

Merseyside: the archaeological evidence for trade, 1500-1750

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Introduction: the nature of the evidence

The root meaning of the word trade is to walk or to march. It came into English in the 14th century meaning the course or track of a ship. The Oxford English Dictionary has many layers of meaning which centre around the twin notions of a 'passage to and fro', 'coming and going', 'the buying and selling of commodities for profit', and the 'practise of some occupation or profession as a means of livelihood' - 'in the trade' (OED 1933, xi, 224). A number of examples of 'traded' objects found in excavations in the region spring immediately to mind. There is the land snail *Oxystylata undata* Bruguière from a 19th-century context in the excavations at South Castle Street, Liverpool, a Jamaican species, possibly brought to Liverpool by a seaman as a curio (McMillan 1985, 150). Or the sherd of Weser slipware from Bury Castle (Davey and Rutter 1977, 25-26, Fig 18) and the Siegburg Janus headed stoneware flagon fragment from Sefton Old Hall which were the only examples from the region (Davey 1991, 136-138, Fig 12, no.2). Perhaps most impressive is the almost complete Werra dish excavated at Haughton Green, apparently made to commemorate the alliance by marriage, in 1619, of two Lorraine glass making families who had moved their production to the Manchester area in the early part of the 17th century. The dish was left on the steps of the furnace when the site at Haughton Green was abandoned around 1653 (Fig 1. Hurst Vose 1994b, 60-63).

Economic historians have generally been unimpressed by such examples. Even the mass of 12th- and 13th- century pottery from eastern England recovered at Bergen or the huge movements of German stonewares into southern England in the 15th and 16th centuries, elicited the comment from David Hinton that 'the wool trade to Flanders produces surprisingly little ceramic reflection' and 'It must be admitted that the physical evidence of trade would usually indicate no more than casual contacts, not the regular merchandising that other sources reveal. Recognition of the pottery is interesting, but of no great moment in economic history (Hinton 1977, 226-227). Or, to put it another way 'The study of medieval and post-medieval ceramic imports is a particularly expensive way of finding out what we already know from historical sources' (Davey and Hodges 1983, 1). In the case of the examples from the north-west given above it must be admitted that, however fascinating and exotic the material recovered from excavations, little advance in knowledge has been achieved. It is already known that the port of Liverpool traded with the West Indies in the 19th century and that there was extensive trade between north Germany and England in the 17th century.

In view of this somewhat nihilistic view from the perspective of the historian, it behoves archaeologists to consider what is distinctive of archaeological discourse and to follow the theories and methodologies of the discipline as far as they will lead before entering into dialogue with scholars from other subject areas. Given that the vast majority of all excavated artefacts that have been found in the north-west are not from production sites and will, therefore, have been traded in some sense, it is



Fig.1. Werra dish from Haughton Green, Manchester: evidence of trade or a wedding present?

necessary to establish specifically archaeological criteria and methodologies for their study and interpretation. The study of special distributions of artefacts is a common place for archaeologists in other areas and for other periods. For example physical descriptions of production techniques and their chronology for a wide range of artefact types and material - from Acheulean axes to clay tobacco pipes - have been successfully determined. For the Merseyside area in the post-medieval period previous speakers have given a good account of this type of evidence. The problem addressed by the present paper is how this information can be used as an independent source of knowledge and understanding of trading patterns in the period.

Initially, a number of models deriving from prehistory and anthropology will be presented and discussed. Then some examples will be presented from the region, dealing with glass, ceramic and clay pipe evidence. This will be followed by a discussion of the relationship between archaeological and historical evidence as it applies to existing discussion of Merseyside in the post-medieval period. Finally, a number of suggestions will be made both for development of further archaeological insights and for the subject of future dialogue between archaeologists and historians.

Modelling trade and exchange networks: the requirements for a study of post-medieval trade in the north west.

A good example of the way in which archaeologists have been able to model exchange systems using the

distribution of artefacts is in the prehistoric stone axe 'trade' in Britain and Ireland. From the 1960s the Stone Axe Petrology Group carried out a systematic study of the petrology of axes in museum collections and produced a series of regional distribution maps (eg Yorkshire). It proved possible to plot stone sources against typological variation and increasingly against time. At first interpretation was hampered by the adoption of rather crude presuppositions, about the relationship between 'producers' and 'consumers' in a prehistoric society, that seemed to derive more from the terminology of the industrial revolution than from the study of analogous 'primitive' societies (Cummins 1979).

A broadening of both theoretical discussions and increasingly creative links with spatial statisticians and anthropologists has allowed a more sophisticated presentation of the evidence to be attempted. For example, trend surface plots of the distribution of Lake District, Craig Lwyd and Mynydd Rhiw flint axes found in Wales allows a much more subtle impression to be created of both relative density and geographical focus of the competing distributions (Darvill 1989, 34-36). The major problem for these studies is that only around half of all of the axe samples could be sourced and that in any area there are multiple sources. Use of a multiple source gravity model proved to be one way of overcoming some of these difficulties. In the New Guinea Highlands, for example, it proved possible to compare plots of the special distribution of axes of different type against what would be expected given the distance from the source. The model has successfully been applied to the distribution of major axe types in England and Wales.

	Haughton Green		Tatton	Peel
	Sample A G13190 Green glass from crucible	Sample B G13191 Bottle top	85/5/7 Bowl sherd	86-53/H104 Bottle top
SiO ₂	57.80	57.30	57.20	52.40
CaO	20.00	20.00	19.90	22.90
Fe ₂ O ₃	1.20	1.90	2.00	2.30
Al ₂ O ₃	7.00	7.30	4.70	7.00
TiO ₂	0.20	0.20	0.30	0.40
MgO	4.80	4.80	4.90	5.00
P ₂ O ₅	ND	ND	3.10	3.20
Mn ₃ O ₄	1.10	0.80	0.50	0.30
PbO	ND	ND	<0.05	0.06
SrO	ND	ND	0.06	0.07
Na ₂ O	5.80	5.70	5.60	3.10
K ₂ O	1.80	1.80	1.20	2.70
SO ₃	0.20	0.10	ND	ND
BaO	0.10	0.10	ND	ND

Table 1. Comparative analyses of glass from Haughton Green, Tatton Village, Cheshire and Peel Castle, Isle of Man.

Glass Colours:**Green** = **A****Black** = **B****Blue** = **C****Product:****Drinking vessel** = **1****Container** = **2****Flat/window** = **3**

Cheshire	Sherds	Green	Black	Blue
Beeston Castle	20	A1 2 3	B1	
Bewsey Old Hall	12	A1 2 3	B1	C1
Houghton Hall		A0 0 3		
Norton Priory	1	A1 0 3		
Twiss Green	4	A1 0 3		C1
Tatton Old Hall		A0 0 3		
Tatton Park DMV	4	A1 2 3		
Greater Manchester				
Ordsall Hall, Salford		A0 0 3		
Lancashire				
Stydd Chapel	8	A1 0 3	B1	
Easington	1	A1 0 3		
Merseyside				
Lydiat Chapel	1	A0 0 3	B1	
Isle of Man				
Castletown	2	A0 2 0		
Peel Castle	1	A1 0 3		
Chester				
Chester Castle	3	A0 2 0		
Crook St 73-4 I F128B F124	4	A0 2 0		
Crook St 73-4 I 178	1	A0 0 0	B0 2	
Lower Bridge St 74-6 105 F115	6	A1 2 0		
Hunter St School 79-81 II (40)	70+	A1 2 0		C1
Abbey Green 75-8 Ditch M13	10	A1 2 0		C1

NB Sherd numbers do not include flat glass

Table 2. Regional finds of Haughton Green products.

VESSELS PRESENT	CHURCH	I (108)
Late Saintonge	3	
Spanish lustreware	1	1
Florentine <i>crespina</i>	1	
German stoneware	1	
Surrey/Hampshire wares	4	
Ewloe ware	2	1
Cistercian and related wares	2	3
London delft		1
Midland Yellow		1
Midland Purple		1
Rainford Speckled ware		1
Local 'brown' ware		3
Total	14	12

SOURCE AREA		
Continental	6	1
London/Surrey/Hampshire	4	1
Midlands		2
South Lancashire		1
Local (Ewloe/brown/Cistercian)	4	7
Total	14	12

Table 3. Ceramic finds from two demolition contexts at the Dominican Friary, Chester

Experience from other fields within archaeology strongly suggests that, in order to use any model of this kind in the description and interpretation of post-medieval trade in the north-west there are four basic requirements. First, all of the major sources need to have been identified. Secondly, there need to be sufficient numbers of artefacts of each type for any trends in the observed patterning to be real. Thirdly, material needs to have been collected from a sufficient number of sites. Finally, both the sites and finds need to be dated to a high degree of confidence. In the next section of this paper, groups of glass, ceramic and clay pipe finds from the region will be examined with these requirements in mind.

Towards an archaeology of trade in the post-medieval north west: glass, pottery and clay pipes

Glass

As part of her PhD thesis Ruth Hurst Vose carried out a programme of scientific analysis of glass from the 17th-century furnace at Haughton Green and then compared its mineral composition with examples, that appeared on visual inspection to be similar, from sites all over the north west and the Isle of Man (Hurst Vose 1994a,

1994b). For example, glass from Tatton Village, Cheshire and Peel Castle, Isle of Man was analysed and found to be very similar in composition to that from Haughton Green, so similar as to imply an identical source (Table 1; Hurst Vose 1994a, Appendix 7: Tables 1 and 3, 340, 348). Using this knowledge and a detailed understanding of the glass of the period she found Haughton Green-type products at 19 sites in the region, including six in Chester. They were absent at a further 16 sites, including 3 in Chester (Table 2; *ibid*, 106-7, Table 9).

In terms of the four requirements, it is the first and second that are problematic here. First, it was only possible to analyse six samples of Haughton Green glass from the production site. Although these showed a '...consistency ...which implied the availability of good quality raw materials for the glass-making process' (Pardoe 1994), a much larger sample would have been needed in order to characterise the whole production with any confidence. In addition, no comparable analysis was carried out on other early 17th-century good quality forest glassmakers in other parts of England, which might also have been supplying the region, especially a cosmopolitan port such as Chester. The Haughton green-type products from sites in the region are generally in very small numbers and are greatly outweighed by glass from other, unknown, sources. On the positive side, groups from a

reasonable number of sites, 35 in all, were available to study and, in general absolute dating was not a problem.

Ceramics

Very large quantities of ceramics have been excavated from the region. In order to assess the usefulness of the existing evidence for a discussion of trade three groups will be considered: from the 16th-century demolition of the Dominican Friary in Chester, from 17th-century, Civil War occupations at Beeston Castle, Cheshire and Peel Castle, Isle of Man and from the early 18th-century fish market in South Castle Street, Liverpool.

Excavations on the site of the Dominican Friary at Chester between 1976 and 1981 provided a range of ceramic evidence from late Saxon to 17th century. Of particular interest are two groups from the demolition of the church at the Dissolution (Table 3). A range of continental, British and local wares was identified to source area with reasonable confidence. The finds could mostly be dated to the later 16th or early 17th century. Whilst the presence of this range of wares from such generalised source areas is of interest, the very small quantities involved will not support any kind of balanced assessment of their significance for the study of trading patterns in the region. The presence in the north-west of continental wares, for example, is already well known (cf

Davey and Rutter 1977; Davey 1983). In order to define trading patterns specific sources need to be defined. In addition, some of the wares included in the groups appear to have been residual. Of one of the groups Rutter comments 'One context in particular, (108), provides a fine cross-section including both earlier wares and apparently those current at the time of the demolition of the major buildings of the friary in the first few decades of the 17th century' (Rutter 1990, 77). It is clear from this that the chronological status of the groups is far from ideal. Not only is there residual material but the process of demolition seems to cover the period from 1540 until around 1630; ninety years in which a whole range of changing trading relationships may have been in operation.

Both Beeston and Peel castles were refortified during the English Civil War in the mid-17th century. The short period of intense occupation that occurred on both sites produced large collections of ceramics from very closely dated deposits with little or no residual material – ideal for the discussion in hand (Noake 1993). The ceramic types present on both sites are presented in Table 4 in which minimum numbers of vessels are given and the percentage of the whole collection that each type represents. Whilst these groups are quite large and are well dated two major problems remain. First, the material recovered relates to the presence of a military garrison at the castles during the unsettled conditions of

CERAMIC TYPE	SOURCE	BEESTON		PEEL	
		No	%	No	%
Blackware	Unknown	363	49	56	44
Midland Purple	English Midlands	126	17		
Tin glaze	Unknown	8	1	3	2
Slipware	Unknown	136	20	13	10
Midland yellow	English Midlands	69	9		
Martincamp	Northern France	4	1	7	6
Frechen	Germany	23	3	7	6
North Devon	South-West England			20	16
Rainford Yellow	South Lancashire			17	13
Late Saintonge	South-West France			2	2
Beauvais slipware	Northern France			1	1
Totals		729	100	126	100

SUMMARY ANALYSIS

Source	Beeston %	Peel %
English Midlands	26	
North west England		13
South west England		16
Continental Europe	4	15
Unknown	70	56

Table 4. Sources of pottery in Civil War groups at Beeston Castle, Cheshire and Peel Castle, Isle of Man (numbers are of minimum vessels)

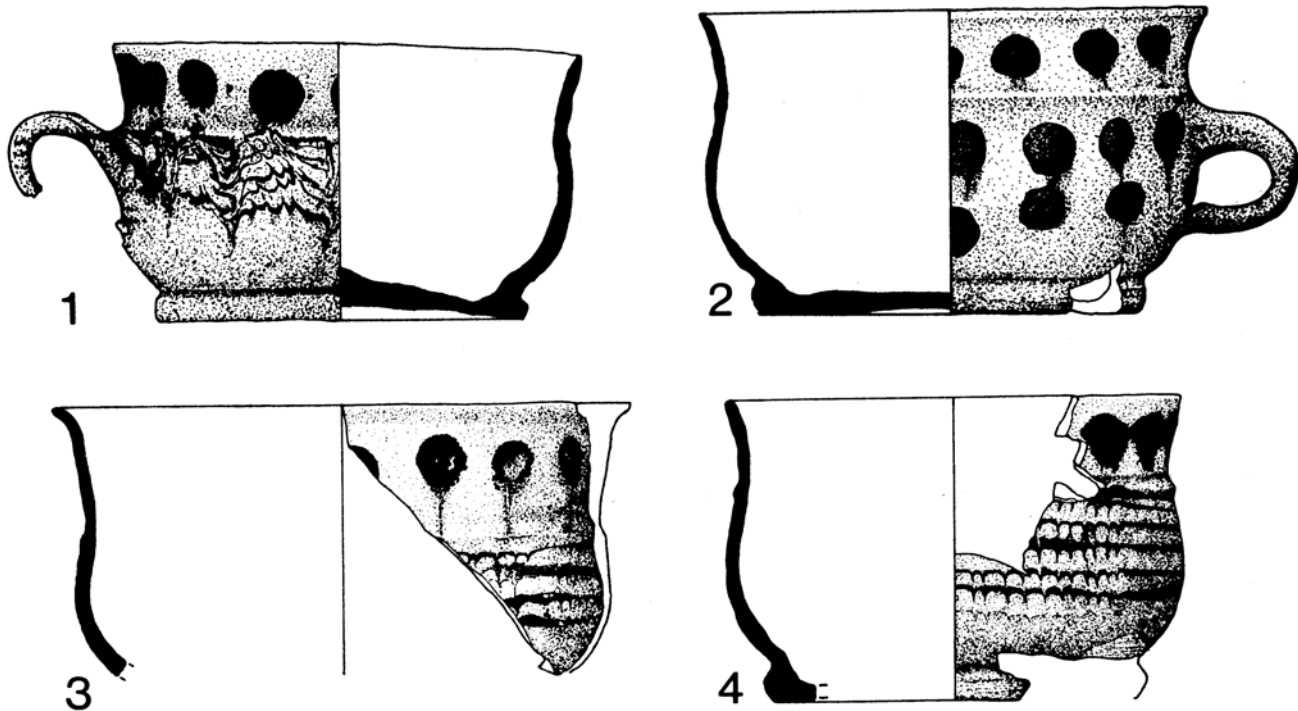


Fig. 2. Slipwares from South Castle Street, Liverpool; made in Liverpool

war. It seems unlikely that such a group would procure its supplies using the same networks and sources as would apply in peacetime. Secondly, a majority of all of the ceramics are from unknown production centres - 70% at Beeston and 56% at Peel. In this situation there is clearly interest in observing the more maritime and continental aspect of the material from Peel and the larger dependence on the English Midlands at Beeston, but these differences are more or less predictable, given the location of the two sites. With such a high proportion of finds from unknown sources any attempt at constructing models of diffusion will inevitably be highly speculative. The situation is exacerbated by the fact that the 'blackwares' are likely themselves to have multiple sources and that the 'English Midlands' group probably represents quite dispersed production. Simply describing them all as Buckley is highly misleading (Davey and Longworth 2001).

During the first season of excavations at South Castle Street, Liverpool in 1976 a market area was identified consisting of the backfilled and truncated remains of the basements of two buildings, the fish market and the 'cage' as well as many post-features almost certainly relating to market stall positions. Joining sherds between these features suggested that the backfilled deposits represented rubbish that was present at the time of the demolition of the structures in 1726, in advance of the construction of St George's Church which was consecrated in 1734 (Davey and McNeil 1985, 2). Given the large size of the artefact collections - there were over 3,400 fragments of clay tobacco pipe for example - and the close dating, it would seem to represent an ideal group for the study of trade, especially as the material was circulating in a domestic marketplace. In many respects, however, the assemblage

turned out to be as problematic as the finds from Beeston Castle, in that most of the common ware types could not be sourced. This was especially disappointing in that Liverpool was known to contain potteries at this date. The most likely material to have been manufactured in Liverpool is the tin-glazed ware, especially as a number of biscuit sherds and parts of two saggars were recovered (Morgan 1985). Many of the other common wares, such as the slipwares, stonewares and mottled wares exhibited sufficient variation from those produced in the English Midlands or North Wales to suggest a different source (Fig. 2). Although very probably made in north-west England, from how many centres over what sized an area is unclear. A gravity model is, thus, impossible. Once again, the presence of exotics such as the north Devon wares and the north African slipwares is not surprising given the known activities of the port of Liverpool.

Clay Tobacco Pipes

Clay pipes have four distinct advantages for use as indicators of trading patterns. First, they are very common and occur in sufficient numbers on most sites to be used as interpretative tools. Secondly, the dates of production can be quite closely estimated - in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries within a range of 20 or 30 years. Thirdly, as they have very short lives in use, probably measured in days rather than weeks or months, the dates of production and loss are normally very similar. Fourthly, many pipes, especially in the 17th and early 18th centuries are maker-marked so, theoretically, it should be possible to identify the pattern of production, distribution and consumption deriving from a specific maker and centre.

Initial	Rainford	Cheshire	Ireland	Total
HA	1			1
SB	1			1
MH	13			13
TL	1			1
IS	1	1		2
PL	2	3	2	7
IB	70	9	6	85
GL	1	2	3	6
EA		3	3	6
GA		4	16	20
RD		1	1	2
HH		6	9	15
IP		1	1	2
PS		1	1	2
IA		1		1
EB		1		1
EH		1		1
IH		1		1
HL		1		1
IL		1		1
GM		6		6
HN		1		1
HS		1		1
TS		3		3
RA			5	5
DB			1	1
HB			2	2
WB			1	1
RG			9	9
GH			1	1
HR			1	1
Total	90	48	62	200

Table 5. Finds of Rainford-style stamped pipes from Rainford, Cheshire and Ireland

The Merseyside area has seen considerable research on regional centres (eg Rutter and Davey 1980 on Chester; Davey *et al* 1982 on Rainford; Higgins 1983 on Buckley; Higgins 1987a on Broseley; Higgins 1987b and this volume on the region). Extensive fieldwalking in Rainford identified a particular style of stamp on the front of the bowl of pipes of the period 1660-1700 (Davey 1978). It consists of a pair of initials surrounded by a semi-circular frame with wavy or serrated outer edges surmounted by a three-part, leaf-like crest. Pipes with marks of this type have been found quite widely in the region both in south Lancashire, Cheshire, the Isle of Man and Ireland and have generally been attributed to Rainford. If these finds are listed by set of initials and by geography of find spot it becomes clear that their distribution is not what would be expected if they were

all produced in the Rainford area (Table 5). First, the most common finds in both Cheshire and Ireland (GA, HH, EA) have not been found in Rainford. Secondly, a number of initials only occur in Ireland. Thirdly, the most common set, IB, occurs in so many dies, that without much more precise documentation than exists at present it is impossible to say whether the Cheshire and Irish finds actually derive from Rainford.

The asymmetry of the distribution of many of the stamps of this type can be clearly seen if their occurrence is mapped (Figs. 3-5). Whilst the spread of GL and PL stamps is consistent with a Rainford origin (Fig. 3), that of EA, HH and GA seems to derive from the Warrington area (Fig. 4). In contrast, RD stamps only occur in Ireland (with an unstratified example in Edinburgh Museum collections), MH stamps have only been found

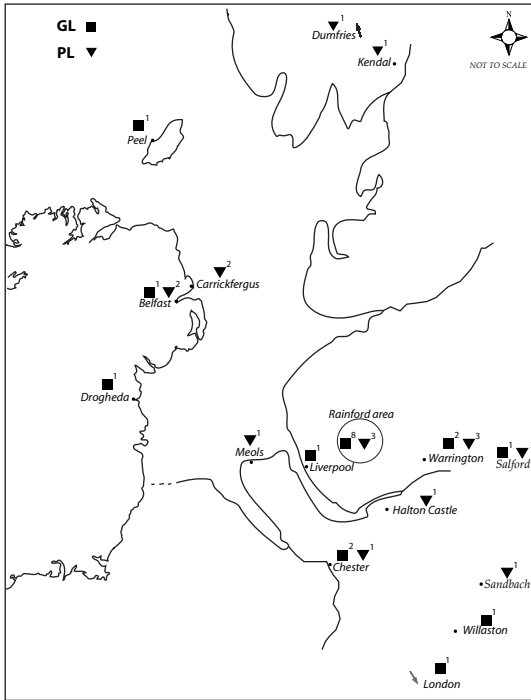


Fig. 3. Distribution of GL and PL pipe stamps (Irish Sea not to scale)

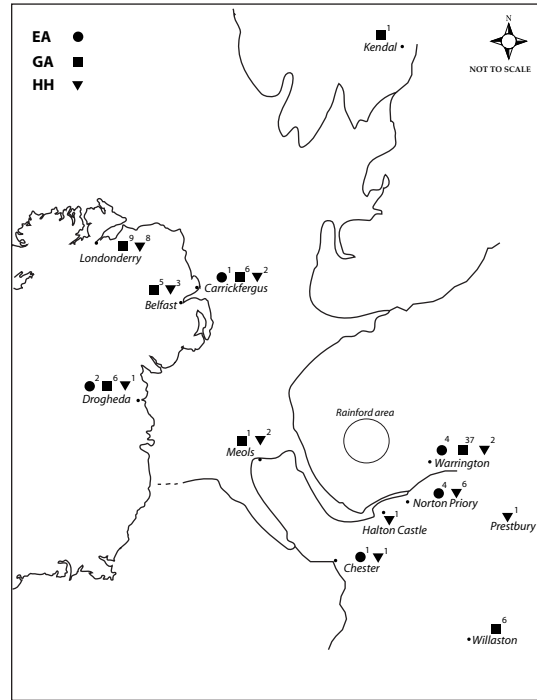


Fig. 4. Distribution of EA, HH and GA pipe stamps (Irish Sea not to scale)

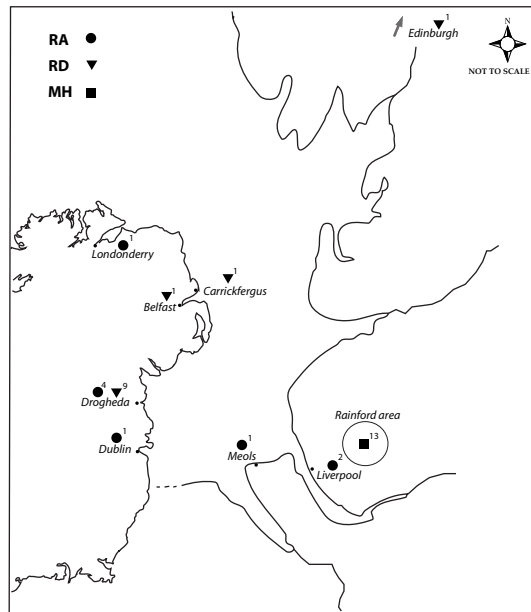


Fig. 5. Distribution of RA, RD and MH pipe stamps (Irish Sea not to scale)

in Rainford and RA examples, if made on the eastern side of the Irish Sea may well have been produced in Liverpool (Fig. 5). Thus what, at first sight, appeared to be a very useful, closely dated and sourced type fossil for the study of trade in clay tobacco pipes has masked a very complex set of issues about both the location of production sites and the nature of the disbursal of specific die (stamp) producing technologies. Thus, even with an artefact with so many advantages for the study of trade,

the lack of certainty about production centres prevents alternative models from being postulated or tested.

Summary so far

Returning to the four requirements for the satisfactory establishment of trade patterns defined earlier, these three examples illustrate how far there is still to go before the subject can be adequately engaged. Whilst,

in terms of ceramics and clay pipes at least, there appear to be almost sufficient numbers of both artefacts and sites, very few sources can be confidently identified, leaving the majority of all finds unprovenanced in terms of production centre. In addition, only rarely can individual artefact groups be closely dated.

In order to be in a position to study regional trading networks a number of specific tasks may be suggested. First, very much more data need to be collected from a wider range of site - 'low status' and rural sites are particularly poorly represented. Secondly, the material collected needs to be published. There are far too many unpublished significant excavations of this period and the 'grey literature' is both inaccessible to scholars and, in any case, deals with material culture only as a means to site assessment. Thirdly, classification systems, quantification methods and terminologies need to be sorted out at a regional, and in many cases, a national level, so that valid comparisons can be made between sites and regions. Fourthly, specific priority needs to be given to the identification of production sites. Finally, post-medieval material culture should be the subject of the whole gamut of scientific technologies that are employed by prehistorians. For example, chemical characterisation of clay or glaze composition may allow the ubiquitous 'black-glazed' wares to be attributed to production centres.

What is also clear from the preceding discussion is that the resolution of many of the problems faced by any student of post-medieval trade in the northwest will require a wider regional and national synthesis. The scale of the task may be suggested by indicating the first dozen major ceramic research areas that the above regional discussion brings to mind:

Frechen stoneware in Britain (PhD)

The phenomenon of late Saintonge pottery use in Britain and Ireland (PhD)

North Devon pottery in northern England (MPhil)

'Black-glazed' pottery (two or three PhDs)

Modelling trade networks in the post-medieval period (PhD)

Chemical techniques for the characterisation of post-medieval ceramic types (PhD)

Pottery production and consumption in the northwest 1500-1750 (PhD)

External trade in 17th- century pottery from south Lancashire (MPhil)

The Buckley potteries: production and trade in the 18th century (PhD)

The discrimination of Coal Measures clays by analytical techniques (PhD)

Liverpool Delft (PhD)

Beauvais ceramics in Britain and Ireland in the post-medieval period (PhD)

Although another researcher might well come up with a substantially different list, if such regional and national studies had already been carried out much of the necessary

context for any discussion of trade in the period would have been in place. As it is the archaeological evidence is almost impossible to use with any degree of confidence.

Historical and archaeological evidence

Alan Crosby in his introductory overview of the period states that '...there is opportunity for fruitful co-operation between historians and archaeologists, a practise which I strongly favour everywhere, but which is especially appropriate, perhaps, in Merseyside'... he goes on to say that '...We can use our respective skills not (as I fear all too often happens) more or less in competition, each distrusting and mistrusting the other, but as two allied groups of investigators with a common and overriding and shared aim - to research, understand, elucidate and explain the past of our region'. Although the present writer agrees completely with these sentiments, the discussion above of the archaeological evidence for trade suggests that archaeologists are hardly ready for such an encounter.

The present relationship between archaeological and historical discourse on Merseyside is well exemplified in the monograph entitled *The archaeology of a changing landscape: the last thousand years in Merseyside* (Lewis and Cowell 2002). This extremely welcome volume provides an excellent synthesis of existing knowledge but its title is misleading to the point of being fraudulent. It is very hard to find any archaeological content at all, especially in the post-medieval period. For example, in the 83-page chapter on Sefton's rural fringes, archaeological evidence is mentioned in passing in the section on moats (Lewis 2002, 61-64), as is a scatter of late medieval pottery from Thorp, Melling (*ibid*, 55-6). Although the text dealing with the period is substantial, references to post-medieval archaeology are even rarer, such as the field walking finds introduced into the discussion of Ince Blundell Mill (*ibid*, 77). Similarly, in the Liverpool urban fringes chapter (Cowell 2002) the synthesis is derived from historic sources. In the opening period overviews, for example, there is no mention of archaeology (Cowell 2002, 96-97). In the individual township studies excavation evidence is referred to at Liverpool and West Derby castles, but little else. The writer makes clear that the archaeological potential of the area is great, but the contribution of archaeology to the study is minimal.

There are two points in mitigation that need to be made here. First, the context of the fringes surveys when they were originally carried out was that the Archaeological Survey of Merseyside had just been founded and that there was a practical and political imperative to establish that archaeological survey, assessment and fieldwork were actually necessary in a Merseyside context. By far the easiest way, at the time probably the only way, to establish the archaeological potential of the county was to collect together all of the available historic sources in a coherent presentation which would show that there must be a significant number of sites to identify and protect. The rural fringes surveys that are represented

in the 'changing landscape volume' were successful in achieving this purpose, but bear clear evidence of the context in which they were originally written.

Secondly, even now 25 years on, while huge advances have been made in the study of regional prehistory, Roman and medieval periods, there is only very limited archaeological evidence for the post-medieval period, much of it accumulated accidentally in the process of research on earlier sites. There is a degree of ageism among funding bodies, the general public and even scholars such that the material culture of the early modern period has received a very low priority and has only rarely been pursued for itself.

In order to enter the kind of constructive dialogue with historians that Crosby proposes archaeologists must start from their own discipline. It must be a relationship of equals. As it is very little archaeological research into the post-medieval period on Merseyside has been carried out for its own sake and in most of the published literature the archaeological evidence is seen as an adjunct to what is already known from historical sources. In order for an archaeologist to be able to enter into discussion with a historian on the subject of post-medieval trade, the archaeological evidence must first have been collected, identified and subjected to the theoretical approaches, validation systems and interpretative testing of the archaeological discipline. Only then will it be possible for a real synthesis of archaeology and history to be achieved.

The future

It will be apparent from the above discussion that in order to engage with historians in a constructive discussion of trade in the early modern period, archaeologists require both a significant increase in relevant data and also a belief in their own discipline. As the quantity of information increases, so it will become possible for a range of theoretical approaches, such as the multiple source gravity model, to be applied. Once some provisional results have been obtained a comparison of these with positions adopted by historians can be undertaken. Mutual interrogation of the results would focus both on those areas in which history and archaeology appear to agree and on those where there is friction between the positions that have been reached using differing data sets and methodologies. It is at this point that a dynamic, constructive and creative relationship will be possible. New issues will be identified and a new synthesis achieved.

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