

Clearing out at Clare College, England, Cambridge: a late nineteenth-century material culture

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Summary: An assemblage deposited at Clare College, Cambridge, England, in 1879–1885 represents the largest archaeologically recovered assemblage from a nineteenth-century Cambridge college. It contains a wide range of material deriving from the corporate collegiate household, including ceramics, glassware, clay tobacco pipes and other materials. This material comprises a mixture of corporate and individual material, which can be interpreted in light of the predominantly young adult male college population, while also shedding light on marginalised groups, particularly women and servants. It also indicates distinctions between collegiate and domestic material culture in Cambridge.

Keywords: material culture, Cambridge, collegiate, deposition.

Introduction

In 1879–1885 over 250 items were disposed of in two redundant culverts (F.29 and F.31) at Clare College, Cambridge, England (Wiles 202⁵⁴) (Fig. 1–3). This represents the largest archaeologically recovered assemblage from a nineteenth-century Cambridge college and provides considerable insight into the material culture of the collegiate community. Clare College is a constituent college of the University of Cambridge, founded in 1326 as University Hall. In 1338 it became Clare Hall and in 1856 was renamed Clare College. Clare College is a self-governing institution, with its own endowments and property, which can be conceived of as a ‘corporate household’ (Beaudry 1999, 121–122). It was an almost exclusively male institution, until female undergraduates were admitted in 1972. It was therefore a predominantly homosocial environment, centred upon same-sex relationships that are not necessarily romantic or sexual (Sedgwick 1985), and in the late nineteenth century there was a crisis of university masculinity. Until the mid-nineteenth century most members of the college worked, dined and slept at the college.

Cambridge colleges were ‘profoundly structured by sexual difference’ (Dyhouse 2006, 161) and were important institutions in the creation and development of nineteenth-century masculinity (Deslandes 2005). Most students had previously been educated in single-sex schools and had limited knowledge of women (Janes 2015, 119–135). Colleges were not, however, exclusively male, but had a small but significant female component. In this respect they are similar to some other nineteenth-century institutions that have been the subject of archaeological attention, such as military establishments (Clements 1993). The members of colleges were drawn predominantly from the middle-classes, and middle-class men had a powerful and complex relationship with domesticity (Tosh 1999), including material culture and decoration (Cohen 2006). Material culture associated with nineteenth-century Cambridge college rooms has attracted some attention, such as a sequence of wallpaper at Peterhouse (Dyer 2020). Male students decorated their rooms in ways that differentiated them from their fellow students, sometimes in a manner conventionally associated with the opposite sex, including flowers, floral hangings and ornaments (Hamlett 2006). The mid-nineteenth century was a time of profound change and tensions with regard to women at the University of Cambridge, with the foundation of the all-female Girton College (1869) and Newnham College (1871) and in 1881 women were formally permitted to sit for honours examinations. This precipitated a ‘crisis of university masculinity’ and it became increasingly important for students to demonstrate not merely social status and intelligence, but also their manliness and muscular prowess (Deslandes 2005, 187). From the second half of the nineteenth century onwards cross-dressing in drama and at a wide range of social events was popular. One result of colleges only having male students was that plays were acted entirely by men. These performances were sexualized in ways that appeared to confirm male–female desire, but also involved

~~elements of same-sex eroticism (Janes 2022). This was based on the privilege of empowered masculinity and was ‘sanctioned as the *sine qua non* of unalloyed masculinity’ (Senelick 2000, 353).~~

Given the size of the Clare College corporate household, most types of material appear to relate to small scale *ad hoc* disposal. There were, however, a large number of collegiate ceramic dining related vessels (Cessford in prep.), which can be interpreted as a form of ‘clearance’ group (Cessford 2017), albeit a selective and partial one. One key issue in interpreting any ‘clearance deposit’ is the nature of the household or households that owned and used the material that was deposited. This is a complicated issue for this assemblage and includes some individuals and groups that might not normally be considered part of the college, whilst excluding others that were legally part of the college. As some of the material, particularly the ceramics, was of some age when deposited there is also an element of temporal complexity. Some items were manufactured not for the college inhabitants of 1879–1885, but for their predecessors, possibly as early as the 1820s and certainly of the 1840s. The mid–late-nineteenth century was a time of profound change at Clare College, partly due to reforms initiated by the Royal Commissions of 1850–1852, and the composition and especially the size of the college changed rapidly.

The Clare Hall/College corporate household

The Clare Hall/College corporate household was a large one that increased in size over time, particularly after the 1860s (Fig. 4, upper). It had an unusual population structure, being predominantly composed of young men (Fig. 4, lower). As the backfilling of the culverts took place in 1879–1885 one useful source that falls in the middle of the period is the 1881 census. On Sunday 3 April 1881 the United Kingdom census recorded the people residing in every household that night, including corporate households such as

Clare College. This provides considerable information on this collegiate household, but does have limitations. Individuals who were residing elsewhere, either because they were temporarily away from the college or did not usually spend the night there, are omitted. To some extent this can be remedied through other sources, particularly the Cambridge University Calendar, which lists members of the college for the academic year 1880–1881 (Anon. 1880). Even this omits some individuals who might be considered members of the household, including most servants, and includes others whose connection to the College was rather tenuous, including some fellows.

In 1880–1881 ‘This very ancient College ... consists of a Master, eight Senior, and ten Junior Fellows, besides Scholars, and Students’ (Anon. 1880, 392). While technically correct, from the perspective of the material deposited in the culvert the corporate household can be viewed as comprising at least six elements: the Master’s Lodge, fellows who were resident in college sets of rooms or who lived elsewhere in Cambridge but were actively involved in the college, students who were resident in college sets of rooms or lived elsewhere in Cambridge, the butlers accommodation, the porters’ lodge and college servants who lived elsewhere in Cambridge. In

~~addition~~addition, the potential contribution of other groups who were not part of the collegiate household, such as workmen, should be borne in mind.

The Master’s Lodge

Heads, or masters, of Cambridge colleges had been allowed to marry since 1549. Over time this led to the development of largely separate sub-households in the Master’s Lodge, comprising the master, his family and servants. In 1880–881 the master of Clare College was Edward Atkinson (1819–1915). Also resident in the Master’s Lodge were his wife Hester (1827–1908) and four servants: a cook Sarah Grinder (1835–?), a married footman Samuel Upchurch (1855–1928) and two housemaids Sarah Francis

(1846–1928) and Catherine Lovell (1850–?).

Fellows

Clare College was originally intended to have 20 fellows, but this number was never reached and by the nineteenth century there were a maximum of 10 such ‘senior fellows’. Fellowships that were added after the foundation of the college were known as ‘junior fellows’. There were a maximum of nine junior fellows until 1861, this was then reduced to seven and varied slightly (1870, eight: 1882, four: 1883, five). ‘The eight senior fellows were entrusted with the entire control of all matters pertaining to the finances of the College, but in other respects the junior fellows were on an equality with them’ (Wardale 1899, 208). In practice there was no significant difference between the two types of fellows. In 1880–1881 there were eight senior and ten junior fellows, but these numbers are misleading. At the University of Cambridge only around a third of fellows were active at their colleges, undertaking administrative and educational work. For the other two thirds, their fellowship was simply a ‘dividend’ or form of income, and they undertook no official tasks and were often not even resident in Cambridge. For most of the nineteenth century the number of fellows actively involved at Clare appears to vary between three and six, although in the 1870s and 1880s it was always five or six (Fig. 4).

The Universities of Oxford and Cambridge Act 1859 permitted fellows to marry if a college approved. Clare was the first Cambridge college to implement this in 1860, ruling that ‘no fellow had to vacate his fellowship by marriage although no married fellow could reside in college’ (Duckenfield 2008, 192, 227, 354, 375–376, 383: 2013). This led to many of the fellows who were active at Clare College marrying and establishing households elsewhere in Cambridge.

Of the 18 Clare fellows in 1880–1881, twelve definitely or probably played no active role at the college. Only one of these was resident in Cambridge, while two others lived in Cambridgeshire and nine were based elsewhere in England. Only one of the other six fellows lived in the college in a set of rooms, while five married fellows lived in households elsewhere in Cambridge at Hills Road, Huntingdon Road, Northampton Street, Pemberton Terrace and Scroope Terrace (Fig. 1). Marriage led to fellows staying longer in their posts, this combined with them living out of college meant that they had less regular contact with undergraduates than before and traditional social barriers between undergraduates and fellows remained high.

Students

Cambridge students, generally referred to as pensioners and at this time solely undergraduates, at Clare College and most other Cambridge and Oxford colleges were mainly drawn from the lower part of the solid middle classes, with few landowners or aristocrats (Rubinstein 2009). During the period 1879–1885 there were between 107 and 148 students at Clare College. Most subsequently pursued similar professional careers to their fathers, with many becoming Anglican clergymen (Haig 1984, 335–348; Rubinstein 2009, 721, 723–725). At least 40% of students at Clare College in 1880–1881 went on to have religious careers, primarily as Anglican churchmen.

Students joined the college aged between 17 and 21, or occasionally older, and were typically aged 19. They attended the university for three to four years, until they were aged around 23. Each year students spent three eight-week terms in residence and the remainder of their time on vacation, often away from the college. Most stayed in sets of rooms in their college, although from the 1820s onwards a growing proportion resided outside the college, in licensed lodging houses. In the early nineteenth century, there were various forms of students comprising ‘pensioners’, ‘fellow commoners’,

‘sizars’ and ‘ten year men’. This system was abandoned in the mid-nineteenth century and after 1861 all students admitted to Clare College were referred to as pensioners. Various scholarship funds were amalgamated into a single fund at this time and the system of financial assistance for some students was formalised. This comprised ‘scholars’, who received considerable financial help, ‘minor scholars’, who received less financial assistance, and ‘exhibitioners’, who received a different form of assistance based on academic merit and usually less than for scholars. Some individuals were both scholars and exhibitioners. In 1880–1881 most students received no support (99), with the others being scholars (13), minor scholars (4), exhibitioners (3) and exhibitioner scholars (4). From the mid-1860s onwards the numbers of students at the college increased rapidly (Fig. 4).

As stated, not all students resided at the college, with some living in licensed lodging houses. Some idea of this is given in the 1881 census, although as it fell between the Lent and Easter terms the information is limited. Thirteen students were resident at the college, with six lodging elsewhere in Cambridge on Green Street, King’s Parade, Rose Crescent, Sussex Street, Tennis Court Road and Union Road (Fig. 1). There were also two married students, who presumably resided with their spouses, children and servants, at Clarendon Road and Trumpington Street, respectively. Two students were staying with their families in Cambridge, at Park Side and Scroope Terrace, although it is unclear if they resided there in term time or at the college. It is likely that between a quarter and a third of students lived outside the college in 1880–1881.

Servants

College servants were not included as part of the college in the Cambridge University Calendar and are often ‘singularly ignored’ in studies of the university and its colleges

(Searby 1997, 142). Nineteenth-century colleges employed a considerable number of servants. The three most significant were the butler, porter and cook and there were also gardeners, barbers, chapel clerks, gyps, bedmakers, laundresses, seamstresses and shoeblacks. Most of the principal servants employed teams of workers. Total numbers of servants are difficult to gauge, but in the 1880s there was approximately one servant for every four students and fellows, suggesting around 30 servants working for Clare College.

College butlers lived at colleges with their families. In 1881 the fellows butler Henry Phipps was living in the college at the 'butlers accommodation', with his wife and son. The porter William Miller and the under porter William Humphrey are both listed in the 1881 census as staying overnight in the porters lodge, which had a bedroom. Both these individuals were married, and Miller lived with his family on Green Street.

Most of the other servants lived outside the college and can be difficult to identify and trace, although the students' butler James French lived on Castle Street, with his family, while the college cook John Bradford was living with his family at Victoria Road (Fig. 1). In the mid-nineteenth century over 90% of servants lived within half a mile of the college and most others resided within a mile. Staff from a particular college often lived near each other, on a single street or small area often in a group of properties owned by the colleges and sometimes developed by them specifically as servants' accommodation. Other servants lived in a range of private properties. Lower status servants typically occupied small terraced 'cottages' in densely built-up yards off the main streets, while senior servants frequently owned their own properties, which were large street frontage terraced buildings. From the 1860-s onwards the more senior servants in particular began to move further away, occupying larger premises in nearby

villages such as Chesterton. At the same time an increasing number of lower status servants resided in the densely packed terraces of the rapidly expanding Barnwell suburb.

Workmen

The backfilling of the culverts was part of a sequence of events, occurring after the demolition of some structures and before the construction of a building to house nine earth closets. External contractors would have undertaken the demolition and construction, probably William Bell & Son of Cambridge. It is therefore possible that some of the items deposited in the culverts relate to these workmen.

The culverts and their backfilling

Clare College, located by the river Cam, evokes images of the picturesque Master's and Scholars' Gardens and the Early Renaissance style bridge. Located on the northern side of the college is a service area known as the North Passage, which has traditionally served the more mundane needs of the college. By the late sixteenth century there were some small buildings by the river and in the early eighteenth century some small ancillary buildings were constructed at the end of the North Passage, plus stairs leading to the river. These went through some modifications in the nineteenth century.

Relatively little of these buildings survived archaeologically, but the culverts F.29 and F.31 were located under two of them and the riverside buildings appear to have housed privies, which discharged waste directly into the river [\(for fuller details of the culverts and the material from their backfilling see Wiles 2025\).](#)

The assemblage from F.31 contains several vessels linked to the college cook John Bradford, appointed in 1874, and the latest datable material is a vessel with a manufacturers mark indicating that it was produced in 1879. Cartographic evidence

indicates that new structures had been built over the backfilled culverts by 1885, when the survey for the first edition Ordnance Survey map took place. The assemblage from F.29 contains no material definitely later than items marked with the name of the college scullion William Burrell *c.* 1847–1859, but it appears likely that it was backfilled at the same time as F.31.

By the mid-nineteenth century, and especially after the Great Stink of 1858, the ‘sanitary revolution’ meant that discharging waste directly into rivers fell out of favour. Influenced by the London sewerage system, the Cambridge Improvement and Cam Purification Committee worked to remedy the situation between 1862 and 1889. In 1865 a survey of the colleges stated that ‘The greater work of diverting the sewage from the river altogether must be deferred’, but complained that ‘Most of the privy mouths open above the level of the water’ and asked for this to be changed (GB 1114 CCAD/7/1/8/8). The master of Clare College Edward Atkinson replied that he believed that ‘no inconvenience arises from the manner in which our privy mouths open into the river’ (GB1114 CCAD/7/1/8/8). Little changed, and in 1879 another report by Joseph Bazalgette stated that ‘to discharge sewage matter into the Cam between Mill Lane and Jesus Green is to convert the river into an elongated cesspool’ (Halliday 2001, 12). Soon afterwards Clare College backfilled the culverts that had discharged waste into the river and demolished the associated buildings, replacing them with new structures that contained dry earth closets based on the system patented by Henry Moule in 1860. Following later improvements to the Cambridge sewerage system, particularly the opening of the Cambridge Pumping Station in 1894, these were converted into water closets.

Although no documentation relating to these works of 1879–1885 has been identified, most collegiate building works take place outside term time to minimise

disruption. Given the proximity to the river Cam, the summer vacation when water heights were lower would have been the optimal time to undertake the backfilling. If this is the case, then many students and active fellows are likely to have been away from Cambridge when the works took place. A few would still have been in residence, but perhaps more significantly at the start of each summer a third of the students would graduate and depart the college, often leaving behind unwanted items. During the vacation, the college servants such as the cook would still have been fulfilling their duties, albeit on a reduced scale. This relatively quiet period would have been an ideal opportunity for college servants to undertake various activities, such as cleaning, tidying up and stocktaking. The college kitchen and the Master's Lodge both had direct access to the North Passage and were located near the culverts.

The challenging nature of the archaeological investigation of the culverts, particularly the water level, meant that it was unsafe to enter them and deposits had to be removed by machine and items hand collected nearby. As a ~~result~~result, recovery was less than perfect, although every effort was made to recover as much material as possible.

The assemblage

The majority of the backfilling material for both culverts comprised sandy silt with a significant component of ceramic building materials, presumably from the demolition of the buildings that had previously stood over the culverts. The nature of the other items varied markedly between the two culverts, although there are some commonalities. From a practical perspective it is likely that the demolition and backfilling of the culverts occurred sequentially. The material from the two culverts can therefore be thought of as both comprising both a single overall assemblage and two distinct sub-assemblages (Fig. 5, Tables 1–2). The assemblage will be considered principally from

the perspective of several inter-related themes. These are:

- The distinctions between ‘corporate’, ‘sub-household’ and ‘individual’ material culture.
- The predominantly young adult male composition of the collegiate household.
- The role of marginalised groups, particularly women and servants.
- To what extent the material is distinctively collegiate and different from that found on domestic sites of the period in Cambridge.
- The preferential disposal of unwanted material, particularly old or damaged items, which complicates our ability to use the material culture to understand the corporate household that generated it.

Food and dining

The majority of the dining related ceramics can be clearly identified as belonging to six collegiate services, as they are marked with the name of either the college or one of its cooks (Fig. 7.1–6. Table 2). These will be discussed in detail elsewhere (Cessford, in prep.), but a few factors are relevant to this paper. The first service introduced in 1819–1825 was a monochrome transfer printed view of Clare Hall for use by the fellows, which continued in use until *c.* 1889 (Fig. 7.1). Initially in black, this was changed to blue by the 1830s. In *c.* 1840–1847 a second more expensive dining service was introduced for the fellows, this was the polychrome floral Bentick pattern manufactured by John Ridgway & Co, which continued in use until the mid-1870s (Fig. 7.2). The Bentick pattern was replaced by a geometric black transfer print with hand painted gilt service called Ribbon and Star manufactured by Josiah Wedgwood & Sons, which was probably used until 1889 (Fig. 7.3).

Ceramic services were introduced later for students, and there only ever appears to have been one in use, rather than the two for the fellows. The earliest service for use by students was a monochrome blue transfer printed rural scene known as Village Church in use *c.* 1847–1850/55 (Fig. 7.4). This was replaced by a monochrome blue transfer printed Willow pattern service, used from *c.* 1850/55 until the mid-1870s (Fig. 7.5). This was in turn replaced by the monochrome brown transfer printed Maltese Scroll pattern, manufactured by Pinder Bourne & Co which was probably used until 1889 (Fig. 7.6).

Many of the vessels were of some age when deposited. Seven have the pre-1856 name of the college Clare Hall, compared to 35 with the name Clare College. A number have the names of earlier cooks or scullions: Henry Brown (cook 1840–1847, four vessels), William Burrell (scullion *c.* 1847–1859, two vessels), George Owen (cook 1859–1861, one vessel) and William Moore (cook 1861–1873, 32 vessels) (Fig. 6). There was only one vessel marked with the name of the current cook, John Bradford (cook 1874–1889).

Only one of the six patterns was visually distinctively collegiate, this is not unusual as visual corporate ‘branding’ of ceramics only becomes common when Cambridge colleges took direct control of catering in the late nineteenth century (Cessford 2018). This was the Clare Hall pattern, introduced 1819–1825 for the use of the fellows, which depicts the west face of the west range of Old Court from the direction of the river. The other five services used by the fellows or students were all generally commercially available during this period and are not visually distinctively collegiate. The services used by the students were relatively inexpensive and belong to general types of design that were widely used at the time, including in middle class households. The Willow pattern service used by the students was the most commonly

used pattern of the period and has been found in numerous contemporary domestic assemblages in Cambridge (Cessford and Dickens 2019, 340–341: see also Jeffries 2022). The more expensive Bentick and Ribbon and Star patterns whilst generally available are more exclusive and do not appear to have been in common use in domestic households in Cambridge (Cessford and Dickens 2019) or elsewhere in England. Linked to their expense, three Bentick pattern plates show signs of being repaired by drilling holes and using lead insets, something that is not paralleled in any of the other collegiate dining services and is not documented in contemporary domestic assemblages from Cambridge. Such repairs would have been quite visible and are unlikely to have been undertaken for purely functional economic reasons. It has been suggested that they may be linked to the use of items for display purposes, the importance attached to possessing old ‘antique’ items and possibly personal emotional attachment (Willmott 2001). While personal emotional attachment is unlikely to have been a factor for these plates, it may be relevant to another similarly repaired plate (see below).

There were also sherds from a single plate with a blue transfer printed geometric Egg and Dart pattern in F.29 (Fig. 8.6). This is an uncommon pattern and although it is impossible to be absolutely certain, it is likely that this was from a service used by the students at the adjacent Trinity Hall between the 1840s and 1870s (Cessford 2014). How this plate ended up at Clare College is unknowable, but some form of interaction between students at adjacent colleges is likely.

In addition to the six patterns marked with the name of the college or college cook there was another monochrome black transfer printed floral service (Fig. 7.7). The number of vessels deposited and the presence of a serving dish and lid suggests that this pattern was used by one of the smaller sub-households, in either the Master’s Lodge or the butlers accommodation. Stylistically this is a relatively plain service, aesthetically

comparable to the contemporary collegiate Ribbon and Star and Maltese Scroll patterns. This floral pattern conforms to nineteenth-century gendered feminine norms, rather than having overtly masculine associations, potentially but not necessarily relating to the presence of women in the college. This could be either Hester Atkinson (1827–1908), the wife of the master Edward Atkinson at the Master’s Lodge, or Elizabeth Phipps (1846–1927), the wife of the butler in the butlers accommodation. One of the collegiate services, the floral Bentick pattern used by fellows, has similar feminine associations. This indicates that material culture at Cambridge colleges could be employed in a gender non-binary or fluid pattern (see belowabove), but extends this from the sphere of individual choices to corporate decisions.

There is evidence for other dining vessels, particularly plates, not supplied by the college. There are several relatively simple patterns all represented by single vessels, which have blue, black and purple geometric and floral borders with no central design (Fig. 7.9–11). These are relatively cheap items and might reasonably be associated with students for use in their rooms, although use by servants or workmen is also possible. There is also an expensive polychrome Masons Coloured Wall Patent Ironstone plate from F.31, produced by George & Charles Mason in 1813–29, with a manufacturers mark of c. 1820–1829 (Fig. 7.8). This was 50 to 65 years old when deposited (Fig. 6) and had been repaired in a similar manner to some of the collegiate Bentick pattern plates. Few of the corporate collegiate population were born before the 1850s and if this plate was an heirloom used by a student it is likely to have passed through at least two earlier generations of their family. Alternatively, the master Edward Atkinson was born in 1819, so he could have inherited it from his parents, and the same might be true of his wife Hester (born 1827) or the one fellow who lived at the college Lucas Ewbank (born 1835). A complete small (c. 5.in. diameter) plate from F.29 has a

hand painted grey, blue and orange floral design, which would be classified as feminine following nineteenth-century gender norms (Fig. 8.3).

There were also 21 vessels linked to food storage and preparation. Although these could have come from the Master's Lodge or the butlers accommodation most, if not all, must have come from the college kitchen. There was one large whiteware bowl marked with the name of the cook Bradford, this was manufactured by Josiah Wedgwood & Sons who also supplied the Ribbon and Star dining service (Fig. 8.1). The other vessels are a mixture of fabrics and ~~colours~~colours, and it is plausible that Bradford was attempting to standardise the college kitchenware, especially as commissioning vessels marked with his name indicates a relatively substantial order of the new white vessels.

Evidence for the consumption of meat is sparse, with only nine mammal bones recovered although it is likely that smaller bones were missed due to the recovery conditions. This absence is common in deposits in Cambridge after c. 1850 (Cessford and Dickens 2019, 350, fig. 5.94A) and represents changing attitudes to hygiene as it was longer considered 'dry and proper rubbish' (Jeffries 2006, 286). The few identifiable bones appear to be mainly butchered food waste, with cow the only identified species and cut and saw marks identifiable on some bones. A cat tibia was also present. There is greater evidence for fish, whose bones include examples from at least five 20–40cm long cyprinids, one inferior pharyngeal identifiable from a roach *Rutilus rutilus* about 25cm long and a first vertebra that matches a chub *Leuciscus cephalus* about 40cm long. Other species present are eel, perch, burbot *Lota lota*, mackerel and cod, the last represented by three caudal vertebrae from a large fish. Burbot no longer survives in Britain (Worthington et al., 2011), but has been recorded in small numbers at several archaeological sites in Cambridge, indicating that it was a

moderately commonly consumed fish. Oyster shell and a single edible common sea urchin were also present.

The uncharred plant macrofossil assemblages from the two culverts were very similar in composition and yielded high concentrations of food waste, derived from the consumption of a range of soft fruits (Table 3). Both contained seeds of fig (*Ficus carica* L.), grape (*Vitis vinifera* L.), raspberry, blackberry/bramble and wild/Hautbois strawberry (*Fragaria vesca/moshata*), as well as seeds that most closely resemble those of red currant (*Ribes rubrum* L.) and black currant (*R. nigrum* L.). The seeds of the soft fruits were predominantly intact and not particularly abraded, suggesting they had not been subject to mechanical damage, such as being chewed as dried fruit or pressed to make wine. Some of these plant remains may derive from faeces, which is supported by the identification of an egg of the intestinal parasite whipworm.

The seed assemblage from F.29 was dominated by soft fruits, notably raspberry, wild/Hautbois strawberry and fig. Moderate quantities of seeds of grape and bramble/blackberry, and small numbers of red currant-type, black currant-type and plum/sloe/cherry-type fruit stones were also recorded, plus several hazelnut shell fragments and a cautiously identified seed of medlar (*Mesphilus germanica* L.). Medlar has been discussed as being a high-status or luxury crop (Murphy and Scaife 1991, 86; Moffett 1992 280, 284) and may have contributed to the range of potential high status foods that were consumed by the inhabitants of the college. Aside from hazel, other species of woodland, scrubland and hedgerows were also represented by occasional seeds of hawthorn (*Crataegus monogyna* Jacq.) and elder (*Sambucus nigra* L.), as well as seeds of silver birch, the latter indicating open woodland, scrub or parkland.

Culvert F.31 contained an abundance of seeds of soft fruits, in particular black currant-type, grape, raspberry, bramble/blackberry, wild/Hautbois strawberry and fig, as

well as moderate quantities of red currant-type and bilberry-type. Occasional fruit stones of sour cherry (*Prunus cerasus* L.) and plum (*P. domestica* spp. *domestica*) were also present, including remains with that displayed gnaw marks consistent with those of a small rodent. Traces of other remains of edible species, which were not present in F.29, consisted of coriander (*Coriandrum sativum* L.) and a seed from the nightshade family (Solanaceae), which most closely resembles sweet pepper (cf. *Capsicum* sp.). The tentatively identified seed of sweet pepper is an unusual find; sweet pepper (*Capsicum annuum* L.) is a neophyte (i.e. non-native species arriving in Britain after 1500) (Stace 2019, 608, 1130) and is a sixteenth century introduction to southern Europe from Mexico or Central America (Katz 2009, 213). Archaeobotanical records of sweet pepper appear to be rare in mainland Europe from the Late Medieval period (Greig 1995, 226). As part of early adoption in the sixteenth century, there appears to have been a short-lived period where sweet peppers were taken to botanical and aristocrats' gardens as an ornamental plant or curiosity (Katz 2009, 214). In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries there was a revived interest in the sweet pepper for culinary purposes by the 'European Elites' (Katz 2009, 215).

Despite the prominent role it played in college life wine is not particularly well represented, with just eight bottles from the two culverts (one in F.29, seven from F.31) and no wine glasses. Wine was the responsibility of the college butler rather than the cook, suggesting that the butler was not particularly involved in disposing of material in the culvert.

There were twelve ~~carbonated~~~~earb~~~~onised~~ soda or mineral water bottles, predominantly the egg or torpedo shaped form which was being superseded by the time of deposition due to the introduction and subsequent dominance of Codd-neck bottles. At least six bear parts of the text FROM THE CAMBRIDGE / SODA WATER /

STEAM WORKS / PROPRIETORS / LATE H. LYON & Co. Henry Lyon was active in Cambridge until moving to Colchester and subsequently being declared bankrupt in 1862, it is unclear how long the soda water steam works ~~carried on~~continued after this date. The presence of six bottles suggest that the college may have supplied these. In contrast single bottles linked to William Webb (c. 1812–1880) of Hitchin, 39km from Cambridge, and an unknown supplier in Huntingdon, 25km from Cambridge, may represent more personal purchases.

Only a few fragments of cups and saucers for drinking tea and coffee were recovered. Cambridge colleges did not commission specifically collegiate services for hot beverages until the early-twentieth century. The vessels are of various common decorative styles of the period, which are often found in domestic assemblages, such as blue transfer printed oriental scenes and blue ‘Chelsea’ sprigged designs (Fig. 8.5). Undergraduates appear to have typically consumed tea in their rooms in the late afternoon, while coffee was consumed after dinner.

Horticulture

Most of the horticultural vessels come from F.29 and include nine flowerpots and one saucer. There are also four c. 9.in. diameter domed lids in a similar fabric that may also have been used for horticultural purposes, these have not previously been identified in Cambridge. In contrast there are only a few small fragments of flowerpot in F.31. This suggests that the college gardeners may have disposed of some unwanted damaged material in F.29.

The presence of a wider range on non-edible plant species and plant detritus, as well as the presence of seeds resembling those of ivy-leaved toadflax (*Cymbalaria muralis*) which an early seventeenth century garden introduction (Salisbury 1964, 303),

appears to support the interpretation that waste from gardening activities were disposed into F.29.

~~Overall~~Overall, the uncharred plant macrofossil assemblages from the culverts point towards the consumption of fresh grapes and other species of soft fruits, including those that were frequently planted in walled gardens and beds from the late seventeenth century onwards. It is, therefore, plausible that the edible species were derived from produce grown within the grounds of the college, including high-status foods such as fresh figs, fresh grapes and potentially medlar. Coriander may also have grown within the college gardens and was potentially used as a condiment. The college may also have grown soft fruits, although it is likely to have purchased most of its requirements from nearby market gardeners such as Chivers of Histon.

Hygiene and cleanliness

There are a range of ceramic, glass, bone and wooden items linked to hygiene. From F.29 there were eight English utilitarian stoneware bottles, at least three of which are blacking bottles. One marked example probably dates to 1817–1834, while another with part of the stamped mark I·Warren's / Liquid Blacking / No 13 Great Suffolk Street / Hay Market can be dated to 1795/8–1821 (Fig. 6). While liquid blacking was used on various black leather products and ironwork, such as stoves or fireplaces, it was principally used as shoe polish. As such it would have primarily been used by the college gyps, whose role included cleaning students shoes. The absence of comparable items from F.31 suggests that this was the specific disposal of a group of material and that it did not derive from the college kitchens, where blacking would also have been commonly used. Culvert F.29 also contained some other apparently personal items. There was a Genevese pattern holloware vessel, probably a water jug or pitcher, produced by Minton (Coysh and Henrywood 1984, 151; 1986, 89), this pattern has

previously found in a domestic assemblage in Cambridge of c. 1840–1860 (Cessford and Dickens 2019, 164, figs. 5.42C, 5.43E). There was also a large bowl, with a blue transfer printed scene of a castle with a bridge in the foreground amongst twisting trees.

While F.31 contained fewer hygiene and cleanliness related ceramics there was a complete ointment jar and lid, with hand painted red and blue floral decoration (Fig. 8.2). This has a distinctively feminine appearance by nineteenth-century gender standards.

There were five bone toothbrushes, one of the classic archaeological indicators of the emergent nineteenth-century ideologies of personal discipline, hygiene and cleanliness (Schackel 1993) (Fig. 8.7–8.10). At least two were manufactured in London, one by G B Kent & Sons Ltd. By the 1870s this firm was manufacturing almost 9000 brushes a week and in 1882 the firm had 600 employees, over a quarter of whom manufactured toothbrushes (Woodall 1959). The name I DECK CAMBRIDGE on the toothbrush manufactured by G B Kent relates to the ~~distributor,distributor;~~ Isiah Deck a chemist in Cambridge from 1815 until 1853. This suggests that either the toothbrush was of some age when deposited, or that his son Arthur Deck who took over the business and was active as a chemist in Cambridge until 1904 continued to use this design. Another toothbrush marked HERBERT BRIGHTON was presumably either manufactured or distributed in Brighton by an individual with the surname Herbert. At 135mm long this brush is noticeably shorter than most brushes of the period, which are c. 165mm long. One possibility is that it is a child's brush, however children were not generally resident at the college. The master Edward Atkinson and his wife Hester had no ~~childrenchildren,~~ and the only child present was Charles Phipps, the son of the butler born in 1869 and aged 10–16 when the assemblage was deposited. It is perhaps more likely that this brush was used as an item of cleaning equipment for objects other than

teeth. It is possible that some or all of the other toothbrushes were also not for cleaning teeth, and this small example was for especially fine work.

There were eleven pharmacy, perfume, poison and related bottles in F.31, three of which were complete with their associated corks when discarded. One complete pharmacy or perfume bottle is marked E.H. THIELLAY / + PERFUMER / CHARING CROSS HOTEL. Eugene Henry Thiellay (c. 1837–1901) was born in France and worked in London from 1861 onwards, as a parfumeur chimiste, perfumer, hairdresser and perfumer and wholesale-perfumer. In 1867 Thiellay and a Parisian hairdresser Leon Hugot demonstrated the use of hydrogen peroxide to lighten hair at the Paris

~~Exposition~~Exposition, and it was this product that Thiellay was most associated with.

A small nearly complete wood and glass mirror is a striking item in form and aesthetic (Fig. 8.3). It is 111mm long by up to 72mm wide and the wood is probably from a sawn tangential Scots Pine (*Pinus sylvestris* L) board. The edges of the front of the frame are neatly bevelled on all the exterior sides. A recess has been cut into the front face of the frame to house an irregularly shaped shard of mirror-glass, with maximum dimensions of 95mm by 58mm. This has been done very neatly, with the shard sitting near flush within the hole. The glass is held in place with a band of putty adhered to the edge of the recess and the edge of the face of the mirror. A circular hole has been cut through the board at the top of the mirror, to permit hanging. There are eight linear knife-cut incisions cut into the back of the frame, these form a geometric pattern and may be a crude letter 'M' or 'W'. The size of the mirror and the suspension hole suggest it is a shaving mirror. Shaving became common during the nineteenth century, following the invention of the safety razor in 1762 and subsequent developments and improvements in the nineteenth century. Despite the use of recycled mirror-glass, the wood frame is neatly finished, with a clean bevelled edge and a very

precisely cut recess for the irregularly shaped glass. It appears that the irregularity of the glass was deliberately made into a feature of the mirror, as this could have been obscured either through the production of a two-piece frame with a more regularly shaped aperture or by cutting the glass to a more regular shape. The irregular mirror shard, within its straight framing, gives the artefact a certain eccentricity, not usually associated with such commonplace items. There is a sense of personality in the ownership of this artefact, which might also be reflected in the possible monogram crudely carved into the reverse of the frame.

Identifying who owned the mirror is impossible, as in 1880–1881 there were 20 students at Clare whose Christian names began with the letter W, and 13 whose surnames started with that letter. This idiosyncratic item is perhaps more likely to have belonged to a college servant, although we do not know the names of most of these the porter and under porter shared the Christian name William.

Smoking

There were only a few clay tobacco pipe stem fragments in F.29, while the 13 pipes from F.31 are predominantly unremarkable local products (Fig. 8.11–12). Several were manufactured by the Cleaver family (Fig. 8.13). It appears that John Cleaver, who was working on Newmarket Road (active 1864–1883), was still using moulds manufactured for his father Thomas (active 1837/9–1858) and mother Anne (active 1858–1864) (Fig. 6). There is considerable evidence for pipe moulds being altered for use by later individuals (Oswald 1985), but reuse without alteration is more difficult to identify. Pipe moulds appear to have had a lifespan of around thirty years, with some in use for perhaps fifty years (Oswald 1985).

Unusually there were two imported French pipes, manufactured by the Fiolet company of Saint-Omer, Pas-de-Calais, which actively exported pipes to England,

particularly following the opening of a warehouse in London after the 1851 Great Exhibition (Hammond 1987), and many other countries (Schweickart 2023). One was of normal form, largely indistinguishable from local products, apart from the text L.Fiolet/St. Omer on the stem. It would, however, have had an unusual polished sheen on the bowl, produced by rubbing it with a specially treated flannel (Atkinson 1986) (Fig. 8.14). The other is a more unusual stub-stemmed pipe with a large Turk's head, marked LF/547, this has broken at the junction with the stem, which is presumably why the item was discarded (Fig. 9). Fiolet was one of a few French companies that specialised in elaborate stub-stemmed figural pipes, and this is the first occasion on which imported French pipes and stub-stemmed form pipes have been identified from archaeological excavations in Cambridge. This suggests that these items are distinctively collegiate.

Miscellaneous

There were two items of clothing, a copper alloy shirt button marked 'PATENT' from F.31 and fragments of a leather shoe bottom from F.29, comprising a half sole and the tip of a matching insole of adult size. The use of hobnails indicates an outdoor walking shoe, rather than a shoe intended for light indoor wear, and may suggest a male item.

Discussion

In the nineteenth century Clare Hall/College was a complex and rapidly changing corporate household. The items discarded during the backfilling of two culverts in 1879–1885 do not represent a straightforward snapshot of the material culture of this corporate household, as this was a minor event in the history of the college which continued afterwards largely unchanged. Most of the material culture associated with the household would have continued in use and the material deposited comprises

unwanted, obsolete or damaged material and can only represent a small and not necessarily representative proportion of the overall body of material present in the college.

A wide range of nineteenth-century corporate households have been investigated archaeologically, including other universities and institutions of higher education. In the United Kingdom there have been a large number of development-led excavations at the colleges from the Universities of Cambridge and Oxford. Until recently such work has tended to be restricted to the Medieval and Early Post-Medieval periods, although more recently nineteenth-century material has begun to be more fully investigated (e.g. Teague and Ford 2016; Teague, Norton and Dodd 2016). In the United States of America ‘campus archaeology’ is a well-developed field. At many institutions archaeological excavations are regularly conducted, both in advance of construction and for research/training purposes. Classic studies include a fraternity at Berkely (Wilkie 2010) and the collection of papers by Skowronek and Lewis (2010). Such work continues, with notable studies including work at Harvard University on the buttery (Hodge 2013) and tobacco consumption (Loren 2022) and at Michigan State University on ceramics (Goldstein, Bright and Painter 2017) and children (Burnett, Camp and Painter 2025). The work at Oxford and in the United States has significant overlaps with the assemblage from Clare College, although some projects have generated substantial bodies of material we are not aware of any single feature assemblages of similar scale from other institutions.

Cambridge colleges were ‘profoundly structured by sexual difference’ (Dyhouse 2006, 161) and were important institutions in the creation and development of nineteenth-century masculinity (Deslandes 2005). Most students had previously been educated in single-sex schools and had limited knowledge of women (Janes 2015, 119–

135). The almost exclusively male colleges were predominantly homosocial environments, centred upon same-sex relationships that are not necessarily romantic or sexual (Sedgwick 1985). Colleges did, however, have a small but significant female component. In this respect they are similar to some other nineteenth-century institutions that have been the subject of archaeological attention, such as military establishments (Clements 1993). The members of colleges were drawn predominantly from the middle classes, and middle class men had a powerful and complex relationship with domesticity (Tosh 1999), including material culture and decoration (Cohen 2006). Material culture associated with nineteenth-century Cambridge college rooms has attracted some attention, such as a sequence of wallpaper at Peterhouse (Dyer 2020). Male students decorated their rooms in ways that differentiated them from their fellow students, sometimes in a manner conventionally associated with the opposite sex, including flowers, floral hangings and ornaments (Hamlett 2006). The mid-nineteenth century was a time of profound change and tensions with regard to women at the University of Cambridge, with the foundation of the all-female Girton College (1869) and Newnham College (1871) and in 1881 women were formally permitted to sit for honours examinations. This precipitated a ‘crisis of university masculinity’ and it became increasingly important for students to demonstrate not merely social status and intelligence, but also their manliness and muscular prowess (Deslandes 2005, 187). From the second half of the nineteenth century onwards cross-dressing in drama and at a wide range of social events was popular. One result of colleges only having male students was that plays were entirely acted by men. These performances were sexualized in ways that appeared to confirm male–female desire, but also involved elements of same-sex eroticism (Janes 2022). This was based on the privilege of

empowered masculinity and was ‘sanctioned as the *sine qua non* of unalloyed masculinity’ (Senelick 2000, 353).

The material culture deposited in the culverts must therefore be viewed as relating to a predominantly middle class male corporate group, who were actively creating and developing ideas of masculinity and affected by a crisis in that masculinity.

Some of the material can be considered corporate and linked to the college as a whole. This includes the collegiate dining services, although the use of specific services was restricted to particular groups such as the fellows/master or students. Other elements such as the non-collegiate dining services can be linked to two smaller sub-households that existed within the larger college, either the master and his family at the Master’s Lodge and the butler and his family at the butlers accommodation.

~~Finally~~Finally, some of the other dining related ceramics are more personal and individual, although they cannot be linked to specific individuals. Also extremely personal is the shaving mirror. These would have been the possessions of individual students, fellows, servants or even workmen.

Although the corporate household was predominantly composed of young middle class men, women and children were not entirely absent. Some of the material recovered could be classified as feminine based on nineteenth-century gender norms. This includes the collegiate Bentick pattern floral dining service for fellows, the floral dining service used at the Master’s Lodge or butlers accommodation, a single complete small plate and the complete ointment jar. The floral dining service can be linked to part of the collegiate corporate household that had important female members. In contrast the Bentick pattern service indicates a gender non-binary or fluid pattern of material culture use, which fits with the use of flowers, floral hangings and ornaments in personal college rooms (Hamlett 2006), but extends this pattern from the sphere of

individual choices to corporate decisions. While the individual small plate and ointment jar could potentially be linked to one or more of the women present at the college, it is more likely that they belonged to men and also relate to the gender non-binary or fluid pattern of material culture use. Children were also largely absent from the collegiate corporate household. While the butlers son could have used a small toothbrush, it is more likely that it was a servants cleaning tool.

College servants, while traditionally ignored in historical studies, were a critical component of the corporate collegiate household. The names of five cooks or scullions are present on vessels from collegiate dining services, although these individuals did not dine using those services. More intriguing is the presence of the name of one cook on a large food storage and preparation bowl, whose use would have been in the colleges kitchens rather than the dining hall, which can be thought of as part of the hidden largely invisible servants sphere. Other elements linked to servants include wine bottles connected to the butler, especially as at table wine would typically be served from decanters, flowerpots used by the gardeners and blacking bottles plus probably a small toothbrush employed by the gyps. Some items are more ambiguous, although it is tempting to link the shaving mirror to a servant.

It is interesting that the local clay tobacco pipemaker John Cleaver appears to have continued to use his fathers' and mothers' pipe moulds and that Arthur Deck continued to sell toothbrushes bearing his father's name. Both clay tobacco pipes and toothbrushes are short lived items, and objects in good condition such as those found in this assemblage would generally be utilised as significant dating evidence. In this case the other dating evidence demonstrates the potential pitfalls introduced by the continued use of older pipe moulds and stamps for marking toothbrushes.

Many of the items recovered from the college culverts would not have been out of place in domestic assemblages from Cambridge of the same period (Cessford and Dickens 2019), or more broadly in England. The collegiate dining services, whilst specifically commissioned for use at the college are often broadly, or in the case of Willow pattern closely, similar to those in use in contemporary domestic households. The distinctive elements of the assemblage are the use of polychrome or hand painted gilt Bentick and Ribbon and Star dining services and imported French clay tobacco pipes, notably the stub-stemmed figural pipe. This perhaps reflects the use by elites of newer, more expensive and different material goods to maintain their status (Schackel 1993). In the case of Clare Hall/College, the elite is typically the fellows and master, who used the more expensive dining services. The use of the polychrome Coloured Wall plate and the stub-stemmed figural pipe by particular individuals could also relate to the fellows or master or to wealthier students. The expense and importance of the Bentick and Coloured Wall plates is emphasised by the fact that these were repaired, although such repairs would have been quite visible and are unlikely to have been for purely functional economic reasons.

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Tables

	F.29 no.	F.29 %	F.31 no.	F.31 %	Total
Ceramic vessels	40	21	155	79	195
Glass vessels	3	8	33	92	36
Clay tobacco pipes	1	7	13	93	14
Bone toothbrushes	–	–	5	100	5
Iron objects	2	33	1	67	3
Leather shoe	1	100	–	–	1
Wood and glass mirror	–	–	1	100	1
Whetstone	–	–	1	100	1
Copper alloy button	–	–	1	100	1
Total	47	18.3	210	81.7	257

Table 1: Quantification of material from culverts F.29 and F.31, by minimum number of vessels/items. Does not include structural materials (ceramic building material, window glass, some ironwork) and food remains.

	F.29 no.	F.29 %	F.31 no.	F.31 %	Total
Clare Hall view	2	5	42	95	44
Village Church	1	20	4	80	5
Willow	1	4	23	96	24
Bentick	—	—	8	100	8
Maltese Scroll	—	—	3	100	3
Ribbon and Star	—	—	8	100	8
<i>Collegiate dining services total</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>88</i>	<i>96</i>	<i>92</i>
Floral pattern	—	—	5	100	5
Miscellaneous dining	5	28	13	72	18
<i>Dining total</i>	<i>9</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>106</i>	<i>92</i>	<i>115</i>
Food storage and preparation	1	5	21	95	22
Horticulture	13	82	3	18	16
Hot beverages	2	29	5	71	7
Hygiene and cleanliness	9	64	5	36	14
Unknown	6	29	15	71	21
Total	40	20.5	155	79.5	195

Table 2: Quantification of ceramic vessels from culverts F.29 and F.31, by minimum number of vessels.

Feature			F.29	F.31
Context			392	399
Sample			6	3
Sample volume (L)			1	1
Flot./wash over volume (ml)			225*	250*
Latin binomial	English common name	Habita t type		
Plants of potential economic value				
<i>cf. Ribes rubrum</i> L.	Red currant-type	BCF	+	++
<i>cf. Ribes nigrum</i> L.	Black currant-type	BCEF	+	++++
<i>Vitis vinifera</i> L.	Grape-vine	CF	++	++++
<i>Prunus cerasus</i> L.	Sour cherry	CF		+
<i>Prunus cf. cerasus</i>		CF		+
<i>Prunus domestica</i> cf. <i>ssp. Domestica</i> C. K. Schneider	Plum	CF		+
<i>Prunus domestica</i> cf. <i>ssp. domestica</i>	(gnawed)	CF		+
<i>Prunus</i> sp.	Plum/Sloe/Cherry- type	CF	+(frags)	+
<i>cf. Mesphilus germanica</i> L.	Medlar-type	C(F?)	+	
<i>Rubus ideas</i> L.	Raspberry	CDF	++++	++++ +

Feature			F.29	F.31
Context			392	399
Sample			6	3
<i>Rubus</i> cf. <i>ideas</i>	Raspberry-type	CDF	+	++++
<i>Rubus fruticosus</i> L. agg.	Bramble/blackberr y	BCD	++	++++ +
<i>Rubus</i> sp.	Bramble	BCD		++++
<i>Fragaria vesca</i> L./ <i>moshata</i> (Duchesnes) Weston	Wild/Hautbois strawberry	CF	++++	++++ +
<i>Ficus carica</i> L.	Fig	BF	++++	++++ +
<i>Corylus avellana</i> L.	Hazel nut shell	CF	+	
<i>Vaccinium</i> cf. <i>myrtillus</i> L .	Bilberry-type	CDF		++
cf. <i>Capsicum</i> sp./ <i>Solanum</i> <i>pseudocapsicum</i> L.	Sweet pepper/Winter- cherry-type	BF		+
<i>Coriandrum sativum</i> L.	Coriander	ABF		+
Wild/weed seeds				
<i>Ranunculus acris</i> L./ <i>repens</i> L./ <i>bulbosus</i> L.	Meadow/Creeping/ Bulbous buttercup	CD	+	
<i>Ranunculus</i> subgen. Batrachium (DC.) A. Gray	Water crowfoots	E	+	

Feature			F.29	F.31
Context			392	399
Sample			6	3
<i>Crataegus monogyna</i> Jacq.	Hawthorn	C	+	
<i>Rosa</i> cf. <i>canina</i> L.	Dog-rose-type	C		+
<i>Rosa</i> sp.	Rose	C		+
<i>Urtica dioica</i> L.	Common nettle	ABCD	+	
cf. <i>Fagus sylvatica</i> L.	Beech (immature fruit with bract?)	C		+
<i>Betula</i> cf. <i>pendula</i> (fruit)	Silver birch-type	CD	+	
<i>Bistorta officinalis</i> Delarbre	Common bistort	BCDE	+	
<i>Rumex crispus</i> L./ <i>conglomeratus</i> Murray/ <i>obtusifolius</i> L.	Curled/clustered/br oad-leaved dock	ABE	+	
<i>Stellaria media</i> (L.) Vill.	Chickweed	AB		+
<i>Chenopodium</i> sp.	Goosefoots	AB	+	
<i>Chenopodium album</i> L.	Fat hen	AB	+	
<i>Montia fontana</i> ssp. <i>chondrosperma</i> (Fenzl) Walters	Blinks	E	+	
<i>Solanum dulcamara</i> L.	Bittersweet	BCE		+

Feature			F.29	F.31
Context			392	399
Sample			6	3
cf. <i>Cymbalaria muralis</i> . G.Gaertn., B.Mey. & Scherb.	Ivy-leaved toadflax type	B	+	
cf. Asteraceae <1mm		ABCD	++	++++
<i>Sambucus nigra</i> L.	Elder	BCD	+	
Apiaceae	Carrot family	ABCD	+	
cf. <i>Silaum silaus</i> (L.) Schinz & Thell.	Pepper-saxifrage type	BDE	+	
<i>Cladium mariscus</i> (L.) Pohl	Great fen-sedge	E	+	
Indeterminate seed			+	+
Miscellaneous plant remains				
Bryophyta stems with leaves	moss		++	
Leaf fragments			++	
Wood fragments >2mm			++++	
Wood fragments <2mm			++++ +	
Roundwood >2mm			+	
Roundwood <2mm			+	

Feature			F.29	F.31
Context			392	399
Sample			6	3
Uncharred culm internodes <2mm			+	
Charcoal >2mm			++	+
Charcoal <2mm			++++	+
Other palaeoenvironmental remains				
Arthropoda (sclerites)	Insect macrofossils		++++	++++
<i>Ostracods</i>			++++	
<i>Mollusca</i>	Snail shells		+	+
<i>Lumbricus</i> (cocoons)	Earthworm egg case		++	
Diptera (puparia)	Fly pupal case		++	+
Fish bones/scales			+	++

Table 3. Selected plant remains from culverts F.29 and F.31. Abundance scores + = 1–10; ++ = 11–50; +++ = 51–100; ++++ = > 101–500; +++++ = >501. Wild/weed species habitat classification: A = cultivated ground; disturbed ground; B = waste ground, rough ground, waysides; C = woodland, scrub, hedgerow; D = grassland, meadow; heath; E = aquatic, wetland, damp soils; F = potential food plants. 25% of 250–500 micron fraction analysed and abundance scores of palaeoenvironmental remains <500 microns estimated accordingly.

Figures

FIG. 1: Map of Cambridge showing Clare College, plus locations where fellows, students and some servants resided within Cambridge but outside the college at the time of the 1881 census, plus locations where ceramics linked to the college have been discovered.

FIG. 2: Plan of Clare College for the 1856 Cambridge Award Act, with location of culverts shown in red box (upper), plus plan of culverts F.29 and F.31 from archaeological investigations.

FIG. 3: View of culvert F.31 during investigations in 2020 as initially revealed, facing east, and section.

FIG. 4: Population of Clare Hall 1820–1890, based primarily on annual University Calendar. Active fellows are those known to have fulfilled administrative or educational roles at Clare Hall/College. Fellow commoners were students who paid higher fees and were granted various privileges, including dining with the fellows. Students excludes ten-year men, who were not normally present at the college. Servants estimated as one per four fellows and students (upper). Age and sex breakdown of individuals resident at Clare College in the 1881 census (lower).

FIG. 5: Bar chart of selected material recovered from culverts F.29 and F.31, by minimum number of items.

FIG. 6: Timeline of items and individuals related to the backfilling of culverts F.29 and F.31, 1820–1890.

FIG. 7: Dining related ceramics from F.29 and F.31: 1) Clare Hall view, fellows service *c.* 1819/25–1889; 2) Bentick, fellows service *c.* 1840/7–mid 1870s; 3) Ribbon and Star, fellows service mid-1870s–1889; 4) Village Church, student service *c.* 1847–1850/55; 5) Willow pattern, student service *c.* 1850/5–mid 1870s; 6) Maltese Scroll, student service *c.* mid 1870s–89; 7) Floral pattern, in use at the Master's Lodge or butlers accommodation *c.* mid 1870s–1885; 8) Coloured wall, manufactured *c.* 1820–1829 and in personal use at the college 1879–1885; 9–11) relatively plain plates with purple, blue and blue decorated rims, in personal use at the college 1879–1885.

FIG. 8: Miscellaneous items: 1) sherd from large whiteware bowl used for food storage and preparation in the college kitchen, marked with the name of the cook Bradford; 2) ointment jar and lid, with hand painted red and blue floral decoration; 3) small plate with hand painted grey, blue and orange floral design; 4) wooden and glass shaving mirror, plus detail of rear with letter W or M; 5) sherds from bone china teacups with blue 'Chelsea' sprigged designs; 6) plate with blue transfer printed geometric Egg and Dart pattern, probably from Trinity Hall; 7–10) bone toothbrushes including small example; 11–12) clay tobacco pipes manufactured locally in Cambridge; 13) clay tobacco pipe with the initials of initials T/C of Thomas Cleaver active in Cambridge c. 1837/9–1858 on sides of heel, manufactured by his son John Cleaver active 1864–1883; 14) clay tobacco pipe manufactured in France by the Fiolet company.

FIG. 9: Stub-stemmed pipe with a large Turk's head marked LF/547, manufactured in France by the Fiolet company.