programmes of social regeneration and these back-to-backs were duly demolished during the 1950s.

### **6. Finds and ecofacts**

No finds were recovered from the watching brief, nor were any visible in the stratified deposits. Cultural material in the sealing deposit 80 was of middle to late 20<sup>th</sup> Century date.

It was deemed unnecessary to recover environmental samples from the watching brief as no relevant deposits were observed.

### **7. Archive**

The archive for this project will be deposited with the appropriate archaeological curator, Oldham Museum, Greater Manchester. This archive has been assembled in accordance within the protocols of Management of Archaeological Projects (MAP 2).

### **8. Acknowledgements**

Thanks are due to the client Mr Mike Dockwray for his considerable help and support and his son for the admirable machining of the site.

The thoughts and reminiscences of Mr John Crothers, whose grandmother, Mrs Buckley lived at the end cottage during the 1930s were greatly appreciated.

The interest and convivial support from members of Royston Local History Society was very generous and warmed the heart on a cold day!

Finally, credit is also due to Mr Andrew Myers, Assistant County Archaeologist Greater Manchester and the staff of Greater Manchester Archaeology Service for providing the background information and specification for this survey. In particular, Mr Myers was very helpful, providing guidance and assistance both on site and during the data gathering process.

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**APPENDIX A**

**Context Table**

Number	Type	Interpretation	Phase	Dwelling	Length	Width	Depth
1	Layer	Garden soil	6	-	17.00m	14.00m	0.20m
2	Natural	Sub-soil	0	-	17.00m	14.00m	0.10m
3	Layer	Party wall	2	4	1.20m	0.12m	0.08m
4	Fill	External wall	2	1 & 3	13.20m	0.40m	0.20m
5	Fill	External wall	2	1 & 2	8.50m	0.25m	0.20m
6	Layer	Party wall	2	1-4	13.00m	0.25m	0.08m
7	Layer	Party wall	2	3	4.20m	0.20m	0.16m
8	Layer	Party wall	2	1 & 3	4.20m	0.25m	0.16m
9	Layer	Party wall	2	2 & 4	2.00m	0.25m	0.16m
10	Layer	Floor make-up	4	1	2.80m	2.00m	0.05m
11	Layer	Floor make-up	4	1	2.80m	1.20m	0.05m
12	Layer	Construction horizon	2	1	1.00m	0.80m	0.02m
13	Layer	Floor make-up	4	1	4.20m	4.00m	0.03m
14	Layer	Floor make-up	4	1	3.00m	1.70m	0.05m
15	Layer	Internal wall	2	1	0.50m	0.25m	0.16m
16	Layer	Internal wall	2	1	2.90m	0.25m	0.16m
17	Layer	Internal wall	2	1	2.00m	0.12m	0.08m
18	Layer	Internal wall	2	2	2.40m	0.25m	0.16m
19	Layer	Internal wall	2	2	2.00m	0.12m	0.08m
20	Layer	Internal wall	2	3	0.50m	0.12m	0.08m
21	Layer	Internal wall	2	3	1.40m	0.25m	0.16m
22	Layer	Internal wall	2	3	2.00m	0.12m	0.08m
23	Layer	Internal wall	2	4	0.50m	0.12m	0.08m
24	Layer	Internal wall	2	4	0.70m	0.25m	0.16m
25	Layer	Internal wall	2	4	1.10m	0.50m	0.16m
26	Layer	Stone step	5	3	0.70m	0.35m	0.06m
27	Layer	Annex wall	5	2	2.10m	0.12m	0.08m
28	Layer	Annex wall	5	1	2.10m	0.12m	0.08m
29	Layer	Garden wall	5	-	1.30m	0.12m	0.08m
30	Layer	Wall stub for fireplace	3	1	0.40m	0.25m	0.16m
31	Layer	Wall stub for fireplace	3	1	0.50m	0.25m	0.16m
32	Layer	Wall stub for fireplace	3	1	0.40m	0.12m	0.08m
33	Layer	Wall stub for fireplace	3	2	0.50m	0.25m	0.16m
34	Layer	Wall stub for fireplace	3	2	0.50m	0.25m	0.16m
35	Layer	Wall stub for fireplace	3	2	0.60m	0.12m	0.08m
36	Layer	Wall stub for fireplace	3	3	0.50m	0.25m	0.16m
37	Layer	Wall stub for fireplace	3	3	0.50m	0.12m	0.08m
38	Layer	Wall stub for fireplace	3	4	0.50m	0.50m	0.25m
39	Layer	Wall stub for fireplace	3	4	0.50m	0.25m	0.16m
40	Fill	Brick box	5	4	0.50m	0.12m	0.08m
41	Layer	Demolition spread	6	1	2.20m	2.00m	0.10m
42	Layer	Demolition spread	6	2	1.50m	0.90m	0.05m
43	Layer	Wall stub	5	2	0.80m	0.12m	0.08m
44	Layer	Floor make-up	5	2	1.20m	0.20m	0.08m
45	Layer	Demolition spread	6	1	2.00m	1.10m	0.10m
46	Layer	Floor make-up	4	2	2.00m	1.10m	0.10m
47	Layer	Demolition spread	6	3	2.00m	0.90m	0.10m
48	Layer	Demolition spread	6	4	2.00m	1.10m	0.10m
49	Fill	Fill of brick box	5	4	0.32m	0.32m	0.10m
50	Layer	Floor make-up	4	2	3.00m	2.00m	0.02m
51	Layer	Floor make-up	4	2	1.80m	1.00m	0.03m
52	Layer	Floor make-up	4	2	1.50m	1.50m	0.03m

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53	Layer	Floor make-up	2	2	1.20m	1.10m	0.02m
54	Layer	Demolition	6	2	3.50m	3.30m	0.09m
55	Layer	Floor make-up	4	2	2.80m	1.60m	0.04m
56	Layer	Floor make-up	2	2	1.10m	0.70m	0.02m
57	Layer	Floor make-up	4	2	2.00m	1.80m	0.04m
58	Layer	Flagstone floor	4	3	0.60m	0.30m	0.03m
59	Layer	Floor make-up	4	3	4.00m	2.40m	0.06m
60	Layer	Floor make-up	2	3	4.00m	4.00m	0.02m
61	Layer	Floor make-up	4	3	2.30m	1.80m	0.06m
62	Layer	Floor make-up	2	3	2.50m	2.00m	0.03m
63	Layer	Floor make-up	4	3	2.00m	1.80m	0.06m
64	Layer	Floor make-up	4	4	1.30m	0.50m	0.06m
65	Layer	Floor make-up	4	4	1.10m	0.40m	0.05m
66	Layer	Demolition horizon	6	4	5.50m	3.50m	0.10m
67	Layer	Cement floor	5	4	2.70m	2.20m	0.02m
68	Layer	Flagstone path	3	-	8.00m	1.20m	0.10m
69	Cut	Foundation trench	2	1 & 3	13.20m	0.40m	0.20m
70	Cut	Clearance	1	1-4	15.00m	10.00m	unknown
71	Cut	Robbing of fireplace	6	3	0.50m	0.30m	0.10m
72	Fill	Backfill to brick box	5	4	0.70m	0.20m	0.10m
73	Cut	Brick box	5	4	0.80m	0.70m	0.10m
74	Layer	Stone flag	5	1	0.80m	0.30m	0.05m
75	Layer	Stone flag	5	2	0.80m	0.30m	0.05m
76	Natural	Drift geology	0	-	-	-	-
77	Layer	Floor make-up	4	3	0.50m	0.30m	0.02m
78	Layer	Concrete beam	4	1	1.20m	0.30m	0.10m
79	Layer	Floor make-up	4	1	1.00m	0.50m	0.04m
80	Layer	Overburden	6	1-4	17.00m	14.00m	0.25m