

3 The DUA (Department of Urban Archaeology): managing archaeological investigations in the City of London 1973–1991

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Abstract

This is a selective and personal account of what seems to me to be some key aspects of the Department of Urban Archaeology's [DUA] progress concerning the management of archaeological investigations in the City of London during the period in question. I would like to begin by congratulating London Archaeologist on its 50th Anniversary and its important contribution to recording and disseminating the issues and results regarding the investigation of London's archaeology, not least the great benefit of the Fieldwork and Publication Round-up supplement (see Nesbitt and Watson, 2019 for the current supplement).

The 1970s: the DUA's beginnings

The City suffered extensive bomb damage from the Blitz and many of those sites were still undeveloped in the late 1960s. The discovery of the Temple of Mithras in 1954 had caused a sensation with queues to view it stretching from St Paul's to its Walbrook site (Grimes, 1968). Even so there was no official procedure for dealing with the threat to archaeology and only very limited resources and so, despite the valiant efforts of Peter Marsden and the City of London Excavation Group (and later CoLAS), it was clear that major changes needed to be made (see Marsden, this volume). The British Archaeological Trust formed a pressure group, RESCUE, with an iconic logo, to influence parliament, government, local authorities and other bodies, that specific provisions needed to be made for the country's major historic cities and towns if their archaeological heritage was not to continue to be destroyed without record (Heighway, 1972).

A survey commissioned by RESCUE entitled *The Future of London's Past: the archaeological implications of planning and development in the nation's capital (FoLP)* was undertaken by Martin Biddle, Daphne Hudson and Carolyn Heighway. This reported that virtually all the accessible deposits would be destroyed within the next 15 years (ie to 1988 – ironic given that was the year of the Big Bang and one of

the busiest ever for the DUA!), largely without record unless provision was made for their proper investigation (Biddle *et al*, 1973). In part, an impetus for the survey had resulted from a large site – that of the 15th and 16th century Baynard's Castle – which for two years after demolition had lain open before a hurried rescue operation was allowed, undertaken by Peter Marsden and volunteers (Marsden, 1972, 315–6). Brian Hobbey (see below) noted that Max Hebditch's appointment as Director of the Guildhall Museum in 1970 had been crucial because he had an archaeological background (Max Hebditch *pers comm*) and was prepared to champion archaeological interests.

FoLP had recommended a digging staff of 74 and five vehicles and proposed that the running costs should be borne 50:50 by the City Corporation and the Department of the Environment (DoE) rather than 'falling on developers'. A report by the Guildhall Museum, initiated by Max Hebditch, entitled *Archaeology in the City of London – an opportunity* (Guildhall Museum, 1972), was circulated to various City Corporation committees and, ultimately, the result was a decision to form a five-man rescue unit, consisting of a chief urban archaeologist (the first incumbent was Brian Hobbey), one senior assistant, two assistants and a draughtsman. Bearing in mind *FoLP* had recommended a unit of 74, it was a very meagre response – but it was a start!

A few months ago, Mike Rhodes, former DUA Finds Officer, alerted me to Brian Hobley's whereabouts. I visited him at his house in Kenilworth, despite advance years (he is now 88), he is in reasonable health (Fig. 3.1). He sent his best wishes to the conference, adding that there are some tales that he could tell of battles over the DUA! Brian has latterly devoted some 20 years to researching and writing *The Circle of God; An archaeological and historical search for the nature of the sacred: a study of continuity* (Hobley, 2015). At more than 800 pages with 1,050 illustrations, this is a notable achievement on many levels.

Brian was appointed Chief Urban Archaeologist on 1 December 1973 (having had experience of urban sites in Coventry), as was reported in *London Archaeologist* in that year which stated:

Much of the success of archaeological work in the remaining 15 years left for the City's renewal will depend on the co-operation and friendly support of the developers ...

A large amount of planning and thought has already been given to the problems of the City and he [Brian] feels that the Corporation has received quite unjustified criticism.

The utilisation of all forms of labour available is envisaged. In particular, the amateur archaeologist ...

With publication in the forefront of his mind, he intends that once an excavation is complete, the field officer who directed it, will be taken off all other jobs to write his report. Mr Hobley who hopes to produce annual interim reports, has a firm rule –

'no excavation without publication'.

(London Archaeol 2 (5) 1973: 105)

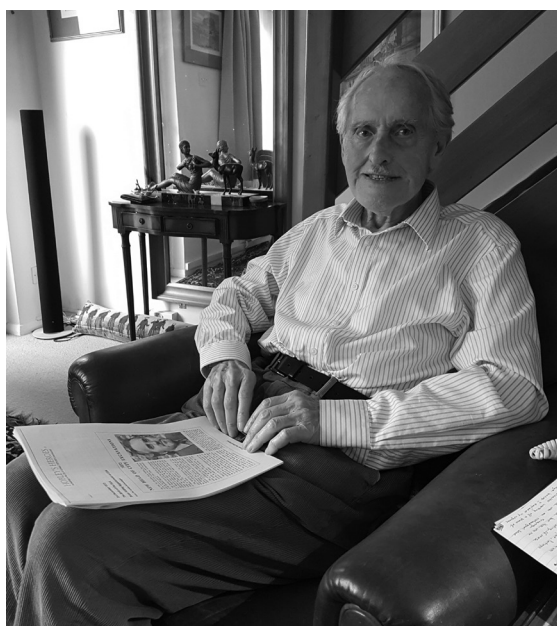


Fig. 3.1
Brian Hobley,
September 2018

Brian's first task on taking up his post in the Guildhall Museum was to procure a work space and improvise a desk. Brian has been immortalised in the eponymous Hobley's Heroes website, which was created in 2010 and produced by former and current London site staff. It was originally intended to document the experiences of the archaeologists who worked for the DUA (1973–91), but has now expanded to reflect the story of all those archaeologists, from the early pioneers to the present day, who have been involved in excavating London (<http://www.hobleysheroes.co.uk>). Apart from downloadable copies of newsletters, which contain a wealth of material and are an important history and reference source for the DUA, there are many photos of sites and staff and all sorts of ephemera. Starting in 1974 with *Weekly Whisper*, newsletters with various titles were produced, of which my favourite remains *Radio Carbon*, subtitled 'It's a gas'!

When I first joined the DUA in 1974, on a fee and subsistence payment of just £18+ a week with no sickness or holiday pay, I was sent by Peter Marsden with three others to the Baynard's Castle site. It was a challenging introduction; we were immediately turned away and left in no doubt by the site manager there that we weren't welcome. A few frantic phone calls later we returned and quickly learnt about the rough and tough of urban archaeology, but also about its potential, even in a rescue situation. With help from the contractor's machines, we located the north wall of the medieval Baynard's Castle, including a gate tower with a splayed window. We then had to watch while it was demolished. However, that meant that we were able to investigate the foundations of the north wall of the castle, which turned out to be the remains of an even older structure: the Roman riverside wall.

The story of the Roman riverside wall could form a talk in itself, suffice it to say that it had toppled over on to its face, due to the erosion caused by the rising level of the Thames, and that sculptured Roman stones had been incorporated into the base of the wall, much of it from a monumental arch (Hill *et al*, 1980). We had considerable help from the contractors, despite the initial difficulties of getting access to the site, and alongside conventional archaeological tools, we got to use some heavy duty machinery including jack hammers, dumper trucks and a crane.

From the outset, the DUA team was fortunate to work beside the Guildhall Museum staff and to benefit from their expertise, and that of the five original members as excavation at sites such as Trig Lane and GPO began. The DUA was broad-church, welcoming people from a variety of backgrounds – not all had archaeological

qualifications, but some of those turned out to be exceptional archaeologists.

It was a freewheeling time, the attitude in many ways summed up by the content of *'Radio Carbon'* and other newsletters. The work could be demanding, but there was camaraderie and much socialising outside worktime and through the Sports & Social Club. Cricket, darts and football were played and matches organised against our colleagues in the DGLA and London's university clubs among others.

Within the newly expanding DUA were talented individuals, interested in the work and its context in the history of the City of London and who were open to new ideas and approaches. A particular challenge was how to best record the complex urban archaeology, which could be over 6m thick in places. There was also the matter of the variety of site situations we encountered, including basements, tunnels (Fig. 3.2), shafts, underground arches – in short, all sorts of difficult working conditions.

A new idea which was being discussed in 1974 was the application of the Harris Matrix (Harris, 1979) as a means of establishing stratigraphic sequences. Brian and John Schofield invited Ed Harris to come to the DUA, a move which was to have important consequences. Allied with the adoption of single context planning, the efficiency and reliability of site excavation and recording generally was radically altered. The requirements of the system placed a responsibility on site staff to define, plan, record and excavate, and thus democratised site work and, in effect, hastened the understanding of stratigraphic processes. Trig Lane (Milne & Milne, 1982: Fig. 3.3) and the GPO (Perring & Roskams, 1991), being long-running sites, provided useful large-scale investigations for refining the developing methodologies. Eventually, the trialling of the system led to the publication of the first DUA *Site Manual* in 1980 (Schofield, 1980; and see Watson, Chapter 6, this volume).

I wish I could set out in detail the broader expertise of the DUA, such as the Finds Section, which utilised developing technologies, including thin-sectioning of ceramics. They began the pottery reference collection (Rhodes, 1977:150–2), which remains much sought after by researchers. Environmental, Computing and other sections all made significant contributions. The Photographic Section produced some of the best photographic coverage in British archaeology at that time, which was so important for the archive and publications. And I should not pass up the opportunity of noting the contribution of Geoff Egan to artefact studies and in establishing a rapport with the Society of Thames Mudlarks and Antiquarians, such that their metal detecting expertise was used to great effect on a number of City sites (Egan, 1986: 42–50).

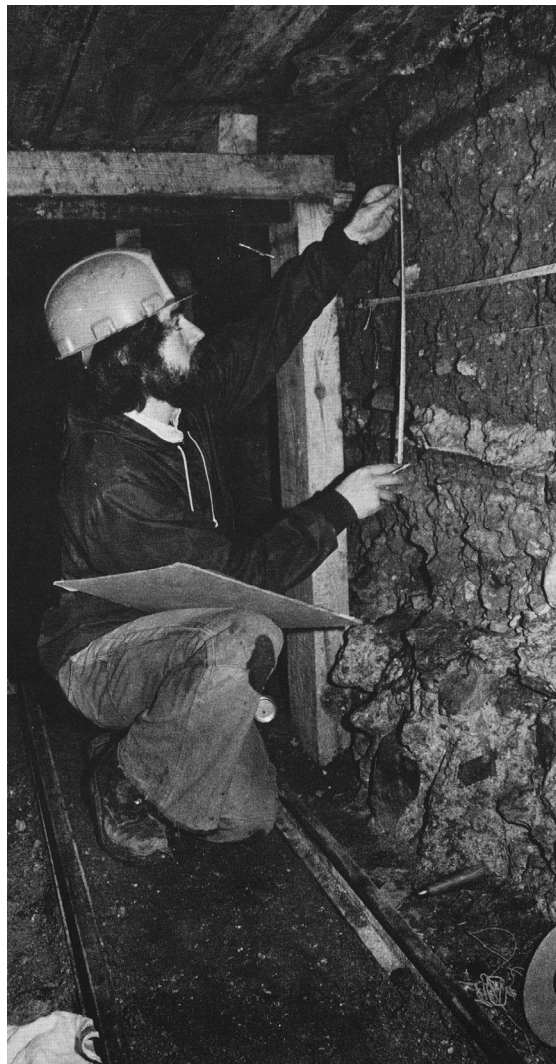


Fig. 3.2
John Maloney recording in the Gracechurch Street GPO tunnel



Fig. 3.3
Trig Lane, medieval waterfronts

Into the 1980s: consolidation and expansion

The staffing of the DUA grew quite quickly from the late 1970s and an organisational structure was established which included Records, Training and Graphics Officers and, most usefully, a Tools and Equipment Officer. Through John Schofield, Charlotte Harding started producing assessments of the potential of sites for which planning applications had been registered with the Corporation of London, utilising the ever-growing body of information from previous observations and investigations (Maloney, 1985b). From that time onwards, a series of documents were produced to notify developers about archaeological considerations and how to address them through the planning process. The aim was to reduce, as far as possible, uncertainties and to provide developers and their professional teams with relevant and useful information at the earliest possible stage, including costings and programmes. The wider aim was to interest developers and their professional teams in the archaeology of the City, convince them that worthwhile results could come from well-planned programmes of investigations, and argue that not only was suitable provision a requirement of planning permission, but also their support could enhance the reputations of their companies.

In the late 1970s, Brian Hobley and John Schofield had started proposing to developers that they contribute to the cost of archaeological investigations on their sites, so that the investigations were not entirely dependent on the Historic Buildings and Monuments Commission timescales and funding. During the 1980s, such financial support increasingly became the norm and the number of investigations rapidly increased. The establishment of an Excavations Office with more project managers was a key step in meeting the needs of the complex negotiations and project management requirements.

From the outset, the DUA was keen to make known the results of investigations and there were to be regular publications (Hobley & Schofield, 1977). *Archaeology of the City of London*, published in 1980, reviewed the first six years of excavations in the City and was sponsored by Mobil Oil (Schofield & Dyson, 1980). In 1985, there was a reappraisal of Roman and Saxon London (Hobley, 1986) and by then there had been many other publications including developer-funded books about work on their sites (for instance Hunting, 1988; Lees & Woodger, 1990).

Brian realised that the burgeoning relationship with developers in the City needed to be consolidated and extended more widely. He

sought to create a code of practice with the main property developers' group, the British Property Federation, and also with the Standing Conference of Archaeological Unit Managers (shortened to SCAUM, narrowly avoiding the acronym SCUM). In 1986, the *British Archaeologists and Developers Liaison Group Code of Practice* was launched (British Property Federation and the Standing Conference of Archaeological Unit Managers, 1988). This was a significant advance in the relationship between developers and archaeologists (Maloney, 1985; Weatherhead, 1988: 9; Tait, 1988).

We realised early on that it was important to attempt to give something back to developers given all the funding that they were providing on a voluntary basis and to acknowledge their contribution. And so, at the end of major excavations we organised short illustrated talks about the results together with a finds display for the developer and their professional team in the Museum boardroom, complete with refreshments and the opportunity for archaeological staff and the development team to socialise (Maloney, 1987: 5–8).

There were Annual Archaeology Lectures (for instance, Spence with Schofield & Shepherd, 1989: 9–10) in the Museum lecture theatre, again with a 'social' afterwards; this helped in creating a climate of goodwill. For the 1989 Annual Lecture, I proposed that consideration be given to a 'depths policy' along the lines of the St Paul's height policy, specifically mentioning the remaining undeveloped waterfront sites, in order that an albeit small percentage might be preserved for the future. On the night, the proposal was met with consideration and even some sympathy, but over succeeding days and weeks the publicity generated was, unsurprisingly, quite negative (as reported in numerous national newspapers and magazines, for example Cheeseright, 1989; Brown, 1989; Barrie, 1989; these and other newspaper articles quoted below can be found on: <https://birbeck.academia.edu/JohnMaloney>). Despite the doubts of the City of London's Planning Department, the DUA remained on very good relations with them and progress continued to be made in respect of integrating archaeological considerations into the planning process (Museum of London Department of Urban Archaeology, 1990: 5–7). Good relations and contacts between Museum of London archaeologists and City planners has resulted in some notable publications (eg Corporation of London, 2000; *Archaeology and Development Guidance Supplementary Planning Document*. Available from: <http://tinyurl.com/ykkmhx63>, 2017).

Early in the 1980s it was considered that the DUA could take a lead, together with the CBA, in organising international conferences with

exhibitions and publication of the proceedings. This led to three joint conferences on urban archaeology: Medieval Waterfronts, Roman Defences and Roman Urban Topography in Britain and the Western Empire (Milne & Hobley, 1981; Maloney & Hobley, 1983; Grew & Hobley (eds), 1985). The Roman Defences conference display was sponsored by the developer of the Crosswall site [more about that below] as was a panel in the London Wall Walk scheme (1984) (Wallower, 2014). There were also exhibitions organised by the Museum of London about the results of the archaeological work, perhaps the most notable being *Capital Gains – Archaeology in London 1976–1986* (Chapman, 1986).

We were aware that archaeological investigations in the City generated interest and wanted to foster that by providing opportunities for viewing. The first major opportunity came at the Billingsgate Market site excavations in 1982 where a public viewing gallery was provided (Schofield, 1983: 12–17). Billingsgate was also notable for the use of staff from the MSC scheme and the DUA also took on employees from the Job Creation Programme. Much media interest was created in this site and Prince Charles came to see it (his wellies are still in the archive!). The progress of the year-long excavations was recorded throughout by the BBC *Chronicle* series and broadcast to some acclaim (*Chronicle*, 1984).

Any opportunity was considered for publicising the work of the DUA and the archaeology of the City, from designs on site hoardings, as at Fish Street Hill, to a video and graphic display case in Cannon Street Station. Similarly, at the major Leadenhall Court Basilica-Forum investigations, a public viewing gallery was provided (Maloney, 1985), staffed by volunteers from CoLAS, who provided valuable assistance on a number of DUA sites. There was concern about the level of funding available for Leadenhall, and so it was the subject of a public appeal organised through CoLAT.

In general, a variety of efforts were made at what is now termed ‘outreach’ through talks to schools, involvement in Young Rescue and children’s days in the Museum’s Education Department and a great many talks to local societies, schools and other academic institutions, courses given at extra-mural departments (for instance, Birkbeck College) and at conferences in this country and abroad.

Geoffrey Toms (Head of Education) and his colleague Karen Eyre were very keen on children being involved in archaeology. In the early 1980s, the three of us requested that the museum technicians provide a large ‘sandbox’ in which was created a replica of archaeological stratigraphy complete with model figures and remains, such as parts of buildings, pits, etc. The Young Rescue children were divided into

groups, so that some undertook archaeological excavations and others recorded what was uncovered. It was a great success!

Dealing with the press could be very demanding. This was certainly the case when news of the discovery of remains of the Roman amphitheatre were found under the former Guildhall Art Gallery site, one of the last undeveloped WWII bomb-damaged sites in the City. Newspapers started jamming the Museum switchboard for information on the morning of Saturday 27 February 1988. The late Hugh Chapman (Curator of the Roman Department; see Orton, 1992: 8) called me and we quickly went to the site. Once the story had been covered in the Sunday papers (Wastell, 1988; Woolmar & Marks, 1988), there was what can only be described as a news frenzy for many weeks with interest generated in the approach and workings of the DUA (Maloney, 1988 a and b). News media based all over the world wanted to get in contact. Nick Bateman, the Site Supervisor, had his work cut out dealing with them and the *Evening Standard* was quite strident in demanding a public viewing gallery, which was quite quickly provided (Kingston, 1998).

Inevitably, there were calls for the preservation of the remains, not only by media but by many leading archaeological academics (Maloney, 1988a: 46–9; 1989: 6–7) and, after much deliberation by the Corporation and English Heritage, agreement was reached. The result was a long delay and greatly increased costs to the Corporation of London, but they can be justifiably proud of their efforts and the Art Gallery with its amphitheatre remains and display is now a major attraction (Bateman, 2000). For details of the preserved remains of the amphitheatre and the impressive display open to the public, visit: <http://tinyurl.com/z2m2bbr>.

By 1984, I was Principal Excavations Officer responsible for archaeological investigations in the City, assisted by a team of project managers (Excavation Officers) and other staff (Fig. 3.4). The management team had increased to 10 by 1986, when the Big Bang (the deregulation of the London Stock Exchange) and fast-track building methods led to an unprecedented boom in office development (Maloney, 1989). The project managers undertook negotiations and project management for more than 400 investigations. The scale of the operation is further indicated by the fact that the Excavations Office successfully negotiated £6.56 million from developers in the period 1988–9, plus attendances (site facilities including accommodation, shoring and other Health & Safety requirements, spoil removal, labour and plant, etc.) and managed over 200 professional site archaeologists at peak times. A most important innovation had been to retain St John Holt as the DUA’s Health & Safety



Fig. 3.4
DUA Excavations
Officers [EOs], 1989:
(left to right)
John Schofield
[Acting Archaeology
Officer];
Sue Riviere [EO,
Press & PR];
Simon O'Connor-
Thompson [Senior
EO];
John Maloney
[Principal Excavations
Officer];
Hal Bishop [EO];
Taryn Nixon [EO];
Eric Norton [EO];
Rob Ellis [EO]

consultants, paid for out of developer-funded budgets. As a result, generally, we were able to be more insistent that Health & Safety matters were dealt with promptly and appropriately (for more on Health & Safety issues in developer-funded archaeology see Telfer, this volume). One of the biggest archaeological undertakings ever in the City was the Fleet Valley project which comprised over 100 trenches on a number of sites in and around Ludgate (McCann & Orton, 1992: 8; *Construction News*, 1990). The complexity of the project management was considerable and we agreed with the developers, led by Stuart Lipton (a leading figure in the British Property Federation), that we would work closely with and call on the services of their project management team at E C Harris. Our project managers were well versed in building works, piling operations, project key stages and Gantt charts. We understood the significance of Bills of Quantities and in that respect we were able to provide the archaeological equivalent of approximate 'excavation rates' for various types of archaeological deposits. The work of the DUA continued to attract major publicity, largely due to the efforts of its Press & PR Office (Spence *et al*, 1989; Raven, 1989: 12–15). The publication of the *DUA Site Manual* (Schofield, 1980) proved to be very influential,

subsequently being translated into more than 30 languages. The DUA's expertise in urban archaeology was widely recognised by the mid-1980s, which resulted in a great many requests for meetings and site tours from senior archaeologists/unit directors in this country and abroad. As a result of such a visit from senior archaeologists at Nara, Japan's leading archaeological institute, I was fortunate to be invited by the Japanese Ministry of Culture on a 3-week tour of their archaeological units and museums and even undertaking newspaper and TV interviews. As my host at Nara subsequently put it in a letter:

Your lecture had been in press one of the most representative journal of archaeology in this country. Your name has become very famous now. Your lecture has been criticized friendly in the annual review of archaeology for 1992.

He later followed up by explaining that 'criticised' actually meant 'reviewed'! (Nara Centre for Archaeological Operations *Annual Review of Archaeology*, 1992 [article in Japanese]; more easily available from: <https://birbeck.academia.edu/JohnMaloney>).

During this period, DUA staff established virtual outposts abroad – notably in Milan, Ferrara, Rome and Lebanon – on urban sites with the sort of stratification for which the DUA methods of excavation and recording were well suited.

One aspect of our efforts which is sometimes overlooked are those instances where we advocated preservation or, in the case of the Dukes Place, a subway mural (City Recorder, 1981), which showed a representation of the Roman/Medieval wall that still existed behind the subway walls. Displays were also put up in new offices – an elaborate one was in the foyer of a new building in Swan Lane. Two notable successes were at the Holy Trinity Priory site, Leadenhall Street, and 8–10 Crosswall (Schofield & Lea, 2005: fn 24, fn 32. On the latter site, a stretch of the Roman defensive wall and the remains of a tower (Bastion 4A) were preserved in the new building (see below). At the Holy Trinity Priory site, John Schofield was involved in the preservation of a chapel and an arch that had survived the destruction of the priory. This resulted in one of the most compelling photographs in the DUA archive, that of the chapel having been supported on an underpinned ring foundation, gracefully sailing through the air to be placed in a school playground on an adjoining site and then subsequently incorporated into the basement of the new building with a display. The arch formed a distinctive feature in the foyer of that

building. The tenants said that both features had been much appreciated as an innovative aspect of the building, a talking point which was redolent of the history of the site and the City.

The Tower Hill Pageant, led by Michael Rhodes and Gustav Milne, was an innovative partnership with a commercial organisation to present and display the results of waterfront excavations (Grew, 1994; 43–7). A publicity leaflet described the pageant thus:

The Pageant ‘relives’ the history of the City and Port of London through displays and reconstructions. Visitors embark in computer-controlled vehicles which take them on a ride through the life of London over the previous 2000 years. These discoveries are presented alongside important structures recovered during the waterfront excavations in the City. Displays in the associated Archaeological Museum are of items discovered by the Museum of London’s field archaeology team.

(Gosling, 1991)

1989 was a momentous and turbulent year: Brian Hobley left at the end of March and was replaced by John Schofield. Controversies concerning the Huggin Hill Roman baths (Dominant House) in the City, and the Rose Theatre in Southwark, hit the headlines. Also, unregulated competitive tendering for archaeological contracts began, the supply of new City office developments started to appear overloaded, and signs of a pending financial crash began to be apparent.

The first indications of Roman buildings in the Huggin Hill area on the north side of Upper Thames Street had been observed as early as 1845 in sewer trenches (Marsden, 1975: 1–70). In 1929, a massive Roman wall was recorded nearby and, in 1964, Peter Marsden organised a three-day investigation under the aegis of the Guildhall Museum and LAMAS over the August Bank Holiday. In the event, this continued and was a contributing factor to the creation of CoLAS. The investigations revealed part of a very large Roman bath-house complex extending beyond the site in every direction, clearly part of a significant building for which there was an unusually high level of survival. Early in 1986, a planning application was submitted for the redevelopment of Dominant House (the site identified in 1964). Following misunderstandings about its status in meetings with the developers, it was hurriedly scheduled as an Ancient Monument in June. Planning permission was granted a month later, subject to the scheduled monument being adequately



Fig. 3.5 Part of the Dominant House/ Huggin Hill site, with hypocaust



Fig. 3.6 The front cover of ‘Estates Gazette’ 1989

protected and made accessible to the public. Trial work carried out by the DUA in 1988 revealed that the monument, as expected, was extensive and in very good condition (Fig. 3.5).

Nevertheless, in November the Secretary of State for the Environment (Nicholas Ridley) acting on the advice of English Heritage, granted the developers scheduled monument consent (ie permission to demolish the monument for the construction of an underground car park) imposing a 6-month delay to allow for archaeological excavations. Those excavations began on 3 January 1989 with developer funding of £475,000 (Fig. 3.5). The developers were content to organise a press briefing on 12 April with every assistance from the DUA, apparently not realising the likelihood of the public, media and political pressure for preservation that would ensue (Keys, 1989a; 1989b; Rowsome, 1989: 3–4).

The developers and English Heritage met to discuss preservation (neither the Museum nor the DUA were invited in the first instance) and came up with a piling scheme that would have resulted in major parts of the scheduled monument being destroyed. Political support for preservation came from all parties and an early day motion was put down in the House of Commons (Hansard 5 May 1989; see also Orton, 1989: 59–65). A second wave of publicity resulted in a redesigned scheme – at a cost of £3 million – to preserve the remains under a concrete raft supported by piles away from the monument itself. Not surprisingly the developers were aggrieved, as indicated on the front cover of the *Estates Gazette!* (Fig. 3.6) Although blamed by English Heritage for the publicity, the end result was positive for the City's archaeology 'stock' and for bringing to the fore issues concerning preservation, as was the case with the Guildhall amphitheatre (Orton, 1989: 59–65). The issues surrounding Huggin Hill and The Rose are covered in good detail in Hansard (5 May 1989). After I had left the Museum of London, in 1994, I contacted 'Piloti' of Private Eye, about the impasse regarding adequate funding and timescale for excavations in advance of the development of No 1 Poultry, which Brian Hopley and I had initiated many years previously: Piloti's pointed article played a significant part in helping to get the issues resolved (Piloti, 1994:59–65).

In tandem with the issues at Huggin Hill, the matter of the Rose Theatre remains became a *cause célèbre* and caused the government of the day great embarrassment (Orton, 1989: 59–65). Margaret Thatcher was reported to be unamused at the public furore and that important government business was being overshadowed. Nicholas Ridley, Secretary of State for the Environment (ironically, he

popularised the term NIMBY), was tasked with dealing with the issues. He in turn contacted Geoff Wainwright, Chief Archaeologist at English Heritage, to come up with proposals in order that such difficulties didn't occur in future. The result was the document which has come to be known as PPG16: *Planning Policy Guidance 16: Archaeology and planning* (DoE, 1990).

In 1989, the issue of unregulated competitive tendering in archaeology raised its head in London on the Redcross Way site in Southwark (Tait, 1990a; Tait, 1990b; Baxter, 1990; Stead, 1990; Maloney, 1990: 11–12). It then became apparent there was what was termed a threat to the LAS, highlighted by a motion in the House of Commons (Hansard 26 June 1990; *Building Magazine*, February 1990; *Planning*, 8 June 1990) with English Heritage proposing to create an in-house service that would advise local authorities about archaeological matters arising from planning applications. Also it was proposed that the DUA, DGLA and Passmore Edwards service should be amalgamated into a new service for which a new head would be appointed with existing senior staff applying for jobs. If one was of a cynical frame of mind, it could appear that a several pronged strategy had been developed to rein in the Museum of London archaeological units, as a reaction to issues resulting from Huggin Hill and The Rose (Campbell 1990), as well as creating more effective planning guidance.

The 1990s: recession and the implementation of PPG16

1989 was difficult in many ways, but far worse was 1990 when the property crash occurred and, as a result, many staff had to be laid off and made redundant (Reynolds, 1990). The DUA went from needing some 200 site staff to less than 70 over a relatively short period of time. The principal problems were the unexpectedness and the severity of the recession following on from one of the greatest periods of property boom – even most business magazines were taken by surprise. Overnight many property companies called in the receivers (Bill & Kitchen, 1990).

Late in 1990, PPG16 (DoE, 1990) was published, building on the best practice that already existed in some places, such as developer funding, assessments and evaluations, etc. In 1991, the DUA and DGLA were merged to create MoLAS and a new chapter began in the history of the archaeology of London. However, the critical work of recording in summary key details of all the archaeological investigations of the Guildhall Museum and the DUA (1907–91) continued and was published in 1998 (Schofield with Maloney, 1998). Yet

another significant change came about in 2011 when MoLAS separated from the Museum of London to be rebranded as MOLA and become an independent charitable company.

As this paper was being prepared, the MOLA website presents some details of a redevelopment scheme they are involved in at Vine Street, Aldgate, which includes the site of 8–10 Crosswall (<https://www.mola.org.uk/archaeological-consultancy-vine-street-londons-roman-wall>). I supervised excavations there in 1979–80 and was able to negotiate the preservation of a fine stretch of the Roman defensive landward wall and the foundation of an associated tower (Bastion 4A), which were put on display in the new building (named Emperor House). A viewing gallery was created in a service yard, publicly accessible from the street (Wallower, 2014: 42–3; *Society*, 1984:42–3; Fig. 3.7). The architects, Joseph & Partners, undertook a redesign to include a mezzanine floor so that the wall and tower foundation were not separated, because they regarded the retention of the remains in a commercial building with external viewing access as an aspect of ‘placemaking’. The archaeological remains will be incorporated in the forthcoming development (see Stubbs this volume): this is yet another of many examples in London’s archaeology of ‘What goes around comes around’!

This paper is dedicated to all the many archaeologists who worked on DUA projects and to Brian Hobley, its first head. Thanks are due to Cath Maloney, Dan Nesbitt and Vicki Ridgeway.

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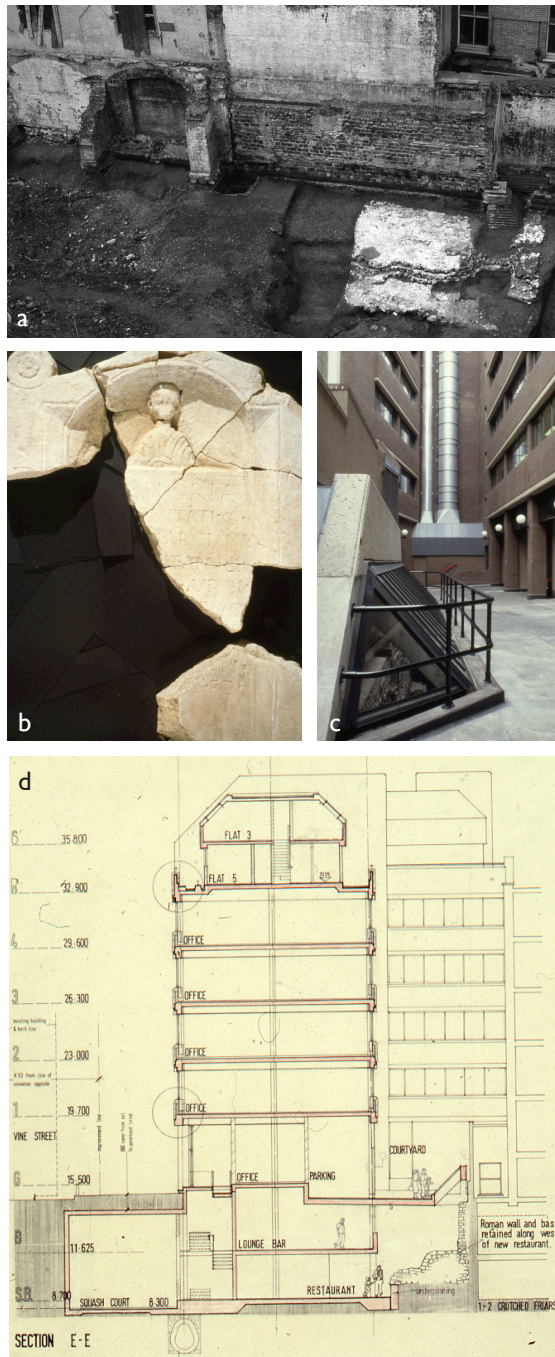


Fig. 3.7 Images of 8–10 Crosswall: a) Roman city wall and foundation of Bastion 4A; b) Tombstone of Marciana who died aged 10; c) glazed viewing gallery in service yard; d) Section through building showing retention of Roman city wall and Bastion 4A

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