

THE CROWN, LAMBETH, 1784-1870: URBAN DEVELOPMENT, SOCIAL PRACTICE, AND THE MATERIAL CULTURE OF A NINETEENTH CENTURY PUBLIC HOUSE. PART I

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Introduction: Lambeth and The Crown, sites and approaches

1. Lambeth, amenity, and the public house

Today, the junction of Lambeth Road and Lambeth High Street, London SE1, gives little indication of the settlement that once existed here. The incongruity of the name 'High Street' for a street that contains only one commercial premises, The Windmill public house at number 44, is the subject of a 'Notes and Queries' page in the *Guardian* newspaper's online edition.¹ The Vauxhall Civic Society's web page relating to Lambeth High Street echoes the puzzlement of the *Guardian*'s anonymous questioner, stating that the street, which runs south from St. Mary's Church on Lambeth Road to Black Prince Road, is 'so unlike a typical high street scene, and yet 100 years ago this is exactly what it was', before going on to cite a list of businesses in operation on Lambeth High Street in 1887 which includes boatsmiths, potters and grocers as well as two public houses, The Windmill and The King Henry VIII, and a beer retailer.² On the north side of Lambeth Road the Church of St. Mary, founded in 1062, was deconsecrated in 1973 and is now in use as the Garden Museum.³ It is faced on the south side by upmarket apartments named Palace View and Parliament View, and a Novotel.⁴ Here, an early photograph taken by Thomas Strudwick in 1865 from the western end of Lambeth Road demonstrates the change of scene (Fig 1): With the river at the photographer's back we see, in place of the shining glass and brick of today, a row of buildings of various styles and ages stretching away to the east, the

business signs attached to their fronts fading to illegibility as the focus recedes.

With a church that is no longer a place of worship, and a high street that is no longer a place of commerce we might think of modern Lambeth as a no-man's land, where a sense of place has been denuded by successive redevelopments, leaving only its outlines in street names and plans and fragmentary records such as Strudwick's photographs. The name Lambeth has, since the late nineteenth century, been used to refer to a much larger geographical area, the Metropolitan Borough of Lambeth. This stretches some miles to the south and east and includes the neighbourhoods of Streatham, Brixton, Clapham and Camberwell, further diluting the identity of the original settlement.⁵ The object of this study is an attempt to recover a small fragment of Thames-side Lambeth, or Water Lambeth, as it was sometimes known,⁶ from its present-day anonymity. For the purposes of this discourse it is referred to simply as Lambeth. References to the wider parish of borough will be made explicit in the text.

The subject of this study is a public house, The Crown, which stood at the heart of Lambeth, on what is today Lambeth Road but which was for the period of the Crown's history examined here known as Church Street. The Crown's position in Lambeth, just east of the junction with Lambeth High Street, is marked on a map of 1793 (Fig. 2).

This study follows the history and material culture of The Crown, an establishment that throughout its exist-



Figure 1. Lambeth Road from its western end. William Strudwick, c.1865. Copyright of Lambeth Archives, reproduced with permission.

tence can be seen to serve a densely populated industrial area, from 1784 up to 1870. This is a period that urban historians of Britain have widely viewed as key both to the social impact of developing industries in urban areas,⁷ and the role of the pub as a site of working class sociability in an increasingly socially separated society.⁸ In tracing this narrative it explores, as previous studies have, the relationship between changes in the architecture and material culture of the pub and its wider social and economic context.⁹ Throughout the narrative laid out here aspects of The Crown's story, including the very fact of its establishment, can be seen to reflect and be influenced by the development of Lambeth around it. These impressions can only ever be partial, not least

because The Crown was not the only pub in Lambeth at any point in the story, but also because the evidence that survives, like all evidence of the past, is fragmentary, and at times ambiguous.¹⁰

This study is timely with regard to the role of pubs in Britain in the present day. Under the terms of the 2011 'Localism Act' the 'vital role in local life' played by the pub has been recognised, with communities given the right to register pubs, amongst a range of buildings, as 'assets of community value' (ACV).¹¹ A 2015 report on the impact of the legislation listed pubs as the largest single proportion of registered ACVs at 31%.¹² In classifying the remaining proportion of ACVs the value of



Figure 2. Detail of Carey's Map, 1793, showing the site of The Crown.

the pub is ranked alongside other important community institutions such as Churches, Village Greens and Parks, Libraries and Community Centres, all of which have been nominated not by professional organisations or local government, but by local community groups, the people who use and value them.¹³ This value can be argued to class the pub as an amenity, defined as 'a pleasantness', 'a desirable facility' and 'a civility'.¹⁴

In light of this demonstrable amenity value of the pub to the life of communities today, this study seeks to assess the importance and value as an amenity of The Crown

to the life of its community in Lambeth between 1784 and 1870. It is useful here to outline the structure of the piece before looking in more detail at the methods and sources employed in realising it.

The first chapter presents a narrative of The Crown from its foundation sometime in the first half of the 1780s to the implementation of the Beer Act in 1830. It examines The Crown's establishment in the urban fabric of Lambeth and the relationship between the settlement and the wider metropolis. This is complemented by the consideration of The Crown in other contexts; as part of a network of drinking establishments; its governmental and regulatory environment; a context of the local economy; and, as far as is possible given the scarcity of sources, the local population. The evidence points to Lambeth at the beginning of the period as a distinct and specialised industrial settlement, on the edge of the metropolis and oriented principally toward the river. As the period progresses, Lambeth becomes increasingly industrialised and populous.

The second part of this chapter then examines the architecture of The Crown. Established on one of Lambeth's main streets, the purpose built public house deploys architectural strategies in order to establish itself as a site of respectable sociability. This can be seen to bring prosperity, as demonstrated in the wealth of its proprietors, particularly after the key organ of local government for Lambeth, the vestry, moves in next door in 1809.

Lastly, the focus moves inside The Crown, to examine how this respectable sociability was enacted across the spaces of the building, for residents of Lambeth across the social scale. As well as being organised spatially, social practice at The Crown can also be seen to be materialised, with evidence from both objects and spaces pointing to a range of activities encompassing various kinds of consumption such as that of alcoholic drinks, non-alcoholic drinks, food and tobacco, and other social activities from informal gaming and gambling to more formal associational and administrative meetings. The role of the publican here is crucial, both in providing convivial service and maintaining order and respectability.

The second chapter looks at the period between 1830 and 1870, and follows the same convention as the first

one in first examining the evidence for The Crown's various contexts, and then moving on to the people and practices within. In both areas the source material for this later period is considerably enhanced by an increased quantity of documentary evidence, and also the survival of a substantial quantity of material culture in the archaeological record that can be directly linked to The Crown.

In terms of The Crown's contexts, the narrative is one of relative stasis for the first part of the period, in which increasing industrialisation and population density appear to result in increasing prosperity for The Crown. The arrival of the London & South Western Railway in 1848 is the first of a series of changes across the various contexts outlined in the previous chapter, including the relocation of the Vestry Hall to Kennington in 1853 and the opening of Lambeth Bridge in 1861 which can be seen to disrupt the networks in which The Crown has previously operated. The construction of the Albert Embankment in 1869 closes the period of this study by sweeping away the most part of the original settlement of Lambeth.

Even in context of these changes, the evidence for the activities taking place within The Crown in this period continues to reflect custom from a range of social backgrounds. The material evidence available suggests a considerable emphasis on the service of food as well as drink, and documentary sources link this to diverse social activities from bell ringing to boat racing. This can be seen to demonstrate The Crown's continued social importance to the local population, whilst it is also welcoming people from further afield. This continuing popularity, particularly in the period during which the urban setting that The Crown was built to serve is being so radically restructured, can be seen as demonstrative of the pub's resilience and importance as a site of working class sociability.

In the conclusion, some of the prevailing historiographic narratives of the public house and of Lambeth in the period will be re-examined in light of the narrative of The Crown established in the previous chapters. Whilst it is worth stating here that the established literature has had a substantial influence on the methodology of this study (a relationship explored more fully below), a number of the impressions framed from the evidence of public houses in survey are called into question by the case of The Crown.

In the case of the historiography of Lambeth, the prevailing narrative called into question is one of slum decline and undifferentiated poverty. Whilst no attempt is made to deny the presence of poverty in Lambeth or to understate the suffering of its many impoverished inhabitants in the period, the evidence of The Crown can be seen to present a counternarrative in which nineteenth century Lambeth and the public house within it, normally associated with both moral and economic poverty can instead be seen as a site of convivial sociability.

The evidence of The Crown can be seen to question the merit of dividing histories of the public house using legislative watersheds such as the Beer Act of 1830, especially when material evidence is in play. Within this periodization the historiographic presentation of the withdrawal of civic and economic functions from the public house is also problematized by the study of The Crown presented here. The conclusion also discusses the strengths of a material cultural approach, and suggestions are made for future studies that might further nuance our understanding of the social role of the public house in nineteenth century London.

2. *Approaching the Pub*

In order to develop an understanding of The Crown as an amenity within its community, this study pursues three main lines of enquiry, each of which draws on an established body of scholarship. These lines of enquiry are explained below, to give the reader a sense of both the method of the study and its historiographic origins.

Firstly, The Crown must be understood in its social and economic context. This kind of study of drinking places stems from the social history 'moment' of the late 1970s.¹⁵ In his landmark work of 1983 social historian Peter Clark undertook a *longue durée* study: *The English Alehouse: A Social History 1200-1830* surveyed the changing social role of the alehouse.¹⁶ Of particular relevance here is the end of Clark's period in which he argues that from the last quarter of the Eighteenth Century:

The rapid growth of population and urbanisation created important new marketing opportunities [for drinking establishments] ... though the pattern of demand was

increasingly fractured and confused by changes in the relative economic and social position of skilled workers and the unskilled and labouring poor.¹⁷

The public house for Clark then, is understood through the urban context of the establishment, the work of the publican within that context to encourage patrons, and the work and social standing of those patrons within wider society.

Clark's work is followed, chronologically and methodologically, by that of Paul Jennings. Jennings' earlier work, *The Public House in Bradford 1770-1970*, addresses the question of the scale upon which such studies are best undertaken, suggesting that the processes of 'evoking a sense of place, and of delineating more subtly the passage of time and of change within it' are the particular value of a detailed local study of public house culture,¹⁸ a maxim that is partly responsible for the restriction of the scope of this study, as far as is possible, to a single public house. The conclusion of this study re-examines aspects of the metanarrative framed by the work of Clark and Jennings in light of the evidence from the Crown.

Both support their understandings of the public house in its social and economic context with what Clark refers to as a 'pot-pourri' of sources such as 'sessions and borough records, central government papers, sermons and pamphlets, church court registers, fire insurance policies and, towards the end of our period, the writing of artisans and other working men'.¹⁹

Jennings' treatment of the late Hanoverian inn in Bradford, a term again framed by Clark,²⁰ introduces an architectural understanding of the public house to this Social History discourse which employs sales particulars, title deeds and other buildings history documents, and allows him to explore the spatial nature of social practice in the public house.²¹ In the case of Bradford, different trades patronised different pubs, but also that even within the preferred pub of a particular trade, more skilled workers would sit apart in the parlour whilst their lesser skilled colleagues frequented the taproom.²²

In addressing a later period - up to the present day, Jennings' work elaborates an argument, referred to by Clark at the end of his text,²³ for the increasing importance of the 'Gin Palace' as both an institution in its

own right geared toward a lower class urban market²⁴ and as a style that influenced the wider design of public houses from the mid-nineteenth century onward.²⁵

This is drawn from the work of architectural historian Mark Girouard whose impressive tome *Victorian Pubs* (1979) articulates a rather deterministic development of public house architecture to its perceived apogee in the 1870s and 1880s, in which the heavily subdivided bar is read as an expression of the social separation of the Victorian city.²⁶

James Kneale, a historical geographer, has responded to Girouard's work coining the idea of the public house interior as a micro-geography.²⁷ Although it should be born in mind here that neither Girouard, who is more concerned with the aesthetic qualities of the architecture and the role of the architect²⁸ nor Kneale, who admits his sources' (two governmental enquiries, one from the 1850s and the other from the 1890s) deficiencies in occluding the voice of the drinker with those of the policeman and the magistrate,²⁹ are attempting to recover the patron's experience of the public house, their ideas about internal spaces are of use to this study. One of the questions addressed in the first two chapters is whether or not this socially differentiated micro-geography, well understood in the architecture of the public house, can be read in its material culture.

Historical archaeologists provide not only a wealth of material culture associated with the public house and its working class patrons in the period, but also methods for analysing this material to understand 'quotidian social practices and ... the negotiation of power and identity'.³⁰ These are, as seen above, pressing concerns for the established histories of the public house and it is the aim of this dissertation to complicate some of the metanarratives presented earlier through the use of both method and source material drawn from historical archaeology. The method in application to The Crown is discussed in the following section, but it is useful here to lay out the field and some of its achievements thus far.

Of particular use in the context of Lambeth is the 'ethnographies of place' methodology, proposed initially in the context of the urban archaeology of Melbourne's 'Little Lon' slum district by Alan Mayne and Susan Lawrence.³¹ The method, which entails the interwoven examination of archaeological evidence and

documentary historical sources, has been vigorously pursued in the context of London's eighteenth and nineteenth century archaeology by Nigel Jeffries, Alastair Owens and others in relation to the contents of privies and cess pits, made up predominantly (but not exclusively) of ceramics and glass, and believed to be filled and sealed in a short space of time as a consequence of sanitary reform.³²

This fascinating source material and methodology is teamed with a revisionist goal to 'challenge the homogenising ... slum images which dominate representations - and many subsequent academic and popular histories - of poor urban dwellers and the localities in which they lived'³² is made clear for nineteenth century Lambeth by its description in a recent popular history:

Lambeth was where the human tide stopped; the drains were non-existent, the water sources filthy and the buildings overcrowded. There was public drunkenness; drink was cheap and pubs were numerous.³⁴

As will be seen in the following chapters, the narrative formed from the documentary and material evidence for The Crown is considerably more complex than the undifferentiated impression, with its inferred relationship between the material poverty of the slum and the moral poverty of drunkenness, presented here.

The scale of such archaeological studies is 'necessarily local, proceeding through the investigation of household archaeological assemblages perhaps relating to a single block of residential buildings',³⁵ a point which also highlights the preoccupation of studies 'ethnographies of place' of nineteenth century London with the domestic setting. The types of documentary evidence used to contextualize assemblages, including

information on who lived in the households; records of the physical fabric of the locality; sources dealing with land ownership and tenancy records of local institutions ... [and] contemporary descriptions of the locality³⁶

might be said to lend themselves more readily to locating individuals within a domestic context, although this is still a challenging process in context of the mobility of nineteenth century working class Londoners,³⁷ than to understanding the practices and movements of the patrons of a public house.

In spite of this, historical archaeology has developed meaningful interpretations of material from the sites of known eighteenth and nineteenth century public houses,³⁸ the methods of which are more fully explored below.

3. Reading The Crown: Contexts, Buildings, Spaces, and Objects

The selection of The Crown as the focus for this study, because of its unique body of archaeological evidence, can be seen as an answer to multiple calls for interdisciplinary studies of material culture from within the discipline of historical archaeology, originating both from a broader international survey of the field,³⁹ and, of particular relevance here, from a London specific context.⁴⁰

It does not, however, adopt a full 'ethnographies of place' approach. One of the goals here is to offer a sustained critique of the historiographic metanarrative of Clark, Girouard and Jennings outlined above, and in order to do this effectively this study must present change over time, and develop an understanding of The Crown as rendered through their methods, so as to test the strength of the assumptions built upon them. The analysis of material culture is of course the primary concern, but in order to map change over time in the presence and use of objects within the spaces of The Crown a longer view must be taken than the archaeology offers, a point that bears explaining.

The contents of the clearance deposit, 'the back fill of a brick lined pit'⁴¹ from the Crown have previously been the subject of an archaeological analysis, the principal concern of which was the deposition of the material within the context of an archaeology of sanitary reform in Lambeth, examining the 'complex wider ideologies behind the sorting and discard of rubbish which are crucial to the study of household archaeology'.⁴²

The process and context of deposition is crucial to understanding clearance deposits, particularly within the disciplinary apparatus of archaeology, which traditionally reads its material sources from the excavation of deposits in the reverse order to that in which they were laid down.

Research that provided the invaluable starting point for this study links the material excavated from The

Crown to two proprietors, through the presence of two small spirit glasses engraved with their names, Aylett and Miller.⁴³ These names can then be in turn linked to individuals documented in census returns as Jeffries has,⁴⁴ and with the closer focus afforded by the limited scope of this study, licensing calendars from the Newington Petty Sessions, which indicate that licensees to whom they refer at The Crown are Joseph Miller, licensed between 1847 and 1851 and William Aylett licensed between 1851 and 1865.⁴⁵ A stoneware sherd, excavated from another deposit, context 7, refers to another licensee, Charles Cains, incumbent at the Crown from 1866-67.⁴⁶

In context of the study of the deposition of this material, as a part of an archaeology of sanitary reform in Lambeth, a drainage application dated 13 March 1862⁴⁷ suggests a date after which deposition might have occurred, in that this would be the point after which the cess pit in which the material was found became redundant. Jeffries, in reference to the deposit in which the inscribed glasses were found, has suggested a narrative

of deposition for the material as part of a clear out of unwanted goods when the Ayletts moved away.⁴⁹ The goal of this study is to examine the objects from the cess pit not in context of their deposition, but in the context of their use.

Another archaeological study of tavern assemblages has begun to imagine the objects recovered from a clearance deposit in the context of their use. Pearce's analysis involves assigning various types of pottery to a scheme of functional categories intended to aid the interpretation of different kinds of activities taking place on the site.⁴⁹ It should be noted that these are posed from the outset as flexible, because 'formalised schemes cannot acknowledge the multiplicity of uses many vessels were put to'.⁵⁰

The results of an analysis of the ceramic and glass objects from The Crown (all of which are tabulated in Appendix D, each with a unique reference number) based on these categories (Fig. 3.) show that the largest single functional category for ceramics from the deposit

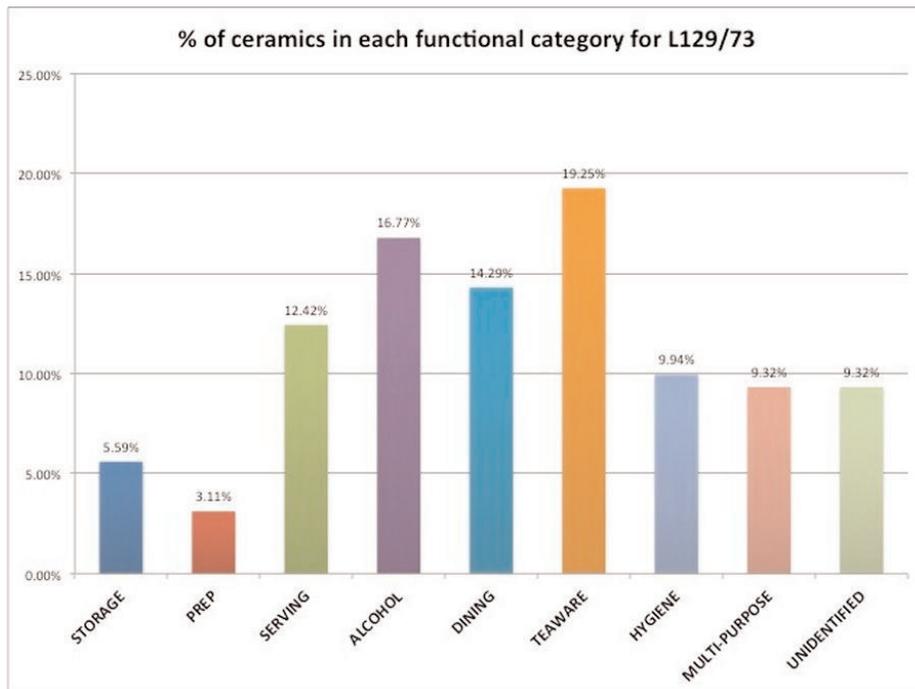


Figure 3. Graph showing functional breakdown of glass and ceramic from L129/93. Author's own.

was teaware, making up almost 20% of the assemblage. Further, in spite of a large quantity of dining wares and a notable quantity of serving wares which would appear to suggest a substantial quantity of food being consumed, there is a very low quantity of food storage and preparation vessels present.

Much more can be said about the way that material culture was made use of at The Crown if we are able to analyse its presence within the spaces of the building, and this is the method discussed below.

In the treatment of sources below it should be clear in the mind of the reader from the outset that his study takes the methods of public house history drawn from Clark and Jennings and those of Historical Archaeology to be complementary. The key point here is the similarity in the body of documentary sources employed in the social history approach, Clark's *pot-pourri* with the addition of Jennings' architectural sources, and the types of material used to contextualise the clearance deposits that are the subject of the ethnographic approach.

Although it is rarely possible to discover individual uses of the objects in The Crown, particularly in the early period, it is possible to combine the understandings of population and how they might have used the public house with documentary evidence of its spaces and architecture and physical evidence of its material culture to suggest how practices and patterns of use might have been enacted. This is what is attempted over the next two chapters.

With this in mind, the remainder of this introduction addresses the sources used to construct the narrative of the first two chapters within four categories: Contexts, Buildings, Spaces and Objects.

i. Contexts

The Crown's broader social and economic context, both within Lambeth and within London must, necessarily for a study of this length, be understood historically. These understandings are based on a combination of broad survey histories of London in the period, based on primary sources.⁵¹ Janet Roebuck's *Urban Development in Nineteenth Century London*, a survey of the development of local government in

Lambeth, Battersea and Wandsworth as it developed between 1838 and 1880,⁵² and economic histories of London's labour relations in the period⁵³ also feature highly.

For the period after 1830, these understandings are complemented, and sometimes contested, through the use of contemporary local newspapers, and census data, allowing a finer grained grasp on both the makeup and occupation of the population local to The Crown.

Census data is used to analyse the occupations of a sample of the population of the parish of Lambeth immediately adjacent to The Crown, including the area between the pub and Paradise Street, initially known as Crown Passage, but by 1841 recorded as Horend's Cottages and Place, and then Horend's Cottages and Savages Place by 1861. The area of the sample can be argued as a likely catchment for the patrons of The Crown, and as the century progresses its population can be seen to become increasingly composed of artisan workers, for whom the public house has been seen as an important social institution.

There are widely acknowledged difficulties with the comparative analysis of nineteenth century census material. In particular, the first census used, that of 1841, has widely acknowledged problems with incomplete coverage of female occupation data, and also lists unskilled labourers as a separate occupation rather than within the trades they often served.⁵⁴ That said, this data remains the best available evidence for occupation in the period, and even acknowledging the problems above the sample area demonstrates the artisan character of the population local to The Crown.

Licensing calendars for Lambeth exist for the entire span of the period in question, and a table listing the licensees of The Crown, sampled in alternate years except where a change of licensee requires clarification, forms Appendix A.

ii. Buildings

As will be seen the period of study begins with The Crown's construction in 1784. A wealth of information survives about the architectural form of the building and its ownership throughout the period, including

descriptions, ground plans and exterior views, referred to or used as illustrations throughout the text.

iii. Spaces

An understanding of the interior spaces of The Crown can be reconstructed from an inventory of fixtures for the building drawn up as part of a lease in 1809, a transcription of which forms Appendix B.

It bears mentioning here that in order to answer the question of how the objects discussed below populated the spaces of The Crown, it has been necessary to recruit evidence for how objects were distributed and used across the spaces of pubs using other examples. This evidence takes the form of public house inventories, drawn up rapidly when public houses were sold, which appear to show the majority of goods *in situ*.

However, this concession has only been made to explain the possible use of objects known to have been present at The Crown, or in cases where objects or practices are so ubiquitous to the operations of a public house that they can be said without reasonable doubt to have existed at The Crown. Further, every effort has been made in such analyses to account for the way in which such objects and practices might have been adapted to the specific context of The Crown.

This is especially important if we are to use the objects which can be related to The Crown to learn more about the experience of customers and publicans than documentary sources alone can suggest.

iv. Objects

Two key sources are used to develop an understanding of the material culture of the Crown, and the use of these bears a little explanation here. The first chapter, up to 1830, relies heavily on insurance valuations as evidence of the types of goods that would have been present in The Crown. The insurance records relating to The Crown, from the Policy Registers of the Royal and Sun Alliance Insurance Company, form Appendix C.

The impression gained from these records alone can only provide a very limited impression of the types of

objects to be found in The Crown. Thus the inventories referred to above are recruited here to give a more precise picture of what the insurance values might represent in terms of individual objects, which can then be contextualised with what is understood about the kinds of activities which took place at The Crown in the period.

In the second chapter, the analysis again makes use of contemporary public house inventories in order to imagine ‘what was originally a far wider, more comprehensive, and constantly changing range of utensils’⁵⁵ than the contents of the assemblage excavated from The Crown, and also to situate them within the spaces of the building. Whilst, as before, this requires a certain imaginative leap, it is in this later period qualified by the much richer range of documentary evidence for activities in The Crown referred to above.

Chapter One. A New Crown for old Lambeth

The earliest available documentary record of The Crown is a listing in the calendar of licenses of the Newington Petty Sessions dating from 1784 in which one Joseph Pearson is listed at Church Street, in the parish of St. Mary Lambeth.¹ Unfortunately this is the earliest surviving licensing calendar for the Newington division, and so it cannot be said precisely how long prior to this Pearson had been operating The Crown. However, a description of The Crown from 1831, refers to it as having been erected by Pearson ‘on the site of an old messuage formerly held by Samuel Jackson’.² This messuage is the subject of an indenture signed by Samuel Jackson in 1752, in which it is neither referred to as The Crown or by any other sign.³ If this indenture ran its term of 21 years it would have expired in 1773 and it was probably some time after this date that Pearson acquired the site. An insurance document of 1790, six years *after* Pearson’s name first appears on the licensing calendars refers to Pearson’s address as ‘The New Crown’, however documents thereafter do not use the word new in relation to The Crown.⁴ In this discourse, the date of establishment is taken as 1784.

It has not been possible to find any record of Pearson before he is licensed to keep The Crown, and so it cannot be said whether he was a native to Lambeth or an incomer from elsewhere. What can be said is that he



Figure 4. Detail, Map of London, Westminster and Southwark, John Rocque 1749 showing the settlement of Lambeth.

remained in Lambeth as licensee of The Crown until his death in 1807. What follows is an account of Lambeth, from the time at which Pearson founded The Crown, and its development in a number of different capacities over the period that Pearson operated the public house and afterward, up to 1830.

1. The Crown in Lambeth: Industry and Civil Business

One of the main goals here is to evoke a sense of the position within Lambeth that The Crown occupied, and thus it is best to start with the topographical context. Whilst urban space is without question constructed socially, 'by the routines of individuals and groups and actors ... [and] the social and cultural structures which framed and informed their daily routines',⁵ as much as it is by the physical elements of the street, the building and the river, these topographical elements have an agency in the narrative of The Crown as well as serving as a frame of reference for less tangible contexts to follow.

Rocque's Map of 1749 shows Lambeth as a distinct settlement on the edge of London (Fig. 4). Organised between St. Mary's Church and Lambeth Palace to the North and Vauxhall Gardens at its southern extreme, Lambeth is almost entirely separated from other developed areas south of the Thames by open land marked as market gardens. The Thames itself looms large in the landscape, Lambeth's foreshore being lined with wharfs and stairs reached by a series of courts and alleys running west from Fore Street, which defines the 'river strip ... where the industries and population of Lambeth were concentrated before the nineteenth century'.⁶

Later maps, such as Carey's of 1793 (Fig. 2) and finally Greenwood's map of 1830 (Fig. 5) demonstrate that the street pattern of Lambeth changed little over the period in question. One notable change, however, between Rocque's map and Carey's 30 years later is the disappearance of Red Lion Yard, shown at the northern end of what on the earlier map is marked 'Back Lane'. By 1792 the thoroughfare has been opened up to connect with Church Street, just west of The Crown, the position of which is marked. The cartographer has in fact taken some creative license here, in that the land was not formally acquired by the parish until 1815,⁷ however

the appearance of the map may demonstrate just how freely it was used prior to this. On a practical level this reorganisation took place in order to deal with increasing traffic, however it should also be viewed as an attempt by the authorities of Lambeth to align 'the street with the norms and aspirations of a polite society',⁸ especially in light of other civic improvements referred to later.

The development of land all around Lambeth that can be seen by comparing the 1792 map with that of 1830 was brought about at least in part by the opening of two new river crossings in the eighteenth century. To the north Westminster Bridge in 1750⁹ and Blackfriars Bridge in 1769¹⁰ which, along with the organisation of their attendant approach roads on the south side of the Thames around St. George's Circus in 1771 revolutionised road travel and communications between the north and south banks of the Thames and opened up Lambeth and other southern districts for development.¹¹ Further to the two eighteenth century bridges, Waterloo also opened to the north in 1817¹² and Vauxhall in 1809¹³ as can be seen in Greenwood's map (Fig 5). What is also of note is the way that in this period the major arterial routes bypass Water Lambeth. The development referred to above, which as can be seen tends to follow these arterial routes, leaves Lambeth comparatively untouched, particularly the highly specialised urban fabric of wharves and yards running along the river and communicating with Fore Street.

The wharves existed principally to facilitate the unloading of clay and coal for the potteries that had existed around Lambeth High Street since at least the seventeenth century, and the shipping out of their finished products.¹⁴ The expansion of the potteries of Lambeth through the second half of the eighteenth century and into the early nineteenth has been well documented both historically and archaeologically,¹⁵ and it can be said without doubt that they constituted one of the most important industries in Lambeth throughout the period of this study.

The wharves also, however, supported their own trade and industry. Boat and barge building were prominent industries and insurance records for the period show several up and down the foreshore at Stangate and Fore Street.¹⁶ These records suggest a degree of mobility within the area, as shown by individuals such as Andrew



Figure 5. Detail from Greenwood's map of 1830, with The Crown marked.

Dawson. Initially insured at No.5 Fore Street in 1827, with his occupation listed as ‘Barge Builder’,¹⁷ Dawson’s policy of 1833 places him at No.20 Fore Street.¹⁸ This kind of mobility, restricted to a tightly limited locality in this case bounded by Dawson’s need to be near the river in order to work, has been seen as a common feature of residential experience in nineteenth century London.¹⁹ One can imagine then, that the place of the pub as a fixed point of sociability in this shifting residential landscape might have been an important one.

Pearson established The Crown right at the heart of the old settlement of Lambeth not simply in a physical sense but also at the centre of political organisation for

the area. The Lambeth Vestry, from 1809 until 1856, met in its Vestry Hall quite literally next door to The Crown and even before then would have met in the Vestry at St. Mary’s Church, just across the road.²⁰ Although Vestry records do not survive for the period, we can interpret the establishment of the ‘neat and respectable’ hall,²¹ like the opening up of the High Street mentioned earlier as significant of a growing civic consciousness in Lambeth, one in which The Crown certainly played a part. Whilst no evidence appears to survive of a formal relationship between The Crown and the Vestry in this period, it is not hard to imagine those ratepayers who had just attended a meeting on the subject of paving or lighting or sewerage paying a visit to the nearby establishment, and there is arguably evidence for such visits occurring later on, as discussed in the next chapter.

Alongside the Vestry, another key aspect of local government would have been the local magistrates, responsible for renewing the license of The Crown annually. The quest for social order was one being pursued extremely keenly in London when The Crown was founded, not least in response to the Gordon Riots of June 1780.²² This would have been felt particularly keenly in Lambeth, where a mob of 500 people had attempted to storm Lambeth Palace before being broken up by the military, who remained on guard there for two months in order to ensure the security of the Archbishop.²³ In this context we might also read the naming of the newly established Crown as an element in a strategy on the part of Pearson to appear civil, orderly and loyal, to maintain favour with the authorities.

The Palace itself appears to have played little part in the life of Lambeth at this time beyond occasional philanthropic gifts, such as Archbishop Tenison’s school, founded in 1715, or the disbursement of victuals to the paupers of the parish.²⁴ The Archbishop remained an important landowner, and it was from the See of Canterbury that the parish authorities purchased land for a new burial ground in 1814,²⁵ another aspect of civic organisation overseen from the then new Vestry Hall.

This public development in The Crown’s immediate vicinity was paralleled by the development of Pearson’s own estates. By 1790, relatively shortly after establishing the business, Pearson also owned ‘[a] House in Paradise St. ... a House adjoining in tenure of Pask ...



Figure 6. Survey plan of Joseph Pearson’s Estates, 1831. Copyright of The National Archives, ref. C13/1502/40, reproduced with permission.

Carthouse & Stable ... Shed ... Large building ... Shed'²⁶ These are followed later in the same year by '2 houses adjoining in Paradise street ... One in tenure of Bunker, butcher other empty' bringing the total value of Pearson's property in addition to The Crown to £900.²⁷ By 1812 these have been joined by additional dwellings and sheds which bring the total value of property to £1,200.²⁸ A plan of those same estates in 1831 shows the extent and density of these buildings (Fig. 6), which at this time comprised both commercial and residential premises, often combined in the case of artisans and small tradesmen such as the shoemakers, bricklayers and carpenters listed as tenants.²⁹ The residents of these

buildings would doubtless have had some relationship with The Crown, particularly whilst the Pearsons were resident in the period up to 1807³⁰ during which time tenants might well have paid their rents to Pearson there.

The Crown is not the only public house in this part of Lambeth. Other licensed houses in the vicinity have also been labelled on Figure 7, with data coming from the 1792 licensing calendar for the area.³¹ The White Lion and the Swan both appear to be quite well established by this point. The Swan, previously known as the King's Head, was part of the estates of Lambeth Palace dating



Figure 7. Horwood's map of 1792, marked with Lambeth's c17th inns and The Crown.



Figure 8. Lambeth Palace by J.M.W Turner; Watercolour; c.1790. Photo: Tate 2016, Creative Commons agreement: <http://www.tate.org.uk/about/who-we-are/policies-and-procedures/website-terms-use/copyright-and-permissions/creative-commons>.

back to at least 1679³² and may be the same establishment visited by Samuel Pepys in 1666.³³ Joseph Eels is recorded as the lately deceased innholder of the White Lion in 1726,³⁴ and the Red Lion is recorded as having been in operation since at least 1673.³⁵

These larger inns, illustrated here by the Swan (Fig. 8), can be seen to function for the two upper echelons of the tripartite hierarchy of inns framed by both Clark and Everitt; ‘the biggest and best ... selling wine and catering to gentlemen and high class travellers’ (note the sign advertising wine in Fig. 8) and ‘next down the scale ... with lesser facilities and often next to the larger inns, but catering to an average sort of guest’.³⁶ The bridges referred to above would have led to a decline in users of the Horse Ferry, marked on Rocque’s Map, which would previously have brought such fashionable travellers through Lambeth, which, when these inns were

founded in the 17th century would still have been semi-rural. Thus the increasing development of Lambeth in the period, coupled with topographical change might have challenged the markets of these older inns. The Crown, by contrast, was not only at the heart of the developing settlement, but was also carefully adapted to capitalise on these changes.

2. ‘Brick built, with three square stories’:³⁷ Exterior, access, and architectural context

Having established its position at an important site in Lambeth, consideration of The Crown’s architecture and the immediate context of the buildings around it allows us to think about how these elements acted as an interface between the public house and the wider contexts established above.

The earliest evidence for The Crown's architectural form³⁸ comes from the end of the period in which Pearsons inhabited The Crown, although the freehold was to remain in the ownership of Joseph and Susannah's descendants throughout the period of study.³⁹ Joseph Pearson died in 1807⁴⁰ and by 1812 Susannah was listed on an insurance policy as living at 29 Union Street,⁴¹ whilst Charles March was insured at The Crown in 1809⁴² and his name appeared as the licensee for The Crown in a licensing calendar from September of the same year.⁴³ That said, The Crown's rateable value remained fairly constant throughout the period, going from £13 to £16 between 1788 and 1795 and then remaining at that value until 1815,⁴⁴ suggesting that the building retained the form in which Pearson erected it.

The Crown's exterior, and the impression this made on both local customers, passing trade, and local officials, would have had a crucial bearing on its success as a business and the kind of people it attracted.

Starting broadly, the newness of the building erected by Joseph Pearson in 1784 can be seen in contrast to the older buildings around it. This tension between old and new in fact remains discernible in 1831 when a neighbouring building, Pear Tree House, is described as 'an old brick tenement, of two low stories and garrets ... divided into two' in contrast to The Crown as a 'substantial brick dwelling house ... of three square stories and cellars'.⁴⁵

It is ironic then, that the only image of The Crown known is a watercolour dating from some time in the 1850s (Fig. 9) which survives as part of what appears to be a collection of nostalgic views of Lambeth and Southwark, recording their rustic architecture. This nostalgic impulse is explored further in the following chapter.

A key external feature of The Crown visible in the watercolour is also mentioned in the 1809 description, described variously as 'bow' (in the Tap Room) and 'circular' (In the front Parlour) windows.⁴⁶ The context in which they occur, the bow window of the tap room being mentioned immediately before the street door, suggests that both of these were on the front wall of the building, with their 'six sashes' each containing 'thirty six squares crown glass' facing onto Lambeth Road. The form of the bow, into which sashes are set, is common



Figure 9. The Crown P.H. and Vestry Hall, Church Street, Unknown Artist, c.1850, Findlay Collection, Victoria and Albert Prints & Drawings.

in London house plans of this period: of 15 London house plans dating from between 1750 and 1800 featured in a recent English Heritage study, three make use of the bow window as an architectural device, however all of them do so on the rear frontage rather than the street frontage.⁴⁷

The use of bow windows on the street frontage here can be explained when we consider that the two rooms they open onto inside the building are the principle public spaces within it, an arrangement typical of inns of this period,⁴⁸ and also emphasises that in spite of documentary sources referring to it as a 'dwelling house' The Crown is carefully adapted to its purpose as a drinking establishment. The use of these rooms will be examined

below, however the presence of bow windows here provides both ‘illumination and visibility, transcending the divide between interior and exterior space’,⁴⁹ allowing the activities taking place within to act as an advertisement and an invitation to those passing by. This was a strategy which it has been observed was commonly deployed in retail shopping,⁵⁰ but in this case, instead of an array of goods on display, it was The Crown’s clientele, service and conviviality.

The 1809 description refers to the windows of the rear elevation as ‘venetian windows’, typically employed within purist classical architecture on the street façade of a building and then only at first floor level.⁵¹ This classical motif, in which a broader sash, often with a rounded top, is flanked by two narrow ones may have been made use of on this, the southern, elevation of the building. This can be understood pragmatically, in order to make maximum use of the available daylight, however employing the language of classicism here bears further scrutiny.

This elevation, in spite of being the rear one, is still highly visible, being the exterior seen by anyone approaching The Crown from Paradise Street, including not only travellers making use of the stables beyond the yard mentioned earlier, but also visitors to the Vestry Hall after its establishment in 1809. A later plan of the Hall, dating to 1924 (Fig. 10) shows that it was accessed from the rear, from Pearson’s Place, the passage marked on the 1831 plan above (Fig. 6) as well as from the front, presumably through the dwelling house shown in the Findlay watercolour (Fig. 9).

Whilst the 1924 plan shows some change in the pattern of development behind The Crown, it also demonstrates how little the architectural form of the public house itself changed: The bow windows referred to above in the 1809 description, and visible in the 1850s watercolour, can be seen in plan form here, 140 years after they were built. The causes of this stasis, as well as its effect on the operations of The Crown, are discussed further in the following chapter.

Architectural historian Peter Guillery has written extensively on the use of classical details in vernacular architecture across London in the eighteenth century, with a particular focus on the southern and eastern suburbs. Of particular import here, for The Crown as a

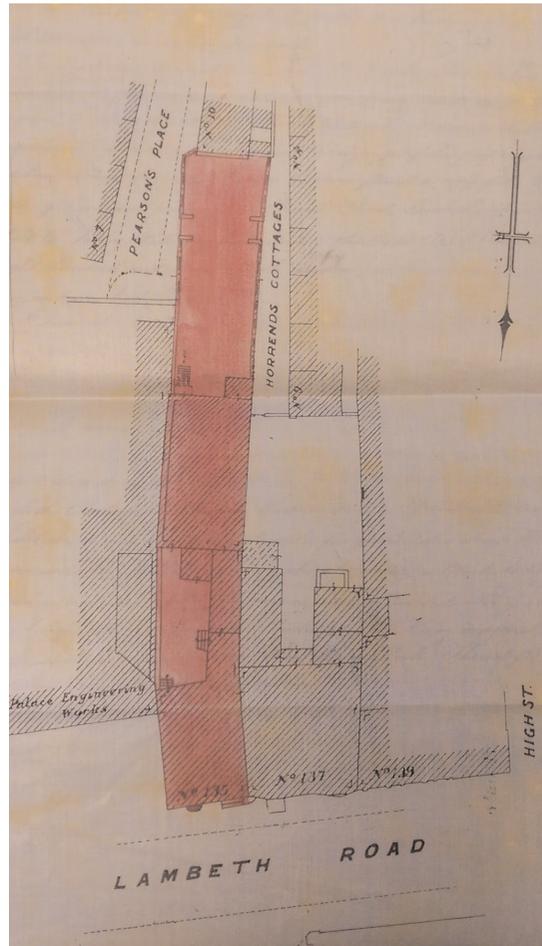


Figure 10. Survey plan of The Crown and associated premises, 1924. Copyright of Lambeth Archives, reproduced with permission.

public house, is the role of classical elements in communicating ideas of ‘polite domestic space in a world that privileged the performance of sociability’.⁵² As Guillery goes on to say:

Architectural regularity under these circumstances communicated civic and social order - in a material world where the idea of order metaphorically refracted through everything’.¹⁰⁸

However in framing this kind of vernacular employment of classical details, Guillery counsels against regarding their use solely as a form of emulative consumption.⁵³

Instead, as has been seen in the fabric of The Crown, these details are used as ‘acts of appropriation and convenience where the organisation of the house and how it worked was less susceptible to passing fashion’,⁵⁴ a particularly appropriate sentiment when the functions of an inn or public are accommodated within the envelope of a dwelling house. This also accounts for the reversal of classical convention in using window types on the opposite façades to those deemed traditionally appropriate.

Nonetheless, we can see the use of the ‘classical architectural style [on the exterior of The Crown] convey[ing] meanings of ... order, harmony and democracy’,⁵⁶ The building’s windows, communicate this order both in their form and outline and also, hopefully for Joseph Pearson, by the ordered and convivial sociability which can be seen through them. Thus the architectural detail frames The Crown as a ‘centre for affirmative social action that participated in as well as complicated the authorities’ quest for social order’.⁵⁷

3. Inside The Crown: respectable consumption for all comers

This section explores just what kinds of social action occurred in The Crown, given its position at both the geographic and civic centre of Lambeth. Firstly, its continued prosperity can be used to advance an argument for The Crown’s prosperous and respectable trade, drawn from both the middle class ratepayers who attended vestry meetings and the skilled artisans and small tradesmen that made up a significant portion of the populace.

Secondly, the material culture and internal layout of The Crown in the period can be read as evidence for strategies employed to appeal to these groups and the services offered to them. Regular insurance valuations show a diverse array of material culture, and specific spaces within the building can be understood to be carefully adapted for particular practices, just as we have seen elements of The Crown’s exterior were specifically adapted to its position and surroundings.

A thriving trade

The principal practice for any public house is of course the sale of drink and The Crown can be seen to have

turned a busy trade in this aspect. A pamphlet authored by Patrick Colquhoun, a magistrate in the East End of London, published in 1793 makes an argument for the viability of certain licensed premises on the basis of the quantity of beer and spirits and tobacco sold, suggesting that any house where ‘the draft of beer does not exceed from 3 to 5 and 6 butts monthly, are carrying on their business at an annual loss’.⁵⁸ Colquhoun is motivated primarily to show the unviability of these smaller houses, reflecting a magisterial preoccupation, particularly in London with limiting the growth of the gin-shop,⁵⁹ but in so doing he also provides an understanding of the level of business that makes a viable profit. In terming his largest class of ale-house ‘reputable’ Colquhoun suggests a link between the level of business carried on by a public house and its respectability, at least in the eyes of the magistrates responsible for granting the license.⁶⁰

Whilst there is no evidence available for sales at The Crown in this, or indeed any, period, there is a comparative example in the form of The Bell, which stood just east of The Crown on Church Street.

According to a valuation of the Bell made in 1814 prior to its relocation from the North to the South side of Church Street in order to facilitate an expansion of the burial ground which it abutted, the property is valued overall at £929 for the building, utensils and stock in trade,⁶¹ a similar figure to that for which the The Crown is insured in the same year, £1,000.⁶² The valuation goes on to relate the interest of the brewer contracted to supply Porter to the The Bell, with the receipt for the year standing at £371,⁶³ equal to 7 butts per month, which would have retailed, at 14d per gallon, for £514 per annum.⁶⁴ Following Colquhoun’s proportions, this level of beer sales would involve proportionate Spirit sales of approximately 440 gallons, retailing 6s 8d per gallon, would give a figure for spirits sales of approximately £147.⁶⁵ This gives a total of annual drink sales of £661, generating a profit of £165.⁶⁶ Whilst not strictly accurate, as it has not been possible to adjust the figures above to 1814 prices, this application of Colquhoun’s analysis serves to show us that a pub of the size and value of The Crown was clearly turning a busy trade, within, but at the lower end of Colquhoun’s criteria for viability.⁶⁷

Colquhoun qualifies the net profit in his calculations as ‘remaining to the family of the publican for his labour,

including the labour of his wife',⁶⁸ and it was not unknown for women to hold licenses in their own right.⁶⁹ Susannah Pearson held the license of The Crown for one year, between September 1808 and September 1809⁷⁰ after Joseph died in 1807.⁷¹

A list of business expenses can be seen to show the kinds of activities that Colquhoun argues 'shall render Public Houses a convenience, without becoming also in many respects a nuisance',⁷² in other words his conception of the activities which make the public house an amenity. Thus alongside licenses for beer, spirits and tobacco that we might expect in a public house, we see convivial additions, such as the provision of newspapers for drinkers to read and finally the giving of Christmas boxes to customers.⁷³

Similar strategies intended to demonstrate the respectability of the establishment and engender conviviality can also be seen in the kinds of goods found at The Crown. These give us some indication of the development of 'a relatively attractive ambience'⁷⁴ over the period in question.

Table 1 lists insurance valuations for goods at The Crown from 1790 through to 1814.⁷⁵ This immediately gives us an indication of six categories of objects, the property of the licensee, which would have been found in The Crown through the period. It should be noted that where the figure for household goods is marked with an

(A) it has been listed on the policy as an amalgamated figure under the category 'Household Goods, Printed Books, Wearing Apparel, and Plate'. In the case of John Powell the two figures listed separately have been combined with his amalgamated listing to give an overall figure for comparison.

Even given a degree of under-insurance suggested by Clark, whereby goods listed on insurance policies might only be listed at between two thirds and one half of their actual value,⁷⁶ these figures suggest a substantial quantity of material goods which overall increase in value over the period. In context of the average values for goods for insured licensed victuallers for 1825, the value of goods and stock at The Crown is well above, suggesting a 'heavy investment in furnishings' which Clark has attributed broadly to 'demographic increase ... and the prosperity and rising expectations of that important sector of public house custom - skilled workers and tradesmen'.⁷⁷

The reference to rising demographics, resulting in increased trade, is certainly borne out in Lambeth, where the population rose from 27,939 in 1801⁷⁸ to 87,856 by 1831.⁷⁹ In 1831, occupation data was recorded for men over 20 years of age and it has been suggested of London as a whole that between one third and half of these were working in some kind of manufacturing or handicraft trade.⁸⁰ The figure for Lambeth, including labourers as Green does, stands at 12,637 of a total

Date	Name	Printed books	Plate	Wearing apparel	China and glass	Musical instruments	Household goods	Utensils stock and goods
15/02/1790	Joseph Pearson	10	30	80	30		150	400
12/04/1799	Joseph Pearson						[A] 150	150
07/11/1809	Charles Marge (March)						[A] 400	200
13/06/1814	John Powell				50	50	[A] 500	500
Average for South London 1825	Sample of 19 Policies ⁸¹						343.4	351.3

Table 1. Insurance valuations for goods at The Crown from 1790 through to 1814, all values in £.

20,983 adult males,⁸² and so even without reckoning with the substantial additional contribution of women's labour,⁸³ we can see a substantial market of manual workers, many skilled, and tradesmen to which the proprietors of The Crown would have been trying to appeal, and apparently, given the rise in the pub's value seen in Table 1, succeeding.

In order to establish how these goods were used, both practically in the course of serving customers and more symbolically to bestow a sense of respectability, we have to understand them within the interiors of The Crown. Looking at a speculatively reconstructed plan of the ground floor, based on the description of 1809 (Fig 11)⁸⁴ we can see numerous spaces which would have had very different uses, and consequently reflected in the objects found in them.

Pewter and Power in the Taproom

The Taproom would have been a general drinking space, generally frequented by labourers and other unskilled workers.⁸⁵ A contemporary example in Pimlico is furnished simply, with a 'deal drinking table on a stout frame' and 'stout benches', and, interestingly, 'a neat mahogany tea urn stand'⁸⁶ suggesting that beer and spirits were not the only drinks to be consumed in the taproom.

Consuming alcoholic drinks would, however, have been the main activity here, and vessels for measuring out and consuming beer would have made up a significant proportion of the utensils referred to in Table 1: an inventory of The Phoenix in Pimlico, made in 1805, lists '38 Common quarts, 36 ditto pints, 3 ditto half pints'

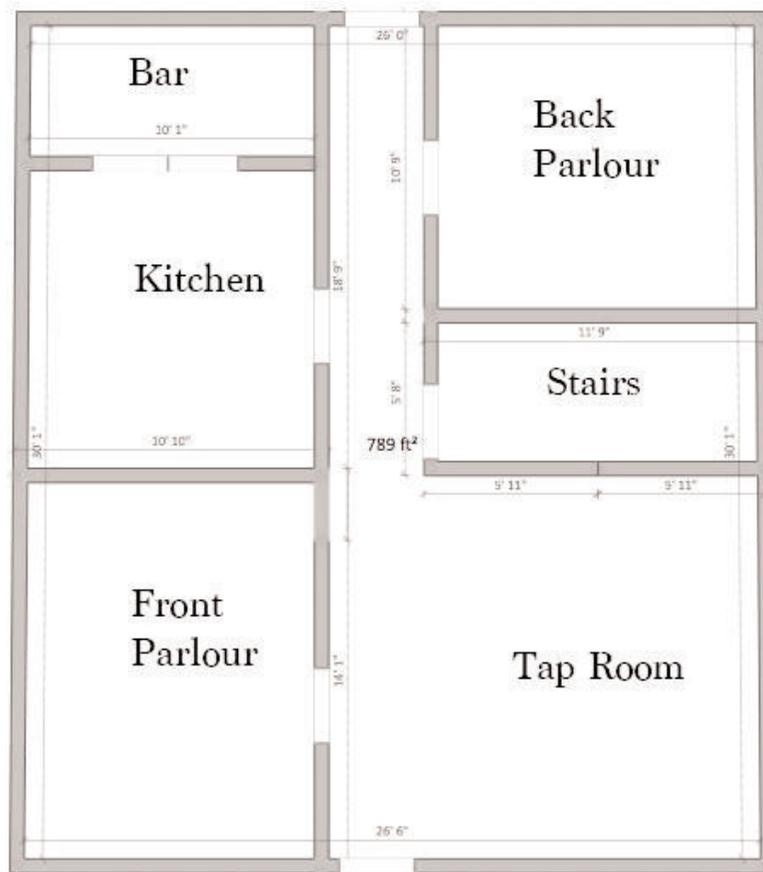


Figure 11. Reconstructed plan of the ground floor of The Crown. Author's Own.

alongside a smaller number of spouted measures which include gallon and half gallon sizes.⁸⁷ In 1809 The Fleur de Lis, on the edge of the City had 'A gallon, a half gallon, ten quarts, 12 pints, 6 half pints', as well as a 'silver pint pot' on the mantle shelf of the tap room.⁸⁸ The presence of such similar objects between two geographically distinct houses testifies to their ubiquity, so we can assume that similar objects would have been in use at The Crown.

Colquhoun's reference to the cost of replacing stolen pewter pots,⁸⁹ is borne out by cases such as that of Thomas Hutchinson, who in 1817 is apprehended after stealing two pewter pint pots from William Osborne of The Red Lion, Newington, because the Tinman to whom he tries to sell the pots reports that they are marked with Osborne's name.⁹⁰

Surviving examples such as one in the V&A marked 'S.PHIPP, SPOTTED DOG, OXFORD ROAD, BIRD STREET'⁹¹ suggest that this practice of marking pewter pots with the name of the publican, and often also that of the pub, was commonplace, certainly across London, and also more widely.⁹² Its purpose, as evinced by the case above, was at least partly to identify the mug in case of theft, however it also had another important function.

Such pots were often marked not only with the landlord's name as above, but also with an official capacity mark certified by the local excise, a division of the magistracy.⁹³ Such objects thus embody the licensing relationship; 'contracting out the work of government in preventing disorder ... to the private sector'⁹⁴ by bringing together the name of the licensee with the stamp of authority in an object that is often in the hands of the customer. This not only bestows the licensee with the respectability of authority, reminding the customer of their state sanctioned power, but also serves to affirm the reliability of service from the licensee in terms of both the quantity and the quality of the drink, both of which the Board of Excise, 'probably the most powerful and efficient bureaucratic system in the kingdom' by the early eighteenth century, was ultimately responsible for inspecting.⁹⁵

Although they have been analysed as part of the Tap Room, such pots would have been used throughout The Crown, also possibly commuting in and out of it,

as in the case of an early nineteenth century tankard from The Spread Eagle, Limehouse, excavated as part of assemblage at a site across the road.⁹⁶

The Crown's bar as seen on the plan conforms to the type that was used for the storage of stock and valuable goods, rather than the open counter which was developing in this period.⁹⁷ In the absence of evidence for an open bar being installed it is assumed that this remained the case throughout the period of this chapter.

Parlour music and parlour dining

In context of the presence of the Vestry Hall, the presentation of a respectable Front Parlour at The Crown, in which genteel sociability can be seen from the street through the above-mentioned windows, may have carried a commercial incentive. This would have been the space within The Crown to which ratepayers, as customers of higher social status, would have gravitated as shown by the topographer and engraver James Peller Malcolm's highly appropriate anecdote from 1808 of

a clerk to a vestry, a half-pay officer, a chancery solicitor and a broken apothecary who made a tolerable good living by calling into the tavern all their friends who passed by at the window.⁹⁸

These figures, all in middle ranking clerical occupations, would take it in turn sitting at the window table with a quart of white port and each acquaintance that joined them would only drink a gill and throw down a sixpence', presumably worth more than a gill (one quarter of a pint) of port, leaving the vestry clerk or broken apothecary in profit.⁹⁹ Although obviously satirical, the rank of Malcolm's freeloaders is interesting. It suggests a counter narrative, one that is particularly relevant to the case of The Crown, to the contraction of middle class participation in the life of the public house. In the classic public house histories of Clark and Jennings this has been associated with the withdrawal of many administrative functions such as courts and public meetings, which had in some cases been held at inns or public houses, into purpose built public buildings like the Vestry Hall.¹⁰⁰ Here, The Crown presents a case in which the proximity of the pub to one of these institutions, served to generate

respectable business for the pub, especially in light of later laments regarding the Church Street Vestry Hall's lack of amenities.¹⁰¹

The parlour would have been comfortably furnished to reflect the status of its patrons, with examples elsewhere featuring braid curtains¹⁰² or plaster chimney ornaments, prints and 'A fine painting of game'.¹⁰³ Those same examples also show dining tables and chairs in the parlour.

As will be seen in the following chapter, dining is an important part of the service offered by The Crown by the middle of the century. The continued presence of china during this period, presumed therefore to be dining ware, along with the suggestion in 1814 of a 'kitchen communicating' being built¹⁰⁴ to replace the one within the building that we see in Figure 12, suggest that this is already the case well before 1830. Here

again, inventories demonstrate the array of kettles, fry pans, dishes and tureens¹⁰⁵ that might have been part of the household goods of The Crown, used to produce and serve food for customers and inhabitants alike.

The timing of this development corresponds closely to the increased custom that the new Vestry Hall must have generated. No evidence survives for the entertainments of the Lambeth vestrymen in this period. However, if the lavishness suggested in satirical images of the indulgences of these officials elsewhere particularly amongst select vestries, as Lambeth was between 1819 and 1829,¹⁰⁶ was even approached at The Crown then this might go some way to accounting for the china and glass listed in Table 1. In *Select Vestry Comforts* (Fig.12) we see the use of elaborate china such as the scalloped edge plate and covered basin on the table, the presence of which is corroborated in pubs contemporary to The Crown in the form of 'sundry Queens Ware',¹⁰⁷



Figure 12. *Select Vestry Comforts*, Engraving, 1828. Copyright, The Trustees of the British Museum.

a Wedgewood design often transfer-printed with scenes of genteel sociability.¹⁰⁸

In addition to use for dining, the parlours of The Crown are the likely venue for convivial play in the public house. This would have been of both games, as shown by the presence of cribbage and backgammon boards as well as wall mounted scoreboards in contemporary houses,¹⁰⁹ but also, as demonstrated at The Crown in Table 1, music.

The value of musical instruments at The Crown, £50 in 1814, appears high in comparison to a sample maintained for domestic recreation over a period 1781-1840.¹¹⁰ Such a quantity of instruments might indicate musical performances as a specialism of Powell's tenure.

In contemporary scenes of musical performance in public houses,¹¹¹ women appear as part of what is otherwise a predominantly male company, assembled in the Parlour as part of a choir but only in the company of men who we can presume to be their husbands. This suggests that women's otherwise limited presence as drinkers in the public house, implied by Colquhoun's disapproval of their presence there,¹¹² might have been sanctioned in the case of a genteel activity such as this kind of musical performance. This must be read with some caution as Bird, a professional painter, would have had to appeal in his subject matter to a market that may well have shared Colquhoun's sentiments.

Skittles: grounds for prosecution?

The presence of a skittle ground at The Crown from at least 1809,¹¹³ and by 1831 both open and covered skittle grounds,¹¹⁴ suggests the importance of another kind of play to convivial sociability in the pub. That The Crown was not unusual in having a skittles ground at this time is demonstrated at a local level by the presence of a covered ground at the neighbouring Bell at least until 1814.¹¹⁵

Approval for the game, however, appears to have been mixed. A case at the Surrey Quarter Sessions in 1780, in which a publican William Steele was prosecuted for threatening a churchwarden who reprimanded him for allowing people to play skittles in his yard,¹¹⁶ can be seen to show a degree of disapproval from the respectable classes. Just a little later, however, William

Wyld, then publican of the Bell, also acts as the local constable for Lambeth,¹¹⁷ holding a respectable position in the community whilst operating a public house which presumably still had a skittles ground.

This may reflect on an immediate local scale the attitude towards popular games which can be seen in Peller Malcolm's anecdotes, wherein he recounts the burning of a pyramid of 'billiard-tables, Mississippi-tables, Shuffleboards, and skittles' at the end of Bow street near the police office in 1757, going on to refer to this as 'a good hint to the magistrates of the present day',¹¹⁸ suggesting that those of 1807 are rather more lax in their regulation of pub games than their predecessors.

To judge by both Peller and Colquhoun's accounts the widespread disapproval of 'idle and sedentary games'¹¹⁹ as a part of the working leisure was centred at least in part around gambling. This was certainly the case when the 'freeholders and principal inhabitants' of nearby Camberwell requested that the annual fair there be cancelled, with gambling listed as a primary concern.¹²⁰

Club rooms and artisan sociability

The generous proportions of The Crown's Club Room, which took up half of the first floor, along with two further parlours¹²¹ signifies the importance that artisan clubs and friendly societies would also have played in the trade of The Crown.

The key local industries cited above, the potteries, watermen and barge builders, are all amongst those known to have had labour organisation by the turn of the nineteenth century,¹²² for which the space of organisation would have been club rooms like that at The Crown. The relationship between artisan labour organisation, the public house, and south London as an industrial centre is succinctly drawn together in a trade card for the associated Feltmakers of Great Britain and Ireland dating to 1828.¹²³ This shows a travelling felt-maker being welcomed by one of his local colleagues, a reference to the role that such associations played for artisans 'on the tramp' seeking new working opportunities,¹²⁴ a situation in which such clubs and societies 'allowed access to social networks, business and patronage and an entrée into the local community',¹²⁵ especially important for the numerous migrants which

account for the rapidly increasing population cited earlier. The important role of drink and conviviality in such situations is signified by the large tankard of beer, proffered by a serving maid. The location of the scene south of the Thames is clearly communicated by the view over the river to St. Paul's cathedral.

A contemporary club room shows the material traces of these organisations, in the form of a club hammer, used to call meetings to order, and a 'mahogany club chair stuff'd with horse hair, green cover and brass nails' and a 'deal framed stand for ditto and foot board'¹²⁶ reinforcing the status of the chairperson both materially, through the use of expensive mahogany, and physically, by elevating him above the crowd.

Such spaces were well worth the investment of the licensee, as the regulations of most clubs stipulated that a minimum quantity of beer had to be purchased in the course of a meeting, however such regulations were equally explicit on the conduct of members, forbidding drunkenness on pain of fines in order to maintain a respectable reputation for the club.¹²⁷

*4. 'The original intention of public houses ... as respects the convenience and comfort of the public, is in no way altered by the present state of society'*¹²⁸

Looking across the period from its establishment in 1784 up to 1830, four main themes or characteristics of development can be identified:

In terms of urban context, Lambeth can be seen to have developed considerably over the period. This development, however, is characterised for the most part by the intensification of Lambeth's pre-existing industries, alongside increasing population density and denser residential development within the existing pattern of streets, with few exceptions.

The Crown, at the top of the High Street and opposite the Church, can be seen to be at the centre of Lambeth, a position that is reinforced by a number of civic improvements in the period including the construction of the Vestry Hall next door.

Externally, The Crown's architecture participates in the broader strategies of civic order taking place around it,

through the use of classical details and the perceived solidity of its fabric. At the same time its street frontage acts to convey an impression of respectable sociability within.

Inside the public house, these strategies operate in combination with a range of goods including pewter pots, ceramics and musical instruments. These function both practically, in order to provide a range of services for both the middle class vestrymen and the artisan populations of Lambeth, and symbolically to convey the respectability of both the publican and customers.

The resulting view overall is one of an establishment that, by 1830, does very well in respect of the comfort and convenience of its public, a success that as will be seen in the following chapter generated substantial prosperity for the incumbent publican at the end of this period, Pearce Tempest.¹²⁹ Tempest seems particularly appropriately named given that his tenure at The Crown marks the end of this period of stability within the local networks of Lambeth.

The following chapter explores the impact of gradual changes in The Crown's various contexts, as established above, in relation to its position at the heart of Lambeth, its involvement in civic life, its architectural form, the services offered to, and respectability of, the house and its customers.

Note

The second and final part of this study will appear in Issue 171 of Brewery History.

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65. Author's own calculation, based on spirits sales as 4.96% of beer sales, from Colquhoun.

66. Author's own calculation, based on figures above.

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129. See Appendix A.

Year	LMA Ref	No of Licensed victuallers in Lambeth	Folio no.	Licensee
1784	PS/NEW/01/002		54	Joseph Pearson
1786	PS/NEW/02/002		54	Joseph Pearson
1787	PS/NEW/02/003		54	Joseph Pearson
1806	PS/NEW/02/004		54	Joseph Pearson
1807	PS/NEW/02/15		56	Susanna Pearson
1808	PS/NEW/02/16		56	Charles March
1811	PS/NEW/01/002		N/A	Richard Leftwich
1812	PS/NEW/02/021		55	John Clark
1813	PS/NEW/02/022		56	John Clarke
1814	PS/NEW/02/023		66	James Powell
1815	PS/NEW/02/024	144	65	John Powell (Corrected from James)
1817	PS/NEW/02/026		65	John Powell/Richd ?Cundell? From 1/7/1816
1819	PS/NEW/02/028	147 (+3)	60	Henry Carman
1821	PS/NEW/02/030	148	64	Abraham Selfe
1822	PS/NEW/02/031	150 (+2)	64	Abraham Selfe
1823	PS/NEW/02/032	151	64	Abraham Selfe
1824	PS/NEW/02/033	155 (+5-1)	63	Abraham Selfe/Pierce Tempest from 15/12/1824
1826	PS/NEW/02/035	167 (+8)	65	Pierce Tempest
1828	PS/NEW/02/037	169 (+1)	66	Pierce Tempest
1829	PS/NEW/02/038	168 (-1)	66	Pierce Tempest
1830	PS/NEW/02/039	169 (+3-2)	65	Pierce Tempest
1832	PS/NEW/02/041	173 (+1)	65	Pierce Tempest
1834	PS/NEW/02/043	172 (+1-1)	65	Pierce Tempest
1836	PS/NEW/02/045	171 (+1-1)	65	Pierce Tempest
1838	PS/NEW/02/047	171	64	Pierce Tempest
1839	PS/NEW/02/048	171	65	Pierce Tempest/Richard Francis from 26/4/1839
1840	PS/NEW/02/049	174 (+3)	56	Richard Francis
1842	PS/NEW/02/051	176 (+3-1)	56	Richard Francis
1844	PS/NEW/02/053	181 (+3-1)	56	Richard Francis
1846	PS/NEW/02/055	189 (+5-1)	55	Richard Francis/Joseph Miller from 15/1/1847
1848	PS/NEW/02/057	192 (+2)	61	Joseph Miller
1850	PS/NEW/02/059	191 (-1)	60	Joseph Miller/Henry Anderson and Edward William Powell from 3/3/1851
1851	PS/NEW/02/060	192 (+1)	51	Henry Anderson and Edward William Powell/ William Aylett from 28 April 1851
1852	PS/NEW/02/061	193 (+1)	50	William Aylett
1854	PS/NEW/02/063	207 (+7)	51	William Aylett
1856	PS/NEW/02/065	214 (+14)	55	William Aylett

1858	PS/NEW/02/067	222 (+4)	55	William Aylett
1860	PS/NEW/02/069	222 (+1-2)	56	William Aylett
1862	PS/NEW/02/071	223 (+2-1)	50	William Aylett
1864	PS/NEW/02/073	228 (+5)	55	William Aylett
1865	PS/NEW/02/074		56	William Aylett/Samuel Perrin 1/6/1865
1866	PS/NEW/02/075	236 (+5-1)	56	Samuel Perrin/Charles Cains 11/4/1866
1867	PS/NEW/02/076		57	Charles Cains/Elixabeth Slyth 20/7/1867
1868	PS/NEW/02/075	243 (+5-2)	59	Elizabeth Slyth, Mrs/Richard Halsey 30/9/1868
1870	PS/NEW/02/075	248 (+6-1)	61	Richard Halsey
1872	PS/NEW/02/075	252 (+1-1)	60	Isaac Deeks

Appendix A: Table of Licensees for The Crown. Taken from Newington Petty Sessions Records, London Metropolitan Archives.

Appendix B: Lease dated 2 August 1809 between Susannah Pearson and Mr Charles March in regard to the tenement or messuage known as The Crown, Church Street, Lambeth.

Part of:

Wyld v. Dawson (1831): Deeds and case papers including probate, 1806, of the will of Joseph Pearson of Church Street, Lambeth, Surrey; with schedule. TNA, Records of the Court of Chancery Ref: C112/197

Transcription of Schedule of fixtures and fittings on second sheet of lease:

Two Pair, left front - Tiled hearth, deal floor, four sashes two hung and frames eighteen squares glass room skirted hood mantle and jambs moulded deal shelf deal painted panelled partition with a four panelled door hung to divide room -

Front room adjoining tiled hearth hood mantle and jambs shelf and moulding six sashes three hung and frames twenty four squares glass room skirted four panelled door hung deal floor

Left Back Room Tiled hearth wood mantle jambs and shelf moulded venetian windows six sashes and frame one hung twenty squares crown glass wainscott under - a pannell partition to divide from next room with four pannell door hung Room skirted and papered deal floor.

Back room adjoining tiled hearth wood mantle jambs and shelf moulded a venetian window and frame six sashes and hung twenty squares crown glass wainscotting under panelled wainscott with four panelled door to inclose room from stairs room skirted and deal floor.

Landing two flights of deal stairs skirted deal hand railand bannisters side handrail to first flight a skylight with 24 squares glass railing on landing.

One Pair Club room, two fireplaces portland stone hearthes and jambs wood dressings ?wund? and two dentil mantles and shelves pannell moulded wainscott from feet six high two sides and one end a six panelled moulded door hung, venetian window and frame six sashes one hung twenty squares crown glass from sash windows and two frames in front two hung 24 squares crown glass. Front of room wainscoted to ceiling deal floor.

Small front floor a portland stone hearth mantle and jambs wood dressings and dentil mantle and shelf sirbase and skirting round room papered over two sash frames four sashes two hung twenty four squares crown glass a six pannell door hung a deal floor.

Back Room two closets four panelled doors four broad shelves portland stone hearth mantle and jambs wood dressings dentil mantle shelf, serbase and skirting round a six panell door hung a venetian window six sashes and

frame one hung twenty squares crown glass wainscotted under wall painted deal floor

Ground Floor - Front Parlour - Marble Hearth mantil and jambs a dentil mantle shelf dwarf wainscoting on and a half inch framed partition with a four pannell door next passage deal floor wall painted circular window six sashes one hung thirty six squares crown glass eight flush panelled shutters iron bars and fastenings.

Tap Room large fire place tiled hearth wood jambs stone corbles dwarf wanscoting five feet high bow windows six sashes and hung thirty six squares crown glass eight flush panell's shutters iron bars and fastenings deal floor one inch and three quarter six panelled street door hung stock lock and key two bolts one inch and three quarters sash door to yard four squares crown glass shutter and fastenings two bolts two stone steps in front two cellar flaps and Kirbs a flap hung tiled roof and lead gutters facia in front over sashes and cornice covered with lead

Back & Out? [or COurt?]three wood gutters and trunk fixed.

Back Parlour - marble hearth jambs and mantil wood dressings a dentil mantle and shelf two cupboardsfour panelled doors hung six broad shelves and mouldings a dwarf wanscoting on two sides two feet eleven inches high panelled one inch and half partition with a four panell door hung next passage venetian window six sashes and hung twenty squares crown glass two outside panell shutters fastenings deal floor and wall painted

Kitchen portland stone hearth mantle and jambs wood shelf and?fom? cover Bracketts wanscotted over to ceiling two cupboards with four panell doors hung eight broad shelves in ?Do.? one and a half inch panelled deal partition to inclose room from passage with panell sash door nine squares glass hung two sash doors leading to

Bar six squares a dwarf wainscott five feet high venetian window and frame six sashes one hung twenty squares crown glass two outside panelled shutters with proper fastenings deal floor and wall painted sash door with one whole square an three blanks hung leading to washhouse

Wash House Brick built two sashes and frame twelve squares glass panell door with two bolts a brick and stone floor a flight of deal stairs to room over deal floor window place & brick flue and pot roof plain tiled and wood ?aris? gutter

Yard and Skittle Ground kirb and rails over cellar window yard paved with dutch clinker and small stones twenty two feet be eighteen feet two wood privies with pantile roof one door two seats risers and floors the rail'd fence with gate hung at the end of the grounds twenty seven feet by six a large Burganny Pear Tree the yard and grounds from back front of house sixty feet six inches the right of passage entrance three feet wide from ground to Paradise Row.

Basement a railed window a flight of stairs a door hung and ceiling on both sides at the top seven uprights to support girders.

LMA Reference	Title	Date	Notes
CLC/B/192/F/001/MS 11936/368/565797	Insured: Joseph Pearson, the New Crown, Church Street, Lambeth, victualler	15/02/1790	Dwelling house £150, Printed Books £10, Utensils stock and goods £400, Wearing Apparel £80, Plate £30, China & Glass £30 (TOTAL £700)
CLC/B/192/F/001/MS 11936/373/580025	Insured: Joseph Pearson, the Crown, Church Street Lambeth, victualler; Other property or occupiers: Paradise Row Lambeth; Pask	10/02/1791	House in Paradise St (Empty Brick & Timber) £200, House adjoining in tenure of Pask, private £300, Carthouse & Stable £60, Shed £40, Large building £80, Shed, £20.
CLC/B/192/F/001/MS 11936/382/588833	Insured: Joseph Pearson, at the Crown in Church Street Lambeth, victualler. Other property or occupiers: Paradise Row Lambeth (Bunker butcher)	24/09/1791	2 houses adjoining in Paradise street, £200 each. One in tenure of Bunker, butcher other empty.
CLC/B/192/F/001/MS 11936/413/689090	Insured: Joseph Pearson, The Crown, Church Street, Lambeth, victualler	12/04/1799	“On his household goods printed books, wearing apparel, & plate in his dwelling house, Brick, situate as aforesaid. Not exceeding £150” “Utensils, stock and goods in Trust thereon not exceeding £150”
CLC/B/192/F/001/MS 11936/448/836572	Insured: Charles Marge, The Crown, Church Street, Lambeth, victualler	07/11/1809	“Household Goods, Printed Books, Wearing Apparel, and Plate in Dwelling house of Brick £400. Stock & Utensils £200.
CLC/B/192/F/001/MS 11936/459/871687	Insured: Susannah Pierson, 29 Union Street Lambeth, widow Other property or occupiers: Paradise Row (Clerk, pawnbro- ker; Hargrave, shoemaker); Jones and Fly; Tomkins; the Crown, Church Street Lambeth (victualler)	27/07/1812	Crown £500, - but susannah is rateable for another £1250 of property in immediate vicinity. Her own house, goods books and plate are insured for £100, most expensive rated property is in Paradise St for £300 2x £200, 2 @ £75, Warehouse £80, House £50, Carthouse & Stable £60, Shed £40 + Shed £20.
CLC/B/192/F/001/MS 11936/461/895155	Insured: John Powell, The Crown Church Street Lambeth, victualler	13/06/1814	“Household goods, wearing apparel, printed books in dwelling house and kitchen communicating £400” “Musical instruments £50” China & Glass £50. Stock utensils and goods in trust therein £500.
CLC/B/192/F/001/MS 11936/493/995799	Insured: Susanna Pearson 36 Paradise Street Lambeth widow, Other property or occupiers: Paradise Street Lambeth (McCoy; Venus and Parker; Knight, turner; Dawson brick- layer); 24 and 25 Paradise Street Lambeth (Savage pawn- broker); The Crown Church Street Lambeth (victualler)	10/10/1822	House only (The Crown) in Church Street, Lambeth, in tenure of victualler. Brick. £500
CLC/B/192/F/001/MS 11936/562/1298134	Insured: Pierce Tempest, the Crown, Church Street Lambeth, victualler	06/03/1839	“On his new dwelling house & Offices communi- cating, situate as aforesaid Brick built £500” Margin note 66 Church Street

Appendix C: Table of insurance valuations relating to The Crown, Church Street, Lambeth. Royal and Sun Alliance Policy Registers, London Metropolitan Archives.

Ref No.	Sitecode	L129/73				Functional Category														Comments	
		Context	Ref No.	Period	Fabric	Form	Decor	Storage	Prep	Serving	Alcohol	Dining	Teaware	Hygiene	Multi-purpose	Unidentified	Sher count	Stamp sherd count	ENV		Weight
1	L129/73	245	1	PM	MPUR	JAR	-	1									1	0	1	0	
2	L129/73	4	2	PM	CHPO BW	JAR	-	1									3	0	1	0	Base and lower prof from LG ves- sel
3	L129/73	4	3	PM	LONS	JAR	GLE	1									7	0	3	0	Comp base x 1/ bases X 2
4	L129/73	7	4	PM	ENGS	JAR	-	1									7	0	7	0	
5	L129/73	7	5	PM	TGW LATE	JAR	BAND	1									4	0	1	0	Small shds
6	L129/73	7	6	PM	CREA	JAr MCYL	-	1									2	0	1	0	Base
7	L129/73	7	7	PM	PEAR	POTLID	-	1									4	0	1	0	Complete - fits ointment pot
8	L129/73	4	8	PM	PMR	BOWL DEEP	-		1								3	0	1	0	Rim
9	L129/73	4	1	PM	PMR	BOWL DEEP	GLIE		1								1	0	1	0	Base
10	L129/73	4	10	PM	PMR	BOWL MRN	-		1								1	0	1	0	Prof
11	L129/73	245	11	PM	PEAR TR2	DRNR	WILL		1								4	0	1	0	50% Comp
12	L129/73	245	12	PM	PEFW	DRNR	-		1								1	0	1	0	50% Comp
13	L129/73	245	13	PM	YELL	BOWL RND	BAND			1							1	0	1	0	Rim
14	L129/73	245	14	PM	YELL	BOWL RND	MOCH			1							3	0	1	0	Prof
15	L129/73	7	15	PM	CREA	BOWL RND	-			1							37	0	4	0	Rim X1/Bases X3
16	L129/73	7	16	PM	CREA	BOWL SRN	-			1							8	0	1	0	Prof
17	L129/73	245	17	PM	YELL	CHP	BAND			1							3	0	1	0	Rim
18	L129/73	245	18	PM	PEAR TR2	DISH MEAT	WILL			1							2	0	1	0	Meat Dish
19	L129/73	4	19	PM	TPW4	DISH MEAT	MARK			1							12	0	1	0	John Meigh & Son some kind of Dripping Dish
20	L129/73	4	20	PM	TPW4	DISH MEAT	TRGR			1							2	0	1	0	GRTR
21	L129/73	7	21	PM	CREA	DISH OVL	-			1							7	0	1	0	Prof
22	L129/73	7	22	PM	TPW2	DISH OVL	WILL			1							22	0	2	0	Near Comp (18 Shds)
23	L129/73	4	23	PM	TPW2	DISH SERV	-			1							1	0	1	0	Prof
35	L129/73	245	35	PM	PEAR TR2	LADL	WILL			1							3	0	2	0	Near Comp Vessels
36	L129/73	245	36	PM	TPW2	LADL	CHIN			1							1	0	1	0	Near Comp

Ref No.	Sitecode	L129/73					Functional Category														Comments
		Context	RefNo.	Period	Fabric	Form	Decor	Storage	Prep	Serving	Alcohol	Dining	Teaware	Hygiene	Multi-purpose	Unidentified	Sher count	Samp sherd count	ENV	Weight	
24	L129/73	245	24	PM	TPW2	LID TURN	WILL			1							4	0	1	0	Lid for above vessel
25	L129/73	7	25	PM	CREA PNTD	LID TURN	BAND			1							1	0	1	0	Shl with CXTS 50
26	L129/73	7	26	PM	PEAR	PLATE OVAL	BLSH2			1							9	0	1	0	Prof
27	L129/73	7	27	PM	PEAR TR2	PLATE OVAL	WILL			1							16	0	1	0	Prof
28	L129/73	7	28	PM	TPW4	SAUC	TRMV			1							4	0	1	0	Latest Shds in Group
29	L129/73	245	29	PM	TPW2	TURN	WILL			1							4	0	1	0	70% Comp with TP Mark 'Spode' (see Godden 1991, 589) - Prob Veg Serving Dish
30	L129/73	4	30	PM	ENGS	BOT	INSC				1						1	0	1	0	Possible Tavern Inscription - Unclear - The Crown??
31	L129/73	4	31	PM	ENGS BRST	BOT	-				1						2	0	2	0	
32	L129/73	4	32	PM	LONS	BOT BEL	STMP				1						1	0	1	3024	Comp Bellied Bottle with Impressed Stamp 'In Garrat Ely'
33	L129/73	245	33	PM	LONS	BOT GING	-				1						1	0	1	0	Comp
34	L129/73	4	4	PM	ENGS BRST	BOT SELZ	-				1						1	0	1	0	Handle
37	L129/73	7	37	PM	PEAR TR2	MUG CYL	FLOR				1						5	0	1	0	Prof
38	L129/73	7	38	PM	REFW	MUG CYL	ENGT				1						1	0	1	0	Rim = Shl with 82
39	L129/73	245	39	PM	LONS	MUG SCYL	SPRG				1						2	0	1	0	Prof
40	L129/73	245	40	PM	PEAR TR2	MUG SCYL	-				1						4	0	1	0	Base
41	L129/73	4	41	PM	ENGS BRST	BOT UPR	STMP				2						7	0	2	0	Upright bottles, one imp retailer stmp ith 'STAN ...' and other with 'C CAINS WINE & SPIRIT MERCHANT THE CROWN CHURCH ST, LAMBETH' [on site]
42	L129/73	4	42	PM	REFW SLIP	BOWL	CTEYE					1					2	0	1	0	
43	L129/73	245	43	PM	TPW2	EGG	CHIN					1					1	0	1	0	
44	L129/73	245	44	PM	YELL	EGG	-					1					1	0	1	0	Comp pedestal