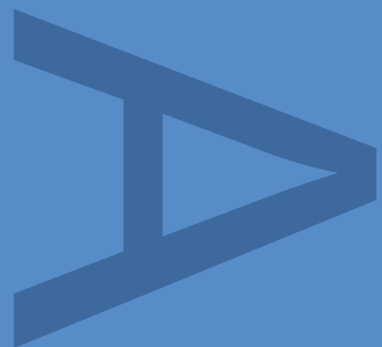


An Assessment of an Archaeological
Watching
Brief at South Bank
Tower, Stamford Street,
London Borough of
Southwark, SE1



KII 10

March 2015

PRE-CONSTRUCT ARCHAEOLOGY

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1 ABSTRACT

- 1.1 There earlier parts of the sequence indentified at the site comprise the underlying gravel deposits followed by a sequence of silty clays indicative of relatively slow flowing alluviation deposits. A dryer part of the sequence effected peat formation possibly of Bronze Age date, which was followed by a further episode of alluviation. The post-medieval segment of the archaeological succession comprised 16th to 18th century and later ground raising and consolidation with a number of largely non weight bearing internal walls, wells or soakaways, a flagstone floor remnant and segments of timber structures and a few pits. These largely appear to be of 18th century date and later and are sealed by some evidence for demolition and ground levelling.
- 1.2 The documentary source material comprises published secondary sources, Kelly's and post office directories, royal and estate accounts, insurance, census and local authority records. These cover a detailed account of the later medieval and post-medieval developments and events associated with the property. The 16th and 17th century presence to the immediate northwest of the site of the King's Barge House and the Old Paris Garden to the northeast are reviewed, as is the areas development to a centre of entertainment, light industry and craft use and subsequent decay. A glass house was present also to the northwest in the 18th century, and during the 19th century the site was mainly occupied by a number of merchants properties.

2 INTRODUCTION

- 2.1.1 This report details the results and working methods of an archaeological watching brief undertaken by Pre-Construct Archaeology Ltd on land at South Bank Tower, Stamford Street, London Borough of Southwark, SE1. The work was carried out in accordance with a Written Scheme of Investigation prepared for the project (MWP 2012). The project was conducted in advance and as part of the proposed redevelopment of the site and was preceded by an archaeological evaluation (PCA 2010). The watching brief monitored two phases of construction works, between 3rd August 2013 and 1th November 2013 and between 3rd March 2014 and 17th July 2014.
- 2.2 The site is bounded by Stamford Street to the south, Rennie Street to the east, Hatfields to the west and Upper Ground to the north. It is located c. 100m to the south of the River Thames at National Grid Reference TQ 3150 8045 and lies within a designated Archaeological Priority Area (APZ) as defined by LB Southwark (**Figures 1 and 2**).
- 2.3 The project was commissioned by CTP and the archaeological consultant was Pete Mills of Mills Whipp Projects (MWP). The watching brief was supervised by Neil Hawkins, Ireneo Grosso, James Langthorne and Shane Maher, and was project managed by Tim Bradley. The work was additionally monitored for the local planning authority by Dr. Chris Constable, Senior Archaeological Officer for the London Borough of Southwark. All works were undertaken following the appropriate English Heritage (GLAAS) and CIFA guidelines.
- 2.4 A Written Scheme of Investigation for an Archaeological Excavation was prepared by Pete Mills (MWP 2012) prior to the fieldwork commencing.
- 2.5 The completed archive comprising written, drawn, digital and photographic records and artefacts will be deposited with the London Archaeological Archive and Research Centre (LAARC), Mortimer Wheeler House, Eagle Wharf Road, London N1 7ED.
- 2.6 The site was allocated the site code KII 10.

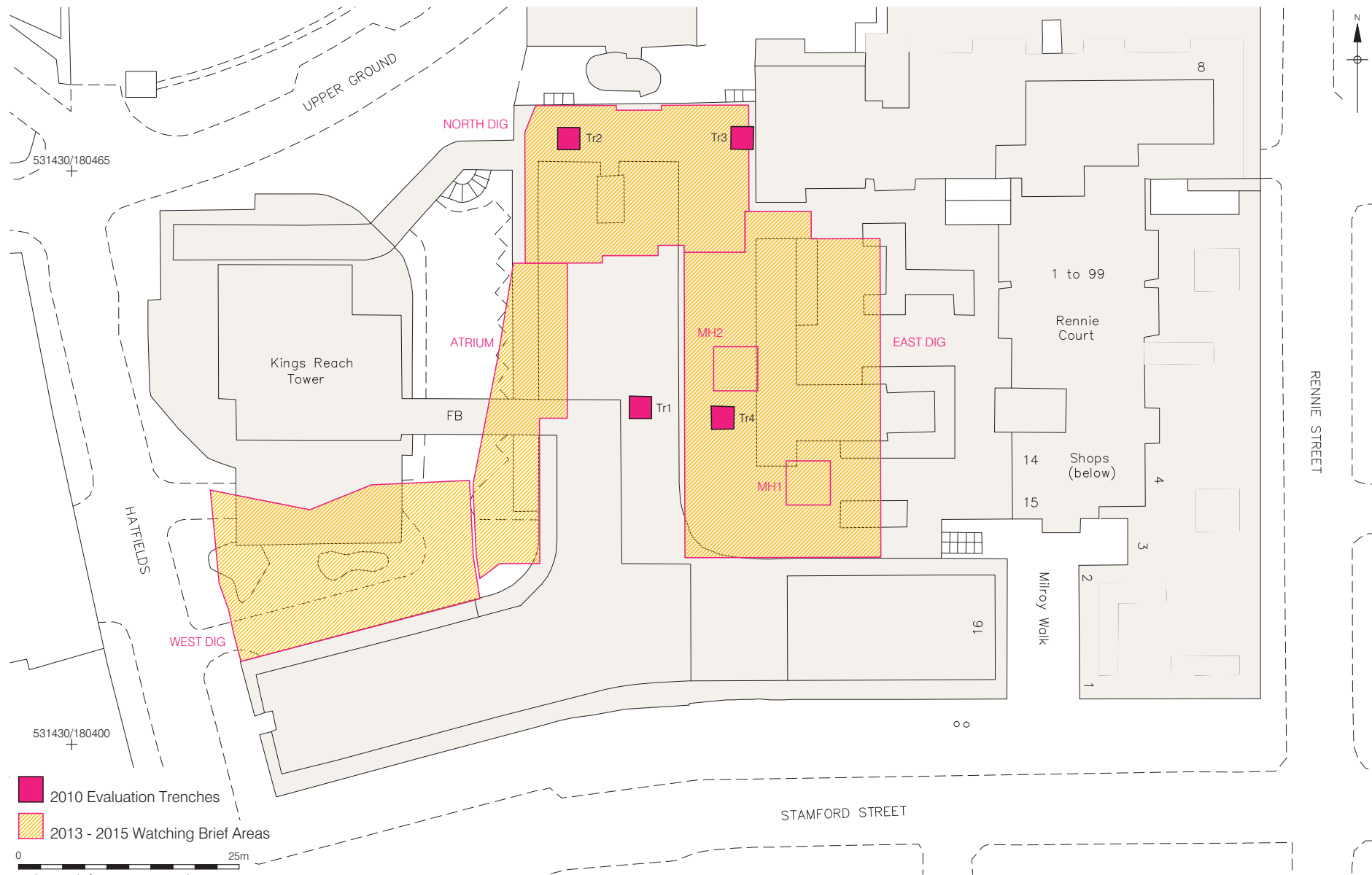


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Figure 1
Site Location
1:20,000 at A4



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Figure 2
 Trench Location & Areas Monitored
 1:625 at A4

3 PLANNING BACKGROUND

3.1 National Guidance: National Planning Policy Framework

3.1.1 In March 2012 the Department for Communities and Local Government issued the National Planning Policy Framework (NPPF), replacing Planning Policy Statement 5 (PPS5) 'Planning for the Historic Environment' which itself replaced Planning Policy Guidance Note 16 (PPG16) 'Archaeology and Planning'. This includes guidance for planning authorities, property owners, developers and others concerning the investigation and preservation of heritage assets.

3.1.2 In considering any planning application for development, the local planning authority will be guided by the policy framework set by government guidance, in this instance NPPF, by the current Unitary Development Plan and by other material considerations.

3.2 Regional Guidance: The London Plan

3.2.1 The over-arching strategies and policies for the whole of the Greater London area are contained within the Greater London Authority's London Plan (July 2011) which includes the following statement relating to archaeology.

Policy 7.8: Heritage assets and archaeology

Strategic

- A London's heritage assets and historic environment, including listed buildings, registered historic parks and gardens and other natural and historic landscapes, conservation areas, World Heritage Sites, registered battlefields, scheduled monuments, archaeological remains and memorials should be identified, so that the desirability of sustaining and enhancing their significance and of utilising their positive role in place shaping can be taken into account.
- B Development should incorporate measures that identify record, interpret, protect and, where appropriate, present the site's archaeology.

Planning decisions

- C Development should identify value, conserve, restore, re-use and incorporate heritage assets, where appropriate.
- D Development affecting heritage assets and their settings should conserve their significance, by being sympathetic to their form, scale, materials and architectural detail.
- E New development should make provision for the protection of archaeological resources, landscapes and significant memorials. The physical assets

should, where possible, be made available to the public on-site. Where the archaeological asset or memorial cannot be preserved or managed on-site, provision must be made for the investigation, understanding, recording, dissemination and archiving of that asset.

LDF preparation

- F Boroughs should, in LDF policies, seek to maintain and enhance the contribution of built, landscaped and buried heritage to London's environmental quality, cultural identity and economy as part of managing London's ability to accommodate change and regeneration.
- G Boroughs, in consultation with English Heritage, Natural England and other relevant statutory organisations, should include appropriate policies in their LDFs for identifying, protecting, enhancing and improving access to the historic environment and heritage assets and their settings where appropriate, and to archaeological assets, memorials and historic and natural landscape character within their area.

3.3 Local Policy: Archaeology in the London Borough of Southwark

3.3.1 The study aims to satisfy the objectives of the London Borough of Southwark, which fully recognises the importance of the buried heritage for which it is the custodian. Relevant policy statements for the protection of the buried archaeological resource within the borough are contained within the following documents:

- The Southwark Plan (adopted 2007)
- Southwark Policy Guidance (Archaeology) (2007)

3.3.2 The proposed development of the site is subject to the Council's Archaeology Policies and justifications:

Policy 3.19 Archaeology

Planning applications affecting sites within Archaeological Priority Zones (APZs), as identified in Appendix 8, shall be accompanied by an archaeological assessment and evaluation of the site, including the impact of the proposed development. There is a presumption in favour of preservation in situ, to protect and safeguard archaeological remains of national importance, including scheduled monuments and their settings. The in situ preservation of archaeological remains of local importance will also be sought, unless the importance of the development outweighs the local value of the remains. If planning permission is granted to develop any site where there are archaeological remains or there is good reason to believe that such remains exist,

conditions will be attached to secure the excavation and recording or preservation in whole or in part, if justified, before development begins.

Reasons:

Southwark has an immensely important archaeological resource. Increasing evidence of those peoples living in Southwark before the Roman and medieval period is being found in the north of the borough and along the Old Kent Road. The suburb of the Roman provincial capital (Londinium) was located around the southern bridgehead of the only river crossing over the Thames at the time and remains of Roman buildings, industry, roads and cemeteries have been discovered over the last 30 years. The importance of the area during the medieval period is equally well attested both archaeologically and historically. Elsewhere in Southwark, the routes of Roman roads (along the Old Kent Road and Kennington Road) and the historic village cores of Peckham, Camberwell, Walworth and Dulwich also have the potential for the survival of archaeological remains.

3.4 Site Specific Constraints and Planning Background

3.4.1 The site is located in an Archaeological Priority Zone as defined in the London Borough of Southwark Unitary Development Plan.

3.4.2 The planning consent (Ref: 11-AP-1071) includes two conditions pertaining to archaeology, as follows:

Condition 3 Archaeological Mitigation

Before any works hereby authorised begins, the applicant shall secure the implementation of a programme of archaeological mitigation works in accordance with a written scheme of investigation, which shall be submitted to and approved by the Local Planning Authority.

Reason:

In order that the details of the programme of works for the archaeological mitigation are suitable with regard to the impacts of the proposed development and the nature and extent of the archaeological remains on the site in accordance with saved policy 3.19 of the Southwark Plan 2007 and policy 12 of the Core Strategy 2011.

Condition 4 Archaeological Reporting

Within six months of the completion of the archaeological site works, an assessment report detailing the proposals for post-excavation works, publication of the site and preparation of the archive shall be submitted to and approved by the Local Planning Authority and that the works detailed in this assessment report shall not be carried out otherwise than in accordance with any such approval given.

Reason:

In order that the interests of the site are secured with regard to the details of the post-excavation works, publication and archiving to ensure the preservation of archaeological remains by record in accordance with saved policy 3.19 of the Southwark Plan 2007 and policy 12 of the Core Strategy 2011

4 GEOLOGY AND TOPOGRAPHY

4.1 Geology

4.1.1 The British Geological Survey (Sheet 270 South London) shows the geological sequence on the site as superficial deposits of sand and gravels of the Kempton Park Gravel Formation overlain by alluvium associated with the River Thames.

4.1.2 This sequence was observed in all areas of investigation.

4.2 Topography

4.2.1 The modern south bank of the River Thames lies c. 100m to the north of the site.

4.2.2 Where the site is located in north Southwark the topography of the land formerly consisted of a maze of tidal creeks and channels separated by a number of low lying but flood free gravel islands (eyotts) (Miles 2008).

4.2.3 The ground level is generally flat but it does gradually slope down from 5.1m OD at Rennie Street to 4.7m OD at Hatfields. The Northern end of Hatfields lies at 3.6m OD

5 METHODOLOGY

5.1 Archaeological Methodology

5.1.1 A Written Scheme of Investigation (MWP 2012) and a Health and Safety Risk Assessment and Method Statement (Bradley 2014) were prepared before the excavations took place. The Written Scheme of Investigation and method statement detailed the methodology required for the excavation of the specified areas.

5.1.2 The archaeological works involved four areas of investigation (**Figure 2**); referred to in this text as the North Dig Area, West Dig Area, East Dig Area and the Atrium.

5.1.3 The bulk excavation was undertaken with 360 degree mechanical excavators fitted with toothless buckets. Spoil was removed by mechanical dumper to a designated area. Machine excavation continued in spits of approximately 200mm until an archaeologically undisturbed sequence was observed.

5.1.4 The North and East Dig areas were to be basemented. The design of the basements meant that the bulk excavations had to be undertaken in stages. First the ground was reduced to a predetermined level and pile probed. Following piling concrete floor slabs were laid, these were to be the roofs of the basements. Then the deposits underlying the slabs were removed by smaller machines tunnelling in from designated access points.

5.1.5 In the East Dig Area two 5m x 5m access shafts were excavated through the concrete slab by a 360 excavator to allow smaller machines access to the underlying deposits. These shafts are referred to as Molehole 1 (MH1) and Molehole 2 (MH2) in this text.

5.1.6 Because a large portion of the North Dig Area was left open to the air it was deemed unnecessary to excavate a specific access shaft. Ground reduction and tunnelling was again undertaken by smaller machines. Eventually both the North and south basements were linked beneath the level of the slab.

5.1.7 Spoil removal was monitored by the attendant archaeologist with periodical access granted to the cutting faces to photographically record the sections.

5.1.8 Ground reduction in the Atrium was undertaken by 360 excavator to facilitate the installation of the pile caps and service runs.

5.1.9 Due to the Waterloo and City Line (London Underground tubeline) running underneath the West Dig Area special measures had to be taken during ground reduction which further limited the time of the excavation. Bulk excavation was

undertaken by 360 excavators in spits leaving an area adjacent to Hatfields for tunnelling.

- 5.1.10 In accordance with the Written Scheme of Investigation, following the removal of the modern overburden, all archaeological deposits were hand cleaned by archaeologists using appropriate hand tools.
- 5.1.11 Archaeological features were recorded using the single context recording system, with individual descriptions of all archaeological features and strata excavated and exposed entered onto pro-forma recording sheets. All detailed plans and sections of archaeological deposits and features were recorded on polyester based drawing film, the plans drawn at scales of 1:100, 1:50 and 1:20 and the sections at 1:20. The OD height of all principal strata was calculated and indicated on the appropriate plans and sections. Deposits that were evidently modern were not given context numbers, and were recorded as modern intrusions in plan.
- 5.1.12 All OD heights were calculated by measuring down from known levelling points (engineer spot heights) on the surfaces of the concrete floor slabs.
- 5.1.13 Digital format photographs were taken of the archaeological features and deposits on as these were uncovered.
- 5.1.14 Bulk samples where environmental potential was indicated and where practically possible were taken during the Watching Brief in order to recover environmental information from the peat deposits encountered at the site.
- 5.1.15 In this report contexts are shown by square brackets e.g. [100], small find by chevrons e.g. <1> and environmental samples by brackets e.g. {23}.

6 ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

6.1 Prehistoric

- 6.1.1 Although flint and flakes from the Palaeolithic have been found in Southwark, the majority of the earlier finds are mainly Neolithic. Mesolithic remains possibly dating to as early as 8,000-6,000 BC have been located adjacent to the line of Old Kent Road on the edge of the relatively high flood plain close to the margins of the wetlands nearer to the Thames (Sheldon 2000, 128).
- 6.1.2 It is clear from a number of excavations across north Southwark that organised agriculture, represented by ploughing evidence, was undertaken in the area by the Early Bronze Age. Such evidence has been encountered at Hopton Street, near Blackfriars Bridge (Ridgeway, 1999) where not only ard-marks were recovered but postholes from circular timber structures. A subsoil and associated plough soil produced a large assemblage of lithics including both struck and burnt flints as well as animal bone and pottery. The finds suggested a predominantly late Neolithic to Early Bronze Age assemblage, with a smaller Mesolithic to Early Neolithic component. The Late Neolithic material included the complete burial of a beaker bowl of a type more commonly found in southern Europe.
- 6.1.3 Further ard-marks were located to the south at Tabard Square (Killock and Shepherd forthcoming) and at Hunt's House, Guy Hospital where two technological traditions were located indicating flint working in the later Neolithic and Bronze Age (Taylor-Wilson, 2002, 6).
- 6.1.4 A cluster of sites on the eyot at Horsleydown near Tower Bridge have produced a substantial body of evidence for Bronze Age agricultural activity including an actual fragment of an ard tip (a plough share) at the Three Oak Lane (Proctor and Bishop 2002). The ard marks have been frequently been located at between c 2.20 - 0.60m OD across Southwark generally close to the margins of ancient islands. As sea level rose during the Bronze Age, these features were sealed by a widespread deposition of estuarine silts (Sheldon 2000, 128).
- 6.1.5 The Bronze Age material at Hopton Street was sealed by a 0.35m thick deposit of pre-Roman silts that in turn were overlain by over a metre of brown clay containing Roman and medieval material.
- 6.1.6 Abraded pottery and flints of Bronze Age date were also found at 106-114 Borough High Street, lithics and prehistoric features were recorded at 1120-124 Borough High Street which broadly indicates activity of this period in the area. A round post-built
-

structure dated to between the late Neolithic and Late pre-Roman Iron Age was located at site F at the Courage Brewery excavations as well as flints and pottery of Neolithic to Early Bronze Age date associated with a series of pits, post holes and a ditch cut (Hammer 2003).

- 6.1.7 Bronze Age and Iron Age burial evidence is extremely limited in Southwark and includes an Early Bronze Age round barrow at Fenning's Warf that contained cremated human bone and pottery in its fills. Features associated with the barrow held Late Bronze Age pottery (Sheldon 2000). At 124-126 Borough High Street a burial of probable Iron Age was located cutting into the natural sands below the Roman road leading to the bridgehead. There were no associated or contemporary features.
- 6.1.8 The material discovered to date suggests a broadly casual exploitation of the higher ground with only limited permanent occupation, in the early prehistoric period (Proctor and Bishop 2002).
- 6.1.9 There is sparse evidence of Iron Age landuse around Borough High Street, pottery and features of this period have been located at Swan St in 1998 (Beasley 2007) and gullies and post-holes of that date were located along Southwark St and on the eastern edge of the northern island.

6.2 Roman Southwark

- 6.2.1 The geography and topography of north Southwark was instrumental in defining the development in the Roman settlement there and indeed to that of Londinium itself, Southwark's island topography dictated where the roads and river crossing and therefore the city itself could be built (Milne 1995). North Southwark was the furthest point downstream that a fixed bridge could span the river.
- 6.2.2 Southwark was settled either contemporaneously with Londinium or at a very short time after. The Roman settlement in Southwark was located around the bridgehead over the Thames and to either side of the approach road to it (Road 1), which was constructed c. AD 50. The road is believed to bifurcate to the south of (the later) St. George's church, with an eastern route, Watling Street to Kent, and a western route, Stane Street, to Sussex. It has been suggested that road construction and associated engineering schemes in north Southwark were military driven with pre-Flavian military equipment found at several sites (Heard et al 1990, 611) and numismatic evidence (Hammerson and Sheldon 1987) tending to support this view.
- 6.2.3 Buildings that were extensively destroyed probably during the Boudican revolt of AD 60/61 the remains of which have been located in excavations along Borough High

Street (particularly the Northern line Ticket Hall site) and at London Bridge. These buildings had been constructed between AD 50-55 and fronted the eastern side of Road 1 extending over a range of some 60 metres. Pre-Boudican buildings along the eastern side of Road 1 continued for 300m from the bridgehead though not far from it to east and west (Sheldon 2000). Following the revolt Southwark and Londinium were rebuilt and extended.

- 6.2.4 In the early Roman period a great deal of effort was put into improving drainage to reclaim land and to control the flow of water within the channels that surrounded and bisected the sand eyots underlying the settlement, in order to protect the infrastructure from erosion, flooding and to facilitate access through the water channels. Sea-levels fell by as much as 1.5m between the late 1st and 3rd centuries allowing the previously uninhabitable margins of Southwark's islands to be utilised by the resident population. Reclamation of the land by narrowing or blocking off channels meant that possibly by the late 1st century the channels which divided the settlement's southern eyot had been blocked off, creating a peninsula. Intensive drainage of the eyot fringes has been noted for the Roman period, particularly the 3rd century. At Hopton Street (*ibid.*) a channel of prehistoric origin appears to have been maintained and possibly kept open throughout the Roman period.
- 6.2.5 The main settlement of Roman Southwark was situated along both sides of Road 1 as far south as St. George's church during the late 1st century and well into the 2nd century. Remains of Roman date extend further south of this point, as evidenced by excavations at Dickens Square, Trinity Street, Swan Street, and Tabard Square.
- 6.2.6 Roman Southwark's status remains uncertain; as the 'suburb' lay beyond the walls of Londinium, parts of it became utilised as burial grounds. During the 1980s investigations revealed a number of inhumations within the settlement, mainly towards the southern edge of the northern island. More recent work in Southwark has however revealed over 25 inhumations and 5 cremations at the Great Dover Street cemetery (Mackinder 2000) and excavations at America Street, Lant Street, Trinity Street, Dickens Square and Union Street have uncovered further inhumations. It has been envisioned that Southwark served as an entrepot (with the military needs of an army engaged in conquest, both in distributing supplies of war and redistributing the spoils and for providing the more personal needs of the military administration in an emerging Londinium.
- 6.2.7 A recent study has estimated that at its height the Roman settlement area in north Southwark would have covered approximately 18 hectares. Numerous investigations
-

in the vicinity of the study site have yielded evidence for roadside domestic / light industrial buildings.

6.2.8 The initial phase of Roman occupation both in the City and Southwark appears to have come to an end during the second half of the 2nd century. Several sites in Southwark have occupation sequences that stop in the mid 2nd century. Numerous explanations have been put forward for this apparent decline including insecurity, political instability and disease. Where later 3rd / 4th century Roman stratigraphy survived in Southwark, it is typically overlain by a 'dark earth' deposit containing 4th century pottery. Similar deposits of 'dark earth' are commonly found in north Southwark, and its appearance has been generally interpreted as being indicative of a contraction of the settlement area.

6.3 Saxon and Medieval

6.3.1 There is no evidence for permanent settlement in the immediate post-Roman era in Southwark, and indeed it is possible that the bridge across the Thames had fallen into disrepair and collapsed by the 5th/6th century AD. A single coin of Justinian (AD 527-565) found in the 19th century represents one of the few finds of early or Middle Saxon date from Southwark. Rising sea levels may have rendered much of the land in north Southwark uninhabitable during the immediate post Roman period. Londinium itself was probably abandoned sometime in the 5th century. Saxon occupation appears to have largely concentrated along the strand in Westminster and in small hamlets such as Hammersmith and Croydon.

6.3.2 Later Saxon settlement in London was concentrated in the Covent Garden area and the trading emporium of Lundenwic as mentioned by Bede in his *Historia ecclesiastica*. In the late 9th century much of eastern England, including Lundenwic, was subject to Viking raids. The City was reoccupied in the late 9th or early 10th century utilising the more easily defensible walled area of the former Roman town.

6.3.3 Southwark is only extensively occupied at the end of the Saxon period and its name derives from this period being referred to in a document, the Burgal Hidage of AD 914, as 'Suthringa geweorch' ('the [defensive] work of the men of Surrey'), a fortified place (burth) (Carlin 1996, 9). The term south work was slightly later in origin. It seems probable that the bridge across the Thames was re-established at this time.

6.3.4 Documentary references indicate Southwark being a burgeoning centre of population by the 11th century and as well having a Minster it also had a mint. By the 12th century considerable growth had taken place. A Minster may have been established as early as the end of the 10th century as one is recorded in the Domesday Book,

and is presumed to have preceded the Augustinian priory of St. Mary Overie (Southwark Cathedral).

6.3.5 Southwark's settlement grew to include many important buildings including the six acre palace of the Bishop of Winchester's Manor, built to the west of the priory of St. Mary Overie in the 12th century, two Royal residences built in the 14th century one each for Edward I and II and also by the 14th century the Benedictine Abbey of St. Saviour Bermondsey which had replaced the 11th century Cluniac Priory and numerous town houses which were constructed for lay magnates and gentry.

6.3.6 The route of the High Street virtually mirrored the route of (Roman) Road 1 and it had two churches erected alongside it by the 12th century: St. Margaret in the north and St. George to the south. Documentary research and archaeological investigations suggest that by the later 12th century the High Street may have been lined with buildings from the bridgehead to St. George's (Carlin 1996, 22).

6.3.7 The subject site lay within the manor of Paris Garden which was about 100 acres in extent. The boundaries of the manor were defined by streams that had been canalised into ditches. Early in the 12th century the Knights Templar were granted the manor. On the north bank of the Thames on their Fleet Valley estate the Knights reclaimed marginal land by means of banks and ditches and it is likely they did so at Paris Garden as well. The marked curve of Upper Ground which forms the north-west edge of the subject site may represent the line of an earlier embankment of the Thames. Despite the embanking the land lay below high water level and was often flooded (MWP 2012). In the 12th century the Broadwall Dyke was built to the west of the site which is shown on the later Agas map of 1562 with people walking along it.

6.3.8 The manor passed to the Knights Hospitaller after the suppression of the Templars in the early 14th century who then farmed it out to laymen. In AD 1394 the manor was described as "waste and marshy ground opposite London" (SoL 1950: 94). John, Duke of Bedford leased the manor in AD 1420 and built Paris Garden Manor House, there, a moated building (MWP 2012).

6.4 Post-Medieval

6.4.1 In the 16th century, after the land was seized by Henry VIII at the Dissolution, William Baseley was granted the manor. He rebuilt Paris Garden Manor House turning it into a gaming house, later it was called Holland Leaguer (SoL 1950 Bankside Vol 22 94 - 95) (MWP 2012).

6.4.2 Southwark's population grew steadily throughout the Post-Medieval era bringing with it the inherent problems of overcrowding such as sanitation, disease and fire.

Between the reformation and the end of the 17th century Southwark had been transformed from fashionable faubourg (suburb?) to a suburban slum following the forceful eviction of ecclesiastics and the voluntary migration of aristocrats. A population expansion mainly from the Low Countries resulted in an increase from c 10,000 inhabitants at the start of the reign of Elizabeth I to 19,000 to its end, with by the time of the Civil war the population overall having risen by fifty percent despite the plagues of AD 1577/8, 1603, and 1641 (Rendle 1888).

- 6.4.3 By the 15th century the site would have been above the level of the Thames, river defences were in place but the property would still have been prone to flooding. Due to the occasional wet environment it is likely that the site was used for grazing land rather than plough land as is shown on the Agas map. Here it is revealed as being surrounded by drainage channels with Gravel Lane to the east, the Broadwall Dyke to the west and Paris Garden Mansion to the north, although resulting from the aspect shown it is difficult to locate the site accurately.
- 6.4.4 By the time of Rocque's map of 1747 area appears to be covered by a mixture of orchards, market gardens and buildings, to the west the Broad Wall dyke is marked with structures and a Tenter ground beyond that. By AD 1760 the nearby Blackfriars Bridge was first built.
- 6.4.5 Stamford Street had been laid out by AD 1813 and a terrace built on the southern part of the site, probably following the construction of the bridge. Rapid urbanisation in the 19th century saw the site occupied by an engineering works, a timber yard and houses.
- 6.4.6 In the late 19th the Waterloo and City Line was bored under the western portion of the site.
- 6.4.7 The property suffered some bomb damage during WWII and was cleared in the 1970s for the present buildings.
- 6.4.8 A previous evaluation on the site revealed post medieval walls, make-up layers and reclamation dumps overlying much earlier waterlain deposits (MWP 2012).

7 THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL SEQUENCE

7.1 Introduction

7.1.1 The following text is an overview of the archaeological sequence recorded during the watching brief carried out as part of the groundworks for the new development. Full individual context description and Ordnance Datum levels are detailed in Appendix 1 and stratigraphic relationships are shown in Appendix 2.

7.1.2 The archaeological sequence is discussed by area of investigation (North Dig Area, West Dig Area, East Dig Area and the Atrium) and except for the 4 evaluation trenches (T1 to 4) and a small hand excavated trench in the North Dig, was all machine excavated.

7.2 North Dig Area (see Figure 3, 7, section 23; plate 1-3)

7.2.1 The earliest deposit recorded across this area was a loose mid-dark greenish grey sand and gravel [89] found at -0.9m OD and excavated to a maximum depth of approximately -2m OD. In evaluation trench 2 located within the North dig area these levels were represented by contexts [34] and [35] at between -0.45 and -0.67 OD. In evaluation trench 3 located slightly to the east of the North dig area this part of the sequence equated with context [46] at between -0.94 and -1.31m OD. This deposit was sterile and was interpreted as comprising natural river gravels deposited in a fast flowing fluvial environment (**Phase 1** Natural Gravels).

7.2.2 Context [89] was sealed at approximately 0m OD by a firm and plastic mid grey/green clay layer [60]. This context was the same as context [33] at an upper level of -0.17 OD in trench 2 and context [45] in trench 3 at an upper level of -0.01m OD. This sterile layer, observed across the North Dig Area, was approximately 0.40m thick and interpreted as naturally deposited Alluvium laid down in a slow moving riverine context (**Phase 2** Lower Alluvium).

7.2.3 Patches of fairly firm mid-dark brown clayey peat [59]/[50] with occasional root activity and very occasional rounded/sub rounded pebbles inclusions were superimposed on the Phase 2 lower Alluvium [60] at approximately 0/-0.5m OD. A twenty litre environmental bulk sample {100} was taken from this layer which was interpreted as the same or a similar peat as previously exposed and recorded in the archaeological evaluation identified as context [32] (upper level 0.21m OD) in trench 2 and context [45] (upper level of 0.64m OD) in trench 3 (Humphrey, 2010) (**Phase 3** Peat).



Plate 1: Peat layer [58], looking NW.

- 7.2.4 The peat layer (see above) was overlain at between 1.35/0.8m OD by a firm mid-blue/grey silt clay layer [58]/[51] with occasional sub rounded and rounded pebbles inclusions. This is the same as contexts [20] (1.32m OD) and [19] (1.43m OD) in trench 2 and [43] (1.34m OD) in trench 3 This 0.50m thick layer, which was observed across the North Dig Area, was interpreted as constituting naturally deposited Alluvium (**Phase 4** Upper Alluvium).



Plate 2: Exposing upper alluvium [58] by machine. Looking NE.



Plate 3: Layers [89], [60], [59] and [58] as seen in N facing section in North Dig area.

7.2.5 Upper alluvium layer [58] was sealed at 2.2m OD by a soft and waterlogged mid greyish brown clayey sandy silt [52] with very frequent CBM fragments, pottery sherds and CTP inclusions. The wet conditions of the ground together with the continuous tracking of the machine over this part of the site contributed to the contamination of layer [52] with modern material and no finds were recovered from it. Despite the ground conditions and health and safety issues, it was clear that this layer contained a large quantity of post-medieval material in the form of CBM fragments and occasional sherds of pottery and as a result it was interpreted as a make-up dump associated with land reclamation during the post-medieval period. In the preceding evaluation intervention in trench 2 the relevant part of the sequence indicated a slightly dryer episode characterised by a reestablishment of peat formation in context [18] (at an upper level of 1.67m OD). Overlying this was a post-medieval make-up dump [16] with a series of structural elements comprising [15] a 10 cm thick clay silt bedding layer for a flagstone floor [14] superimposed by a pre AD 1760 wall element [13]. Wall [13] and its associated structure were then demolished [40] followed by a levelling event [12] (top at 2.43m OD). In trench 3 only the upper part of the sequence survived [42] (2.39m OD) this representing the equivalent of the levelling deposit [40] in trench 2. (**Phase 5** Post-medieval).

7.2.6 The post-medieval ground raising layer was truncated near the NW corner of the North Dig Area by N-S orientated masonry wall [53]. This wall consisted of machine cut frogged red bricks bonded with yellowish grey lime mortar. It was 5.82m long 0.24m wide and was found at approximately 2.20m OD. About one metre to the west and perpendicular to it a further masonry wall [54] was exposed. This feature was E-W orientated and to the west was abutted by a short wall segment orientated N-S. Its dimensions were 2.07m long by 0.46 wide on the E-W segment and 1.50m long by

0.36m wide on the N-S orientated segment. These elements were interpreted as part of a property dating to the post-medieval period (**Phase 5** Post-medieval).

7.3 East Dig Area (see Figures 5, 6, 7 section 25, 26; Plate 4-5)

7.3.1 The earliest deposit recorded across this part of the site was the loose mid-grey and light brown yellow sandy gravel [88] and [73] found at -0.89m OD and -0.79m OD in Mole-holes 1 and 2 respectively. The gravels in evaluation trenches 1 and 4 comprised contexts [30] (-0.42m OD) and [31] (-0.77m OD) in T1 and [37] at -0.69 OD and [38] at -0.79 to -1.02m OD in T4. These deposits were interpreted as natural river gravels (**Phase 1**).

7.3.2 Firm mid-blue grey silt gravelly clay layers [69] and [72] overlay the natural river gravels at -0.59m OD. In evaluation trench 1 context [29] (0.02m OD) and in trench 4 contexts [36 (-0.29m OD) and [39] (-0.54m OD) were associated with this phase. The upper part of these deposits was mainly Alluvium with an increase of gravel and sand towards the base and was interpreted as Alluvium (**Phase 2**).

7.3.3 Layers [69] and [72] were overlain between 0.21m OD and -0.19m OD by firm mid-dark brown clayey peat recorded as contexts [68] and [71] in Mole holes 1 and 2 respectively. In evaluation trench 1 this peat comprised contexts [23] (0.22m OD) and [28] (0.32m OD). In trench 4 it equates with [26] at 0.19m OD. This peat layer, approximately 0.80m thick in this part of the site, underwent some substantial truncation during the demolition works. No artefacts, modified timber or archaeological features were observed during its machine excavation. Context [68] and [71] were interpreted as part of the same peat layer observed and recorded in the North Dig (see above Paragraph 7.2.3) (**Phase 3**).

7.3.4 The peat layer was overlain between 1 and 0.81m OD by 0.6m thick firm light mid-blue grey silt clay layer [55]/[67]. In trench 1 this alluvium comprises contexts [21] (1.5m OD) and [22] (0.83m OD) in trench 4 context [25] (1.18 m OD). This clay deposit was observed across the full extent of the East Dig Area, it was sterile and naturally deposited and interpreted as upper Alluvium (**Phase 4**).



Plate 4: Ground reduction exposing upper Alluvium [55]. Looking SE.

7.3.5 Context [55] was sealed at 2.2m OD by moderately firm dark brown clayey sandy silt [49] (the equivalent of contexts [9] and [24] described further below) with moderate CBM fragments inclusions. This deposit, approximately 1.2m thick, extended across this part of the site and was interpreted as comprising post-medieval dump/ground rising deposit associated with land reclamation. In evaluation trench 1 the earliest post-medieval dump was the aforementioned context [9] (1.67m OD). This dumping level had an early to mid 18th century hand-made red brick unfrogged wall foundation in irregular bond raised on it. As well as a cut [41] for an 18th century hand-made red brick well or soakaway was identified as was a vertically placed rectangular box sectioned timber post which appears to have formed part of a larger timber structure possibly related to posts [10] and [11]. In addition there was a small circular post-medieval pit [7] (at 1.62m OD) with its fill [7]. An additional circular pit [4] (at 1.62m OD) and its fill [3] were identified. This part of the sequence in Trench 1 was sealed by ground levelling deposit [1] at 2.47m OD. In trench 4 contexts [24] at 1.58m OD (see above) comprised the earliest post-medieval ground raising deposit. This was cut by a timber post [27] at 1.22m OD which in turn was sealed by [17] a ground levelling layer at a top level of 2.86m OD. (**Phase 5**).

7.3.6 In the north part of the East Dig the post-medieval ground raising deposit [49] was truncated at 2.2m OD by circular construction cut [90] for well [49]. This well was built of frogged dark red bricks (220mm by 110mm by 60mm) set in light grey sandy lime mortar with moderate charcoal and chalk inclusions. The diameter of the well was 1.25m and its base was found approximately at -1.75m OD. Two brick samples taken

from this structure were dated to AD 1780 to 1850. The finds which came from the well backfill [48] were consistent with a late 19th century date.



Plate 5: Post-medieval well [49]. Looking NE.

7.4 Atrium Area (see Figure 6, 8 section 21, 22)

- 7.4.1 The earlier deposits exposed across this part of the site encompassed a loose light mid-yellowish grey sandy gravel layer [66] which was observed at -1.50m OD and excavated to a maximum depth of -2.40m OD. Context [65] was overlain at -1.10m OD by a loose mid-dark greenish grey sandy gravel [65] which was about 0.40m thick. Layers [66] and [65] were interpreted as representing Natural River gravels (**Phase 1**).
- 7.4.2 Layer [65] was sealed by a sterile firm grey greenish blue sandy clay [64] at -0.40m OD. This layer, interpreted as naturally deposited lower Alluvium (**Phase 2**), was observed across the whole of the Atrium Area. In this part of the site the lower Alluvium was 0.70m thick.
- 7.4.3 Phase 2 Alluvium [64] was overlain at 0m OD by a fairly firm mid-dark brown clayey peat layer [63] with occasional root activity and very occasional inclusions of rounded and sub rounded pebbles. This 0.40m thick layer, observed across the Atrium Area, did not contain finds nor archaeological features and was interpreted as constituting the same peat layer as was recorded in other parts of the site (see above Paragraphs 7.3.3 and 7.2.3 **Phase 3**).
- 7.4.4 Peat layer [63] was sealed between 1.33/0.73m OD by fairly firm mid dark blue grey silt clay layers [70] and [75] with occasional sub-rounded pebble inclusions. These layers, observed across the Atrium Area, had an approximate thickness of 0.90/0.80m and were similar or probably the equivalent of Alluvium [51] and [67] recorded in the North Dig and East Dig respectively (**Phase 4**).

7.4.5 Phase 3 peat layer [63] was truncated by a series of timber posts on an E-W orientation. The timber posts, located in the north part of the Atrium Area, were observed at approximately 0m OD and were recorded as contexts [83], [84], [85], [86] and [87] from the east to the west covering a stretch of approximately 3m. They were all set vertically with a square or rectangular cross-section. Due to the constraints of the WB it is not clear what stratigraphic relationship this timber structure had with the upper Alluvium (Phase 4). In fact it is possible that the timbers truncated this layer and consequentially they could be associated with post-medieval pile foundations for a masonry building later truncated by modern activity associated with the construction of the existing 1970s building over this part of the site. These timber posts have been phased to the post-medieval period (**Phase 5**).

7.4.6 The upper Alluvium [75] attributed to Phase 4 was overlain at 2.53m OD by firm mid grey to dark grey brown silty sand clay layer [74]. This was approximately 1.2m thick, with occasional CBM fragments, pottery, CTP and charcoal fleck inclusions. The finds were all dated broadly to the post-medieval period, possibly as late as the 19th century (**Phase 5**).

7.5 West Dig Area (see Figure 4, 8 section 20 and 24, plate 6)

7.5.1 Similar to the rest of the site the earlier deposit observed across the West Dig area was a loose light mid-yellowish grey sandy gravel layer [79], identified at -1.90m OD and machine excavated to a maximum depth of -2m OD. Layer [79] was interpreted as constituting natural river gravels (**Phase 1**).

7.5.2 The natural river gravels [79] were overlain at -0.80m OD by a sterile firm grey greenish blue sandy clay [78]. This layer, interpreted as naturally deposited lower Alluvium (**Phase 2**), was observed across the Western Area. In this part of the site the lower Alluvium deposit was 1.10m thick.

7.5.3 Context [78] was sealed by a moderately compact mid-dark brown clayey peat layer [77] at between 0.1/0m OD. Similarly to the peat encountered in all other areas of the site this part of the sequence did not produce any finds or archaeological features. In the West Dig the peat was 0.8m thick and was observed across the entirety of this area (**Phase 3**).

7.5.4 Peat layer [77] was overlain by compact mid to dark blue grey silt clay layer [76] with occasional sub rounded pebbles inclusions. This layer, interpreted as Phase 4 upper Alluvium across the site, was about 0.8m thick in the West Dig and did not produce any dating material. The same layer was observed in the west part of the West Dig as contexts [57], [62] and [56] between 1.5m OD and 0.7m OD (**Phase 4**).



Plate 6: upper Alluvium clay layer [76]. Looking North.

- 7.5.5 In the north area of the West Dig, Phase 4 Alluvium [62] was truncated at 1.4m OD by timber post [61]. This vertical post had a circular cross section and measured 1500mm long by 150mm diameter. This post had a pointed end at the base to facilitate its insertion through the ground. This timber was lifted by machine and was not retained. However as it had the same tenuous stratigraphic position to that observed for the other timber posts encountered across the site which were interpreted as timber piling of post-medieval date, it is possible that this timber too was associated with the same activity.
- 7.5.6 In the north of the West Dig Area layer [76] was truncated at 1.2m OD by the circular construction cut [82] for a curvilinear masonry [80] element. This was a well which had been constructed out of mid reddish to purplish red frogged bricks measuring 221mm by 110mm by 70mm, bonded with sandy lime mortar. This brick structure, had been truncated to the north and east by the modern construction cut for the Southbank Tower, and survived only in the southeast part. The radius of the structure in this section was approximately 2m, the wall thickness 0.26m and the depth approximately 1m. This masonry, interpreted as part of a large post-medieval well or soak away was backfilled with loosely mixed brick rubble/demolition material which was interpreted as the demolished remains of masonry [80] as the bricks looked the same.



Plate 7: Masonry [80] looking north.

8 ARCHAEOLOGICAL PHASE DISCUSSION

8.1 Phase 1: Natural River Gravels

8.1.1 The earliest deposits recorded comprised natural river gravels observed across all Areas of the WB. These deposits seemed to be higher in the North and East Dig areas where its upper levels were encountered at between -0.90m OD and -0.79m OD. In the West Dig and Atrium its level dropped to -1.90m OD and -1.50m OD respectively.

8.1.2 The British Geological Survey (Sheet 270 South London) shows the geological sequence underlying the site as superficial deposits of sand and gravels of the Kempton Park Gravel Formation overlain by alluvium associated with the River Thames.

8.2 Phase 2: Lower Alluvium

8.2.1 The natural river gravels were overlaid by a sterile firm grey greenish blue sandy clay. This layer, interpreted as naturally deposited lower Alluvium (**Phase 2**), was again observed across all Areas of WB at different levels. In the North Dig Area it was recorded at 0m OD, in the East Dig Area at -0.59m OD, in the West Dig Area at -0.80m OD and at -0.40m OD in the Atrium. The depth of this layer varied between a minimum of 0.30m in the East Dig Area and a maximum of 1.10m in the Atrium.

8.2.2 The lower Alluvium, indicative of deposition within a generally low energy fluvial environment, is associated with the River Thames. The wet environment of the site during the natural deposition of the lower Alluvium shows how the site was not suitable for settlement at this time. No archaeological features associated with land reclamation such as drainage ditches were observed during the WB on the machine excavation of this deposit.

8.3 Phase 3: Peat Deposit

8.3.1 The lower Alluvium was sealed by fairly firm mid-dark brown clayey peat. This deposit was observed across the site. In the North Dig it was found at -0.5m OD in the North Dig, at 0.21m OD in the East Dig, at 0.1m in the West Dig and in the Atrium Area at 0m OD. The thickness of the peat varied across the site from a minimum of 0.40m to a maximum of 0.80m.

8.3.2 In the WB the top of this sterile peat deposit was seen to be gradually sloping from the south downwards to the north. Whether the decrease in the level of the peat towards the north is representative of the western bank of the River Thames or represents a natural undulation is uncertain. No archaeological features were sealed by the peat, within it or directly cutting into it.

8.3.3 The peat deposit was also recorded in the North Dig Area during the 2010 evaluation carried out by PCA (Humphrey 2010). Samples were taken from the augur cores for environmental processing and carbon dating which resulted in the peat being dated to the Bronze Age.

8.4 Phase 4: Upper Alluvium

8.4.1 The peat deposit was sealed by firm mid-blue/grey silt clay with occasional sub rounded and rounded pebbles inclusions. This layer, identified across the site, was found at 1.40m OD in the North Dig, at 1m OD in the East Dig, at 1.5m OD in the West Dig and at 1.33m OD in the Atrium Area.

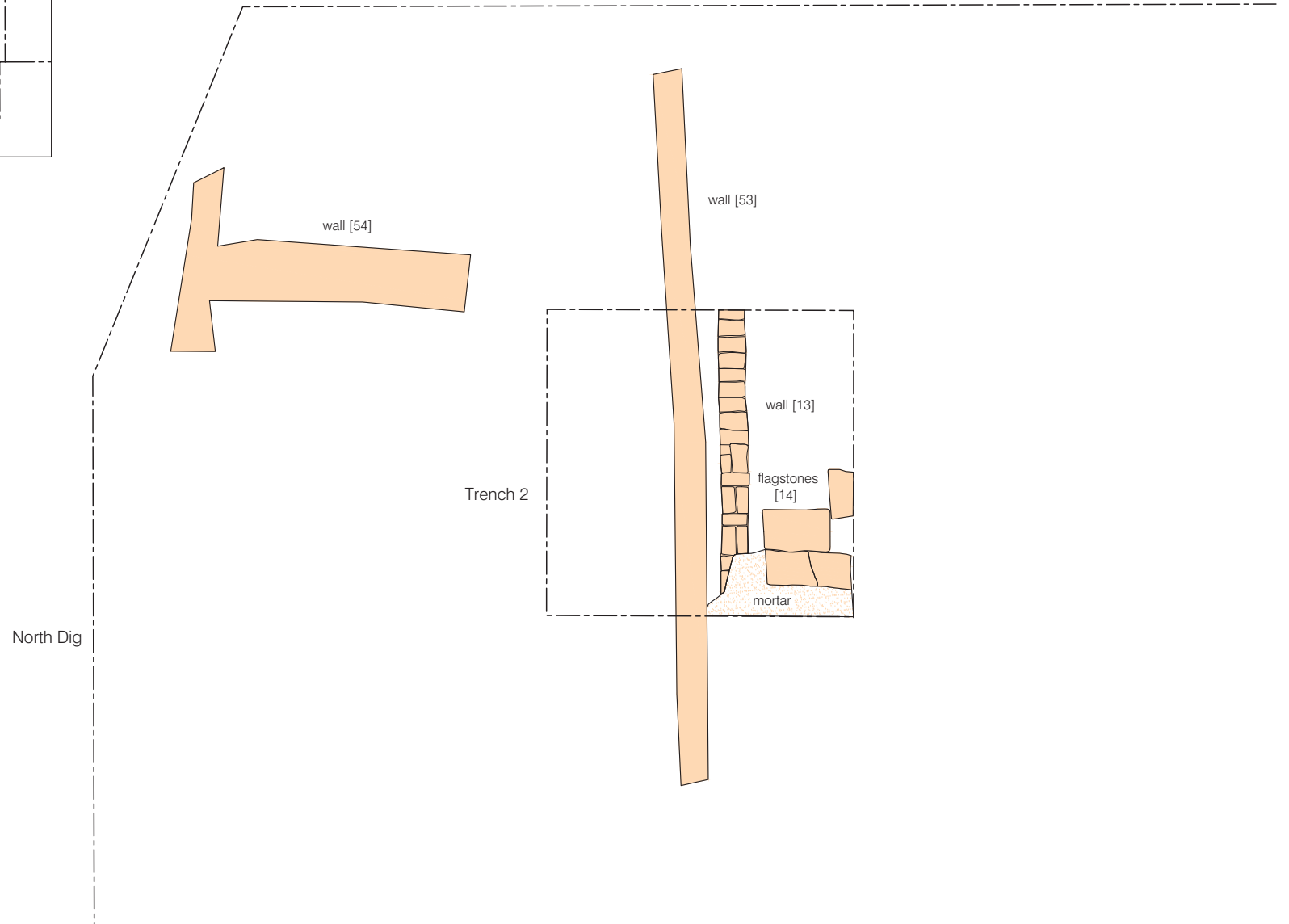
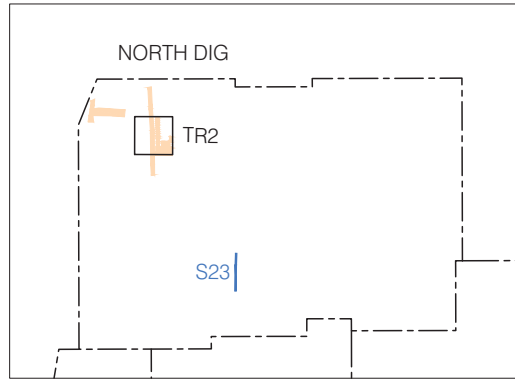
8.4.2 This alluvial deposit shows that the site at the time these peats formed was located in an area which was relatively wet, but dry enough to form the base for cumulative plant growth and exposed to further flooding between the formation of the peat deposit and the medieval/post-medieval period. Moreover the WB demonstrated that in the North Dig area the lower horizon of the upper Alluvium deposit contained pockets of peat formation indicative of a semi aquatic environment. The upper part of the upper Alluvium probably represents the earliest attempts of managing the landscape as was suggested during in the 2010 evaluation report (Humphrey 2010). Unfortunately the methodology and the constraints dictated by Health and Safety considerations did not permit detailed archaeological recording of the upper horizon of the upper Alluvium.

8.5 Phase 5: Post-medieval (Figure 4-6)

8.5.1 The WB showed that the Phase 4 upper Alluvium was overlain across the site by soft and waterlogged mid greyish brown clayey sandy silt with very frequent CBM fragments, pottery sherds and CTP inclusions. This deposit, identified across most of the site, was recorded at 2.2m OD in the North Dig, at 2.2m OD in the East Dig and at 2.53m OD in the Atrium. In the West Dig this deposit was missing as this part of the site seems to have been truncated by modern activity associated with the construction of the 1970s buildings.

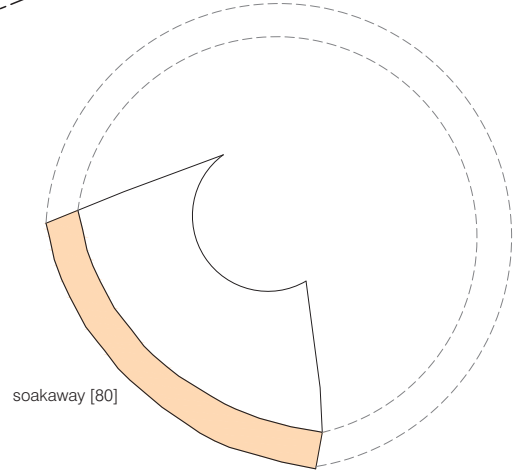
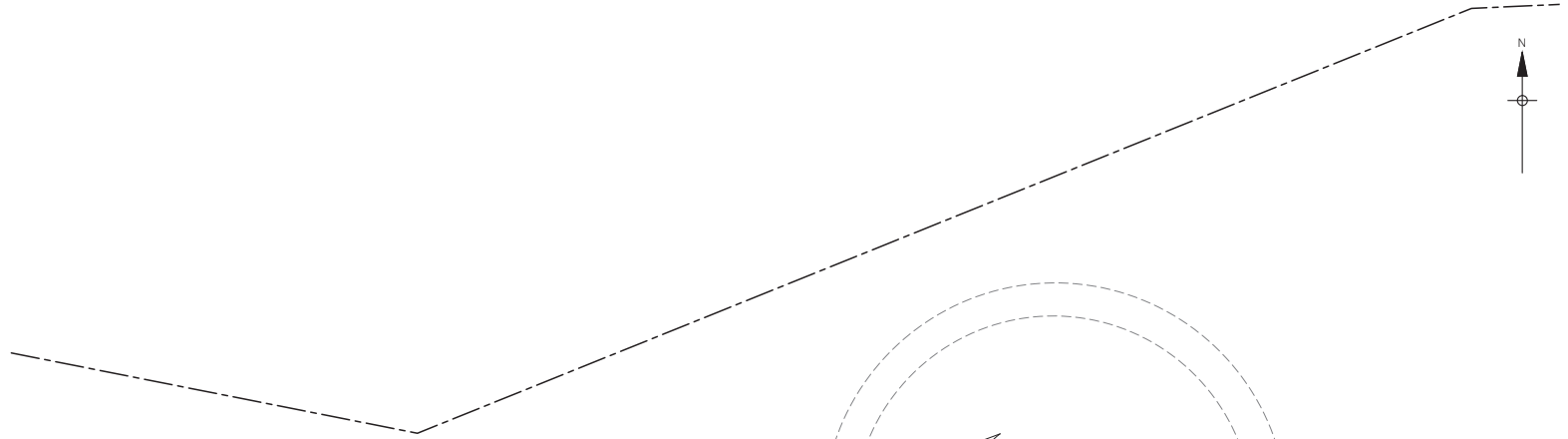
8.5.2 This mixed deposit may have resulted from the dumping of deposits intended to raise the level of the ground above that at risk of flooding and also to consolidate the ground in preparation for development of the area when the site lay within the grounds of the Manor of Paris Gardens. These dumped horizons may have been used in association with the earthworks of the curved route of Upper Ground to the north of the area which may represent an early embankment (Humphrey 2010). It is possible that, being within the grounds of the manor, this horizon may originally have been ploughed or worked as part of an agricultural or horticultural activities (ibid).

- 8.5.3 The post-medieval ground raising was truncated by the construction of a masonry foundation in the NW corner of the North Dig. These foundations are likely to have been associated or contemporary with the foundations and floors unearthed in the 2010 evaluation. The walls and floors observed did not appear to be structurally significant, suggesting internal divisions within a larger building, or small structures (Humphrey 2010) rather than load bearing wall elements.
- 8.5.4 The well or soakaway feature confirms post-medieval habitation of the site and ceramic building material dates suggest a pre mid-18th century date for these features.



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Figure 3
Plan of North Dig and Evaluation Trench 2
1:50 at A4

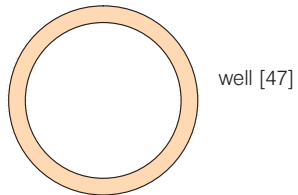
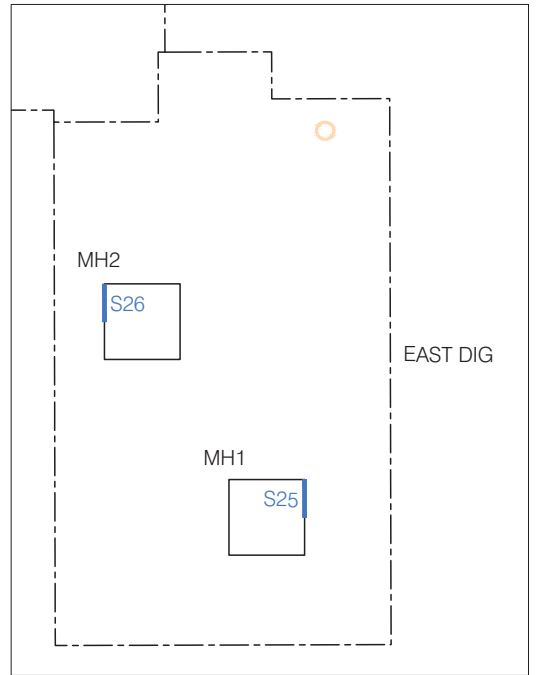


● timber [61]

0 2m

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Figure 4
Plan of West Dig
1:50 at A4



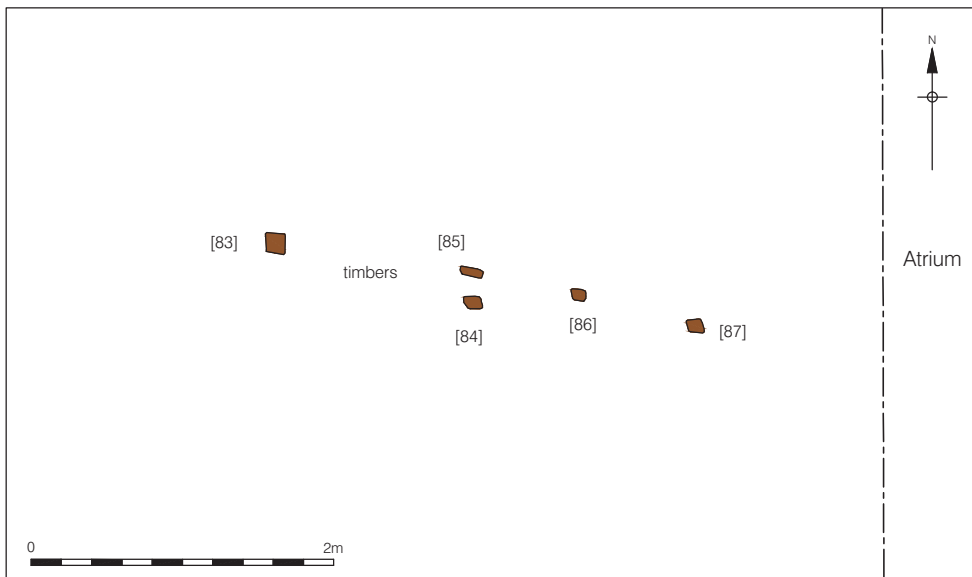
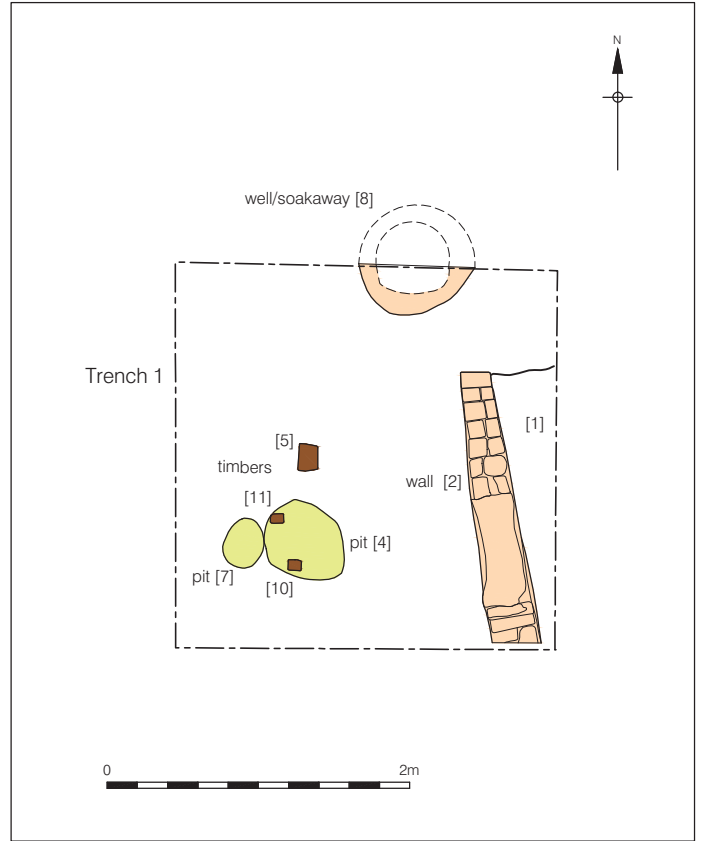
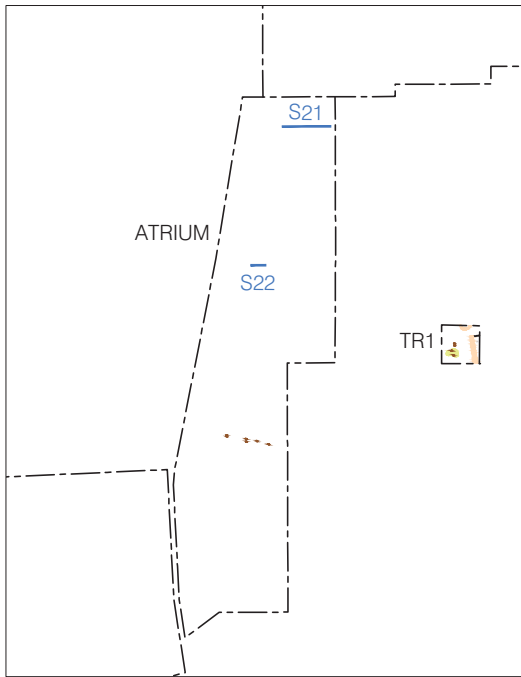
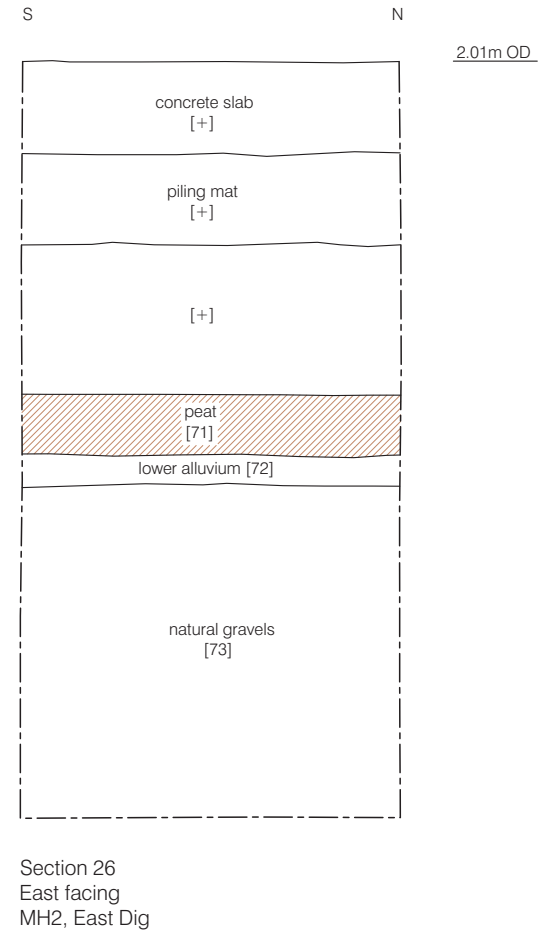
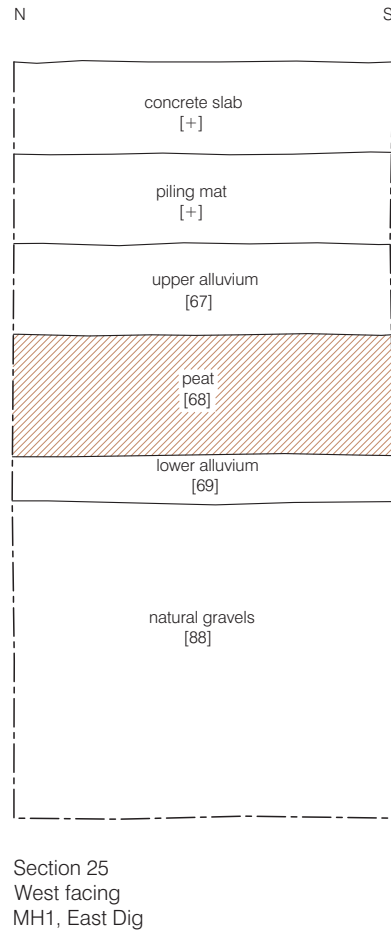
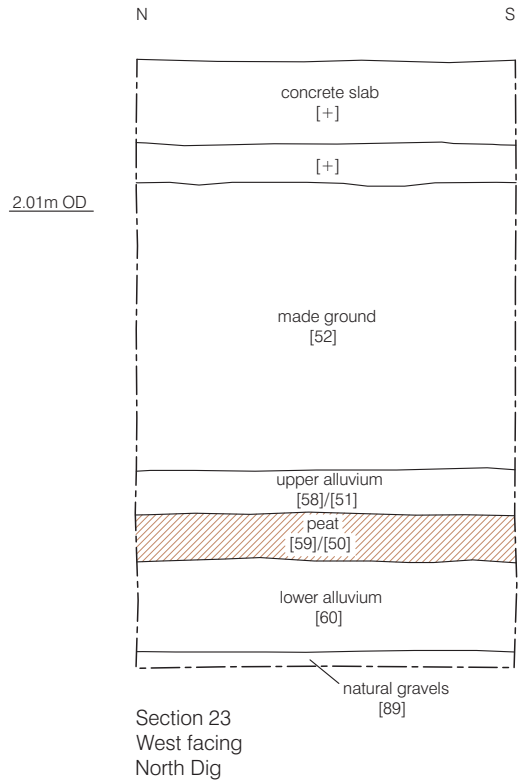
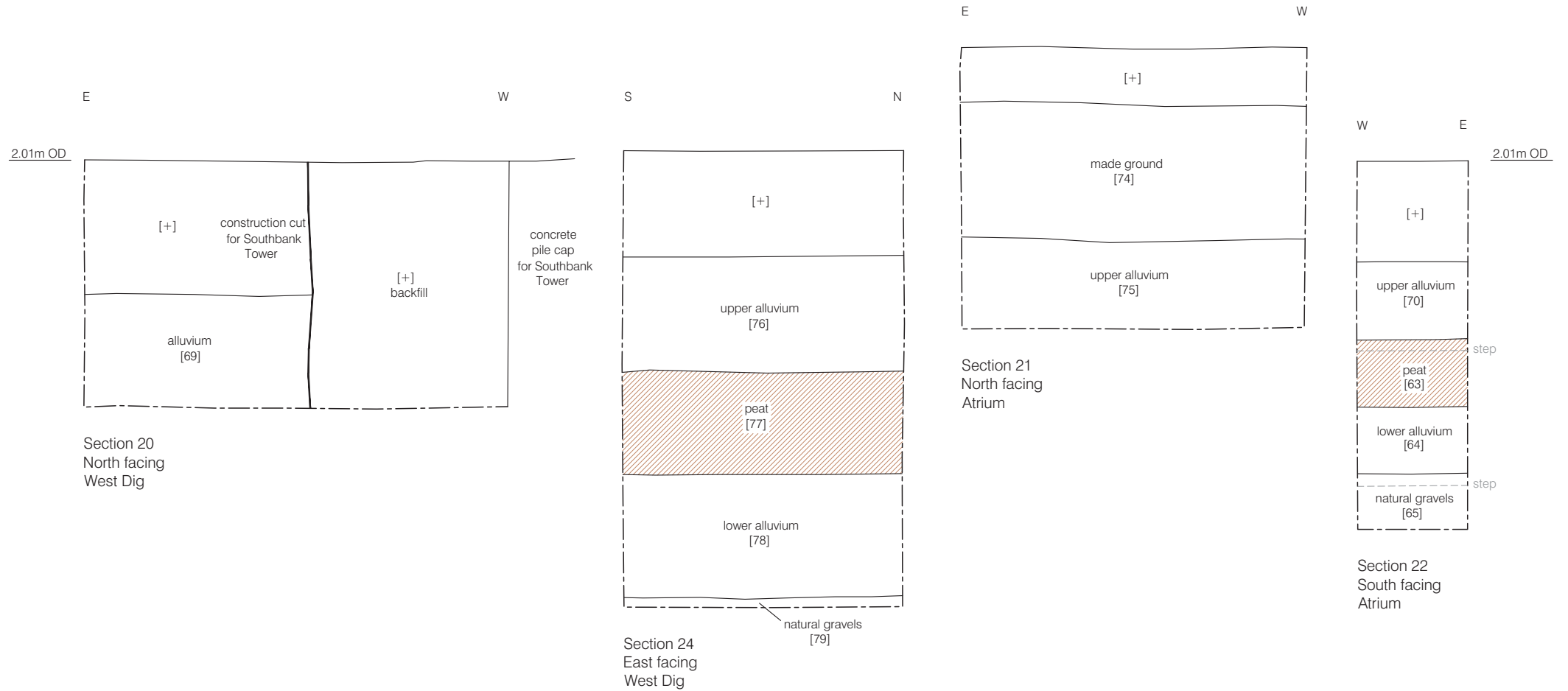


Figure 6
Plans of Atrium & Evaluation Trench 1
1:50 at A4





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Figure 8
Sections from the West Dig & Atrium
1:50 at A4

9 A SUMMARY OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL FINDINGS

- 9.1 The remains uncovered at the site comprise a natural sequence with at the base exposed deposits of sandy gravel followed by alluvial silty clay deposits, a layer of peat accumulation followed by further alluvial silty clays capped by elements of brick built and timber structures of post-medieval date.

10 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

10.1 Original Research Questions

- What are the nature, elevation and depth below the existing ground surface of the natural geology?
- Are there indications of archaeological features at the surface and cut into the natural geology? If so what is their function and what is their date?
- What is the nature and date of the earliest deposits overlaying the natural ground surface?
- What was the nature of the environment on site in the prehistoric period and is there evidence for activity on the site in this period?
- What was the nature of the environment on site in the Roman period and is there evidence for activity on the site in this period?
- At what point does the land become reclaimed from the river? How is this achieved?
- What is the nature and date of later deposits with respect to the medieval and post medieval land use, especially indications for the leisure industry, domestic development and the later industrial land use in the area.

10.2 Revised Research Questions

Additional research questions arising out of the excavations are as follows:

- A detailed review of the stratigraphic data compared with map and documentary sources should be used to achieve finer resolution phasing of the archaeological data from the post-medieval period.
- The late medieval and post-medieval history of the South Bank Tower site tells of a rich and remarkable past. Paris Garden Manor as a case in point, in the 16th century was a place of criminal sanctuary (Carlin 1996: 254-255) as well as an area of entertainment involving animal baiting, prostitution and theatres.
- There are extensive under-researched documentary sources on the site which would serve to contextualise the post medieval archaeological data set uncovered. For instance documents on the Manor of the Old Paris Garden owned for a while by Henry VIII's wife Jane Seymour and later becoming a focus for entertainment and activities better kept clear from the oversight of the authorities (Acc 2012/57), which

included the property can be reviewed at Southwark Local History library. A survey of the 16 / 17th century King's Bargehouse which stood to the immediate northwest of the site into the 17th century is present in the national archives at Kew (E 317/Surrey/49). In addition to the aforementioned numerous additional documentary sources remain currently un-assessed in a range of archives.

- Integration of archaeological data with the data from earlier archaeological work in the vicinity such as BR87, BRW92, HNT94, OBH96, SFO03, NAU04, BFX08, and KII10 would serve to establish the development of the site within its broader post-medieval urban context.
- The analysis of the topographic data collected and modelling of the site contours would be valuable for our understanding of the rationale behind the urban developments and dynamics across the site and the access, movement of and passage of people and goods through and around it. This type of analysis could be most instructive in explaining why this part of Southwark became so closely associated with the more unconventional element of its population.

11 IMPORTANCE OF THE RESULTS AND PUBLICATION PROPOSALS

11.1 IMPORTANCE OF THE RESULTS

The uncovered post-medieval archaeological resource and the rich documentary source material identified provide an important opportunity to research and understand the establishment of a specific and disruptive social groups in this part of Southwark. The presence and longevity of a community of entertainers and a focus on amusement and comfort for the visitors to this particular part of Southwark is of considerable interest. Questions relevant to the reasons for its establishment and success here need to be investigated. They may be rooted in aspects of traffic, access and egress facilities and related to its proximity to a readily interested customer base, away from the preying eyes of authority.

Such research could contribute to several of the research questions flagged up in Nixon et al 2002 'A research framework for London Archaeology 2002', such as:

M1 page 58 Targeting archaeological research which has the potential to complement documentary knowledge.

M3 page 60 Using the archaeological record to address issues of social status and, with reference to interpretations based on documentary sources, develop models which underline the areas where archaeological and documentary research can complement each other.

TD4 page 82 'Understanding the reasons for the evolution of road systems, street layouts, river crossings and ferries, and their importance as engines for development and change.

TS8 page 87 'Developing the evidence for 'assemblage signatures' for different groups of Londoners, including the 19th century, in recognition that many London communities may well have gone unrecorded and to that extent be 'without history'.

TC4 page 89 Analysing patterns of property ownership.

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Plans & sections	*	4	4

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Glass	1
Environmental bulk samples	2

(Box – standard archive box = 0.46m x 0.19m x 0.13m)

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APPENDIX 1 CONTEXT INDEX

Context	Area	Plan	Section	Type	Description	Phase
1	trench 1			Layer	Post-med. Ground raising	5
2	trench 1			Masonry	Crude redbrick wall	5
3	trench 1			Fill	Fill of [4]	5
4	trench 1			Cut	Cut of small pit	5
5	trench 1			Timber	Post	5
6	trench 1			Fill	Fill of [7]	5
7	trench 1			Cut	Cut of small pit	5
8	trench 1			Masonry	Redbrick well/soakaway	5
9	trench 1			Layer	Early post-med layer	5
10	trench 1			Timber	Post	5
11	trench 1			Timber	Post	5
12	trench 2			Layer	Post-med. Ground raising	5
13	trench 2			Masonry	N-S redbrick wall	5
14	trench 2			Masonry	Flagstone wall	5
15	trench 2			Layer	Bedding layer for [14]	5
16	trench 2			Layer	Early post-med layer	5
17	trench 4			Layer	Late med. To early post-med dump layer	5
18	trench 2			Layer	Dark organic layer - peat	3
19	trench 2			Layer	Brown clay	4
20	trench 2			Layer	Blue/grey alluvium	4
21	trench 1			Layer	Brown clay	4
22	trench 1			Layer	Blue/grey alluvium	4
23	trench 1			Layer	Dark organic layer - peat	3
24	trench 4			Layer	Brown clay	4
25	trench 4			Layer	Blue/grey alluvium	4
26	trench 4			Layer	Peat	3
27	trench 4			Layer	Post	5
28	trench 1			Layer	Peat	3
29	trench 1			Layer	Alluvium	4
30	trench 1			Layer	Gravelly-alluvium	1
31	trench 1			Layer	Natural Gravel	1
32	trench 2			Layer	Peat	3
33	trench 2			Layer	Alluvium	4
34	trench 2			Layer	Gravelly-alluvium	1
35	trench 2			Layer	Natural Gravel	1
36	trench 4			Layer	Brown clay	4
37	trench 4			Layer	Gravelly-alluvium	1
38	trench 4			Layer	Natural Gravel	1
39	trench 4			Layer	Alluvium	4
40	trench 2			Layer	Post-med. Demolition layer	5
41	trench 1			Cut	Construction cut for [8]	5
42	trench 3			Layer	Modern levelling layer/ ground raising	5
43	trench 3			Layer	Alluvium	4
44	trench 3			Layer	Peat	3

45	trench 3			Layer	Alluvium	4
46	trench 3			Layer	Natural Gravel	1
47	East Dig			Masonry	Post-medieval well	5
48	East Dig			Fill	Post-medieval fill of well [47]	5
49	East Dig			Layer	Post-medieval made ground	5
50	North Dig			Layer	Peat Layer	3
51	North Dig			Layer	Upper Alluvium	4
52	North Dig			Layer	Post-medieval made ground	5
53	North Dig	GPS		Masonry	Post-medieval wall	5
54	North Dig	GPS		Masonry	Post-medieval wall	5
55	East Dig			Layer	Upper Alluvium	4
56	West Dig	Pile 194	N/A	Layer	Upper alluvium	4
57	West Dig	Pile 201	N/A	Layer	Upper alluvium	4
58	North Dig	58	N/A	Layer	Upper alluvium	4
59	North Dig	59	N/A	Layer	Peat Layer	3
60	North Dig	59	N/A	Layer	Lower alluvium	2
61	West Dig	Pile 196	N/A	Timber	Timber pile	5
62	West Dig	Pile 197	N/A	Layer	Upper alluvium	4
63	Atrium	63	22	Layer	Peat Layer	3
64	Atrium	64	22	Layer	Lower alluvium	2
65	Atrium	65	22	Layer	Natural Gravels	1
66	Atrium	66	N/A	Layer	Natural Gravels	1
67	East Dig	67	N/A	Layer	Upper alluvium	4
68	East Dig	68	N/A	Layer	Peat Layer	3
69	East Dig	69	N/A	Layer	Lower alluvium	2
70	Atrium	70	20, 22	Layer	Upper alluvium	4
71	East Dig	71	N/A	Layer	Peat Layer	3
72	East Dig	72	N/A	Layer	Lower alluvium	2
73	East Dig	73	N/A	Layer	Natural Gravels	1
74	Atrium	N/A	21	Layer	Post-medieval dump	5
75	Atrium	N/A	21	Layer	Upper alluvium	4
76	West Dig	76	N/A	Layer	Upper alluvium	4
77	West Dig	77	N/A	Layer	Peat Layer	3
78	West Dig	78	N/A	Layer	Lower alluvium	2
79	West Dig	79	N/A	Layer	Natural Gravels	1
80	West Dig	76, 80	N/A	Masonry	Victorian well	5
81	West Dig	76, 80	N/A	Fill	Backfill of well	5
82	West Dig	76, 80	N/A	Cut	Construction cut for well	5
83	Atrium	83, 63	N/A	Timber	Timber post	5
84	Atrium	83, 63	N/A	Timber	Timber post	5
85	Atrium	83, 63	N/A	Timber	Timber post	5
86	Atrium	83, 63	N/A	Timber	Timber post	5
87	Atrium	83, 63	N/A	Timber	Timber post	5
88	East Dig	88	N/A	Layer	Natural Gravels	1
89	North Dig	89	N/A	Layer	Natural Gravels	1
90	East Dig	90	N/A	Cut	Construction cut for well [47]	5

APPENDIX 2: POTTERY ASSESSMENT

By Chris Jarrett

Introduction

A small size assemblage of pottery was recovered from the site (one box). The material dates exclusively to the post-medieval period. None of the sherds show evidence for abrasion and all were probably deposited fairly rapidly after breakage. The fragmentation of the pottery ranges from sherd material to vessels with complete profiles to one example which is intact except for its missing handle. The pottery was quantified by sherd count and estimated number of vessels (ENV), besides weight. Pottery was recovered from four contexts and individual deposits produced small (fewer than 30 sherds) groups of pottery.

All the pottery (22 sherds, 21 ENV, 1.002kg, of which none are unstratified) was examined macroscopically and microscopically using a binocular microscope (x20), and recorded in a database format, by fabric, form and decoration. The classification of the pottery types follows the Museum of London Archaeology typology (2013). The pottery is discussed by type and distribution.

THE POTTERY TYPES

The post-medieval pottery types and its quantification are shown in Tables 1, which also details which forms and wares are present. The majority of the pottery recorded from the Surrey-Hampshire border industry comprises whiteware (BORDG and Y), dated to AD 1550-1700 and this is present in the form of bowls or dishes. A redware (RBOR) sherd, dated to AD 1550-1700 is present from this source which is from an indeterminate form.

Pottery made in the London area occurs during the 18th century largely comprises three types: red earthenware, tin-glazed ware and stoneware. Local redware was found in context [1]. A single sherd of London-area post-medieval slipped redware with green glaze (PMSRG), dated to AD 1480-1650 is represented by a fragment from a deep walled vessel. As it is well glazed it is more likely to date to after *c.* AD 1580. A body sherd of London-area post-medieval redware (PMR), dated to AD 1580-1900 is derives from an indeterminate form, possibly a deep bowl or jar. A sherd of tin-glazed ware (TGW) was recovered from context [3] and appears to be a probable waster from a local pot house. It comprises a wall sherd from a probable dish. A single piece of London stoneware (LONS) item present is a nearly intact squat rounded jug which has a missing

handle. The form is that of a slightly debased German *bartmann* shape dating to the late 18th century (Green 1999, fig. 126. 318). This vessel was recovered from context [17].

Code	Pottery type	Date range	SC	ENV	Wt (g)	Forms
Britain						
CREA	Creamware	1740-1830		1	2	Saucer
ENGS	English brown salt-glazed stoneware	1700-1900		1	59	Bottle: cylindrical
LUST	Lustreware	1805-1900		1	25	teapot
PEAR TR	Pearlware with transfer-printed decoration	1770-1840		2	18	Plate: dinner
STSL	Staffordshire-type combed slipware	1660-1870		1	42	Dish: rounded
TPW	Refined whiteware with under-glaze transfer-printed decoration	1780-1900		1	7	Plate: dinner
YELL	Yellow ware	1820-1900		1	74	Bowl; deep carinated
YELL SLIP	Yellow ware with slip decoration	1820-1900		1	14	-
Essex						
PMBL	Essex-type post-medieval black-glazed redware	1580-1700	1	1	51	Mug; cylindrical
London						
LONS	London stoneware	1670-1926	1	1	541	Jug; squat rounded
PMR	London-area post-medieval redware	1580-1900	1	1	36	-
PMSRG	London-area post-medieval slipped redware with green glaze	1480-1650	2	1	25	-
TGW	English tin-glazed ware	1570-1846	1	1	1	-
Midlands						
RESTG	Glazed red stoneware	1760-1780	1	1	27	-
Surrey-Hampshire borders						
BORDG	Surrey-Hampshire border whiteware with green glaze	1550-1700	1	1	18	Bowl or dish
BORDY	Surrey-Hampshire border whiteware with clear (yellow)	1550-1700	2	2	26	Dish

Code	Pottery type		Date range	SC	ENV	Wt (g)	Forms
	glaze						
RBOR	Surrey-Hampshire redware	border	1550-1900	2	2	11	-
	Unknown						
CONP	Continental porcelain		1710-1900	1	1	25	Bowl

Table 1. KII10: post-medieval pottery types and their forms quantified by sherd count (SC), estimated number of vessels (ENV) and weight

A single item originates from Essex comprising the base of a cylindrical mug made in post-medieval black-glazed redware (PMBL), dated to AD 1580-1700 and the item was found in context [3].

The industrial finewares identified date to after c. AD 1740. These comprise creamware, pearl ware and transfer-printed ware. The refined whitewares were made at a number of different British locations and those present in the assemblage all derived from context [1]. They mostly consist of table wares, particularly plates, besides a small number of tea wares (see Table 1 for a breakdown of the forms for each pottery type). The transfer-printed plates have either the Willow pattern, here dated to c. AD 1789 and the Albion pattern, dated to the mid 19th century. Other earthenwares originating from a range of different British locations were all found in context [1]. These are a purple high-fired body luster ware (LUST) teapot fragment with a red transfer-printed design featuring a figure of which the top of the head only survives. A dish is present in a combed slipware (STSL) and a deep carinated bowl was identified in Yellow ware (YELL), dated after AD 1820.

The stonewares consist of a glazed red stoneware (RESTG) vessel with a foot ring dated to c. AD 1760-1800 which was found in context [17] while an early 19th-century English brown salt-glazed stoneware (ENGS) cylindrical bottle has a stamp for J. Bourne, Codnor Park, Derbyshire.

The only imported ware identified comprises the base and foot ring of a Continental porcelain rounded bowl found in context [1].

DISTRIBUTION

Table 2 shows the contexts containing pottery, the number of sherds, the pottery types in the deposit and a spot date for the group. All of the pottery recovered comes from Phase 5 deposits.

Context	Phase	Assemblage size	SC	ENV	Wt (g)	Context ED	Context LD	Pottery types	Context date
1	5	S	15	14	356	1820	1900	BORDY, CONP, CREA, ENGS, LUST, PEAR TR, PMR, PMSRG, RBOR, STSL, TPW, YELL, YELL SLIP	Mid 19th century
3	5	S	4	4	60	1580	1700	BORDY, PMBL, RBOR, TGW	1580-1700
12	5	S	1	1	18	1550	1700	BORDG	1550-1700
17	5	S	2	2	568	1740	1800	LONS, RESTG	1740-1800

Table 2. DKN11: Distribution of the post-Roman pottery showing the phase, size of the assemblage, the number of sherds (SC), Estimated number of vessels (ENV), weight, the earliest and latest date for the latest pottery type present (context ED and LD), the pottery types found and a spot date (context considered date) for each context pottery was recovered from.

Significance of the collection

The pottery has some significance at a local level. It is in keeping with the ceramic profile for the London area. The post-medieval pottery is important for demonstrating activities on or in the vicinity of the area of the excavation. Of interest is the largely intact London stoneware squat rounded jug. Other comparable assemblages of medieval and post-medieval pottery have been recovered from Ewer Street (Jarrett 2013).

Potential

The pottery has the potential to date the features and deposits from which it was recovered and to provide a sequence for them. Some of the pottery merits illustration or photographing. The post-medieval pottery can demonstrate some of the activities taking place at the site from the 17th century onwards

Recommendations for further work

A short publication report on the assemblage is recommended and one vessel (the London stoneware squat rounded jug) should be illustrated and a group shot of the pottery from context [1] should be photographed to supplement the text.

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<http://www.museumoflondonarchaeology.org.uk/Publications/Online-Resources/>

MOLA-ceramic-codes.htm

APPENDIX 3: Assessment of the Building Material

By K. Hayward

Introduction and aims

3 shoe boxes of brick, stone and mortar were retained from the watching brief at South Bank Tower, Stamford Street, London Borough of Southwark (KII10) NGR TQ 3150 8045

This small sized assemblage (23 examples 14.5kg), was assessed in order to

- Identify (under binocular microscope) the fabric and forms of the medieval and post-medieval ceramic building material
- Identify the geological character and source of the worked and unworked stone objects recovered from the excavations
- Compilation of a database (KII.mdb)
- Make recommendations for further study.

Methodology

In accordance with PCA sampling guidelines, two whole brick samples were taken from the in-situ walls [2] [8] [13].

For the material retained from the excavation, the application of a 1kg masons hammer and sharp chisel to each example ensured that a small fresh fabric surface was exposed. The fabric was examined at x20 magnification using a long arm stereomicroscope or hand lens (Gowland x10) and the samples were compared with the PCA building materials reference collection and allocated the appropriate Museum of London fabric codes.

Ceramic building material 20 examples 13.9 kg

A majority of the ceramic building material consisted of whole post-medieval brick samples taken from the three extant walls revealed during the evaluation & watching brief [2] [8] [13]. The remainder of the material was medieval or post medieval in date, found either in a broken up and/or abraded condition. No Roman tile or brick was recovered.

Medieval ceramic building material 2 examples 45g

Two abraded flecks of medieval roofing tile from [3] and [6] were the sum total of building material from this period.

Sandy fabric 2271 (AD 1180-1450)

Any glaze from these peg tile fragments had been removed due to abrasion which may have been the result of river reworking and deposition during flooding episodes. The fabric, the very common sandy 2271 with a reduced core has a long period of manufacture (AD 1180-1800). These examples are medieval in date because these fragments share characteristics (narrow (<10mm): coarse moulding sand) typical of its early manufacture.

Post- medieval ceramic building material 18 examples 13.8 kg

The fabric and form of the small brick, peg tile, pan tile and wall tile assemblage can be divided into an early post medieval group and a late 18th to early/mid 19th century group.

Early Post Medieval

Brick 7 examples 6.2kg

3046 (AD 1450-1800) Deep red sandy fabric

3065 (AD 1450-1800) Red sandy fabric with flint inclusions

3033 (AD 1450-1700) Crinkly red sandy

The earliest brick fabrics are the early post medieval red bricks made out of locally acquired brickearth. Of the three structures, they are only found in the north-south trending redbrick wall [13] which dates this feature to a construction period to between AD 1450 and 1700 for central London and Southwark.

The three sub-fabrics, the very sandy 3046, flint rich 3065 and fine sandy 3033 are very much variations on a theme. The form of the brick from [13] is also characteristic of early post medieval manufacture i.e. it is poorly made, has sunken margins and has a shallow (58mm) and wide (112mm) form.

In all cases these bricks are adhered with a light brown lime, shelly mortar. T1 (see below)

Later Post Medieval

Brick 7 examples 7.2kg

3032; 3032R; 3034 (1664-1900) Post Great Fire purple clinker rich fabric

A crude red brick wall [2] and red brick well or soak away [8] are constructed out of small (215mm) narrow (95-100mm) unfrosted red brick made from the post great fire fabrics only used after 1664. In each case the dimensions of the brick are in accordance with the brick tax regulations brought in by government legislation in 1776 to reduce and standardise brick size. Other factors that support a late 18th to early 19th century date are the fact that one of the bricks from [8] is frosted, something that does not happen until AD 1750 and the use of a grey clinker rich mortar (T2) in use in London from the mid 18th century.

1776	Brick size regulation Act: took effect July 1777, first blanket national legislation. Min. size of bricks at 8 ½ x 4 x 2 ½ ". Last legislation on sizes until the 20 th century, remained in force until the 19 th century	216 x 101.5 x 63.5	Parliament (Act)
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Figure 1 Table showing date of brick legislation

Roofing Material 3 examples 0.5kg

Peg Tile

2276 (AD 1480-1900) fine local sandy fabric 1 example 0.2kg

Part of a later post medieval rectangular shaped roofing tile, which would have had nails attached, at one end was recovered from a post medieval ground raising level [1].

Pan Tile (AD 1630-1850) 2 examples 0.3kg

2279 fine local sandy fabric

The fashion for using curved, nibbed pan tile to roof housing only became important from the second half of the mid-17th century onwards. This example was recovered from a post medieval ground raising level [1]

Wall Tile 1 example <0.1 kg

3078W

Part of a corner of a tin-glazed wall tile comparable somewhat with delftware imitation designs (Betts & Weinstein 2010) from the Norfolk House Kiln (AD 1740-1780) was recovered from a post medieval dump layer [17]

Mortar Types

Mortar/Concrete Type	Description	Use at KII10
<i>Type 1 Light brown mortar</i>	Relatively hard, shelly light brown lime sandy mortar	Associated with early post medieval red bricks from redbrick wall [13] and found in dumps at [17] AD 1450-1700
<i>Type 2 Light grey clinker mortar</i>	Light Grey clinker mortar	AD 1780-1900 common later post medieval mortar type for London associated with narrow post great fire crude brick wall [2].

Figure 2 Listing of Mortar types, distribution and use at KII10.

A single fragment of eroded fired clay came from sample <101> context [63] which was attributed to phase 3. This piece of clay appears to have been subjected to a relatively high firing temperature and therefore is likely to be of Roman and considering the absence of any other Roman material more likely post-Roman date. It is expected therefore that this small piece of fired clay represents later contamination of this prehistoric context.

STONE 3 examples 0.6 kg

Distribution

Very few stone types and variety was recovered and as such deserves only brief comment.

The geological type, source and use of the two lithotypes identified from these evaluation and Watching brief are summarised below (Figure 3).

Geological Type and source	Description	Use at KII10
3120 Kimmeridge Oil shale Upper Jurassic (Kimmeridgian) Dorset	Light-grey black vitreous shale	Fuel 1 example 0.1kg
3120 Westmoreland Slate Palaeozoic, Coniston Area Lake District	Metamorphosed green-brown tuffaceous mudstone	Roofing Material from post medieval dump [17] 2 examples 0.5kg

Figure 3 Listing of rock types, geological source, distribution and use at KII10

The only item of interest is the use of Westmorland Slate as roofing. Where it does occur in London, this green coloured roofing slate appears to be associated with higher status housing from the 17th and 18th century. e.g. Montagu Place (Hayward 2011a). It was widely quarried and supplied as a

roofing material throughout the British Isles (Stanier 2000). Its presence in a post medieval dump [17] may therefore provide evidence for earlier housing in this area.

PHASE SUMMARY

Medieval Activity

The earliest examples of building material from the site are fragments of medieval peg tile. The fact that they were heavily abraded suggests that these had been reworked and may merely represent consolidation or dumped material. No Roman material was recovered.

Post Medieval Activity

On the basis of brick type and mortar, two phases of walling were identified from this site.

The first from [13] is made wholly out of Tudor type bricks, fabric 3033; 3046; 3065 (1450-1700), bonded in a lime, shelly mortar (M1) typical of early post medieval build. The identification of bright green-blue Westmoreland roofing slate from a later dump may have proved a fitting colourful covering for a high status house.

Second, the wall from [2] and the well/soakaway from [8]. These are made from narrow unfrogged, frogged post great fire bricks 3032 of a width in keeping with legislation brought about in AD 1776 by the government to regulate brick size. Some are frogged and bonded in a grey clinker mortar typical of the mid 18th to 19th century. In all probability, both features relate to the AD 1813 building of Stamford Street.

DISTRIBUTION

All contexts structures in bold

Context	Fabric	Form	Size	Date range of material		Latest dated material		Spot date	Spot date with mortar
1	2276; 2279; 3046; 3032R; 3034R	Later post medieval peg tile, pan tile, early post medieval brick and post great fire brick	6	1450	1900	1664	1900	1780-1900	No mortar
2	3032; 3034	Narrow post great	2	1664	1900	1780	1900	1780-1900	1750-1900

Context	Fabric	Form	Size	Date range of material	Latest dated material	Spot date	Spot date with mortar		
		fire unfrogged bricks T2 clinker mortar							
3	3120; 2271	Medieval peg tile and Burnt Kimmeridge Shale	2	1180	1900	1500	1900	1500-1800	No mortar
6	2271	Medieval peg tile	1	1180	1800	1180	1800	1300-1700	No mortar
8	3032; 3034	Reused Narrow frogged and unfrogged post great fire bricks no mortar	2	1664	1900	1664	1900	1780-1900	No mortar
13	3065; 3033; 3101	Wide, shallow early post medieval red sandy bricks; T1 lime shelly mortar	2	1450	1700	1450	1700	1450-1700	1450-1700
17	3120; 3046; 3078W; 3101	Westmoreland Green Roofing Slate; Norfolk House Tin-Glaze Wall Tile and early post great fire brick T1 mortar adhered	6	1450	1800	1600	1800	1740-1780+	1450-1700 (residual)

RECOMMENDATIONS / POTENTIAL

Other than as dating evidence for the Victorian structural expansion of this part of Southwark, the value in this small sized building material assemblage, lies with the identification of fresh Tudor red brick and mortar from structure [13]. These bricks may have been used in the construction of a 16th and 17th high status structure. It may be possible to assign a more precise date to these bricks using the developing rehydroxylation technique (RHX) (Wilson 2009) which has already found success in helping to support an early 17th century date for the bricks from the “Strand Lane Bath House” and the brick cistern to the gardens of Somerset House (Hayward 2011b; Trapp 2012) . Samples of brick from [13] could be analysed in a similar way using facilities and technical support at the University of Reading or another institute to identify whether the brick fits in with a 16th or 17th century date. Comparison and contrasting of the feature locations and dating results with documentary sources could assist in confirming which buildings these structures formed part of. The results could be included in a short publication from the site. Parallels may also be sought for the use of bright blue-green Westmoreland Slate in high status buildings from early post medieval London,

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APPENDIX 4: Glass Assessment

Glass assessment (KII10)

By Chris Jarrett

A small assemblage of glass was recovered from the site (one box) and this consisted of three fragments/three estimated number of vessels (ENV)/22g found solely in one context: [1]. The glass is in a good condition and was likely to have been deposited soon after breakage. The glass dates to the post-medieval period and where datable largely to after c. AD 1740.

The forms

English cylindrical wine bottle, early type

Olive green, high-lime low alkali (HLLA) glass with sparse bubbles, free-blown, one fragment, 1 ENV/213g. Splayed base (90mm in diameter) with a rounded shallow kick. c. AD 1740-1900.

English cylindrical wine bottle, late type

Olive green, high-lime low alkali (HLLA) glass with sparse bubbles, ?moulded, one fragment, 1 ENV/8g. Base with a straight-sided wall. c. AD 1810 onwards.

Window pane

Clear, iridescent soda glass with natural weathering, unknown manufacturing technique, one fragment, 1 ENV/1g. Post-medieval.

Distribution

All of the glass was recovered from context [1], Phase 5 and the latest item recorded is of a type of English cylindrical wine bottle, dated to after c.AD 1810. ,

Significance, potential and recommendations for further work

The assemblage consists of common types of glassware found in the London area. The potential it has is to date the context in which it was found. Its description can be included in publication but there are no recommendations for further work on the assemblage.

APPENDIX 5: Clay tobacco pipe assessment

By Chris Jarrett

A small assemblage of clay tobacco pipe was recovered from the site (one box). This consists entirely of stems: nine fragments found in four contexts with none of the material being unstratified. The stems are in a good condition and are likely to have been deposited soon after breakage. The stems have been broadly dated according to their thickness and the diameter of the bores. The distribution of the stems is shown in Table 1 and these were all recovered from Phase 5 dated deposits.

Context	Phase	Assemblage size	F C	Context ED	Context LD	Context considered date
1	5	S	5	1580	1910	1730-1910
3	5	S	1	1580	1910	1580-1740
12	5	S	2	1580	1910	1730-1910
17	5	S	1	1580	1910	1580-1740

Table 1. KII10: distribution of the clay tobacco pipe stems showing the phase in which they occurred, the size of the assemblage, the number of fragments (FC), the date range of the material (Context ED and LD) and a spot (context considered) date.

Significance, potential and recommendations for further work

The assemblage has no significance as it consists of only broadly dated stems without makers marks. The potential of the stems are to provide broad dating for the contexts in which they were found. There are no recommendations for further work on the assemblage.

APPENDIX 6: Assessment of the documentary resource

By Guy Thompson

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Introduction: Southwark after the Norman Conquest

Evidence of the origins of the medieval manor of Paris Garden is somewhat fragmentary. Documentary evidence suggests that the late Saxon borough of Southwark was a settlement of some significance, which was listed in the early 10th century manuscript known as the Burghal Hidage. Long-standing ties between Southwark and its hinterland in the adjoining county of Surrey survived into the late 11th century, and were reflected in the number of properties in the borough held by manors there including Mortlake, Oxted, Walkingstead (Godstone), Chevington, Bletchingley, Walton-on-the-Hill, Long Ditton and Beddington at the time of the Conquest. The tenure of these properties appears to reflect an earlier military service obligation owed by these Surrey manors to the borough (Malden, 1912: 125-135).

It is apparent from the references to property in Southwark in the Domesday Book of AD 1086 that the Norman Conquest led to the break-up of many of the existing patterns of ownership within the borough, as competing Norman lords scrambled to appropriate lucrative holdings to their own estates. The Domesday Book lists a number of extremely powerful landowners who held property in 'Sudwerca/Sudwerche', including the Conqueror's half-brother, Odo Bishop of Bayeux, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Count Eustace of Boulogne, Richard of Tonbridge, as well as lesser lords such as Miles Crispin (Williams & Martin, 2002: 72, 73, 76, 80, 81, 82, 86). The Bishop of Bayeux's holding included "one minster and one tideway", formerly held by King Edward the Confessor, whilst Count Eustace held a fishery there with an annual yield of 2,000 herrings (*ibid*: 76, 80). The over-mighty Bishop appears to have been the most assertive of the new owners, at one point launching an abortive lawsuit to appropriate the tolls levied on ships using the Thames, two thirds of which had previously been rendered to the Crown (*ibid*: 76).

The estate of Wideflete in the Middle Ages

Although the Crown reasserted its rights over Southwark, most probably in the wake of the disgrace of the Bishop of Bayeux in 1082, it never regained the ascendancy that it held during the late Saxon period. This was in large part due to the tendency during the 12th century of local lay landlords to grant property within the borough to ecclesiastical foundations, the chief beneficiary of which was the Priory of Bermondsey. Following its foundation by a group of Cluniac monks in AD 1082, the Priory was granted the manor of Bermondsey by William II in 1096. This was followed a few years later by the grant of a hide of land in Southwark by William's successor Henry I. During the century that followed, part of this land was subsequently granted to the Bishop of Winchester, becoming known subsequently as the Bishop of Winchester's Liberty or the Clink Liberty (Roberts & Godfrey, 1950: 1-8)

The earliest unambiguous reference to the property later known as the manor of Paris Garden appeared in a record of an early 12th century property transaction. In AD 1113 Robert Marmion/Marmyon, the son of a follower of the Conqueror (also Robert Marmion), granted a hide of land in Southwark comprising nearly 100 acres known as Wideflete with a mill and appurtenances in Southwark, Lambeth, Kennington and Newington to the Prior of Bermondsey (Norman, 1901: 56). The property was also styled 'the Wylwys' or 'the Wiles' (i.e. 'the willows') in medieval documents. The name of the property was most likely derived from the Old English term for willow stream, suggesting that it was a low-lying piece of land bisected by one or more streams (Roberts & Godfrey, 1950: 94).

Later medieval descriptions of the property, together with maps surveyed in the 16th and 17th centuries indicate that Wideflete was bounded on the north by the River Thames and on the remaining three sides by a stream or sewer which encircled the property in a wide meandering loop (**Figures 9 and 10**). This stream was known subsequently as the Pudding Mill Stream, and powered a water mill of that name which stood beside a mill pond situated towards the eastern end of the manor, close to the Thames. It is possible that the mill recorded in Marmion's grant of AD 1133 was situated in this location. The eastern end of the stream joined the Thames at nearby Falcon Wharf [to the east of the present Blackfriars Bridge], whereas the western end exited into the Thames at the north-west end of the manor, where it adjoined the neighbouring manor of Lambeth. The land encompassed by the stream was low-lying, marshy and prone to flooding. This ground was drained by open sewers, which discharged into the Pudding Mill Stream. Post-medieval maps indicate that large areas of the manor were impossible to build upon until the early 19th century, when main drainage was finally introduced. Medieval accounts and later maps suggest that the Pudding Mill Stream was flanked by earthen banks, a fragment of which is preserved in the alignment of the street named Broadwall. There was also an embankment along the Thames at Upper Ground, the alignment of which is preserved in the modern Upper Ground Street. It has been claimed that houses stood in Upper Ground in the early 14th century or earlier (Roberts & Godfrey, 1950: 94). The 'Agas' map of AD 1561 showed a fringe of properties along the north side of this street, the land to the south being too marshy for human habitation (**Figure 9**).

In AD 1166 Reynold, the Prior of Bermondsey, granted Wideflete, its men, mills, waters, ponds and other appurtenances, to the brothers of the Temple (the Knights Templar) to hold for a yearly rent of 10 marks (Malden, 1912: 141-151). A confirmation of this grant dated to the reign of Henry II (r.1154-1189) described the property as comprising "all that hide of Wideflete which abuts on the river against the new Temple, of the fee of Robert Marmyun, with the mills and men upon the same" (Roberts & Godfrey, 1950: 94-100).

A survey of the Templars' property in Southwark undertaken in AD 1308 stated that Wideflete was predominantly meadow with a few acres of arable, most of which was ditched and walled in order to protect against flooding by the Thames. In addition to the grazing and cultivable areas, the estate contained a dilapidated and ruinous house, three cottages and a number of water mills, also in need

of repair. Two years after this survey was carried out, Edward II issued orders for the arrest and imprisonment of members of the Order in the wake of their earlier suppression in France. Officials appointed by the Crown were given custody of Templar property while the Order was investigated for heresy. In May 1311 the King ordered William de Monte Alto [probably a member of the Montalt family of Castle Rising, Norfolk], described as the “keeper of the Templars' lands in Suthwerk”, “to cause the walls (*wallias*) and ditches on the bank of the Thames pertaining to the said lands to be repaired out of the issues of the said lands” (Maxwell Lyte, 1892: 312).

Following the dissolution of the Templars in England, the manor was granted with their other former possessions to the Prior and knights of the Order of St John of Jerusalem (the Knights Hospitaller) in AD 1324. Like many of their contemporaries, the new owners chose to farm out their acquisition to lessees. A charter of AD 1337 granted four water mills “called le Temple milnes” on the river bank and a close of land known as “le Wyles” to Joan, widow of Robert Swalclive, citizen, alderman and sometime Recorder and MP for the City of London (Roberts & Godfrey, 1950: 94-100; Sharpe, 1903: 271-288, 341-369). Swalclive, who had extensive property holdings in the environs of the capital, had previously had a lease of two water mills and a pasture in Wideflete. In the mid-1390s the Hospitallers leased all their “waste and marshy ground opposite London” to Stephen Speleman, citizen and mercer of London. The grant described the property as lying between the road running from “les Stywes” (in the Clink Liberty) to Lambeth (Roberts & Godfrey, 1950: *ibid*). Like Swalclive before him, Speleman was a prominent citizen, who held the offices of Chamberlain (AD 1391-1401) and alderman of the City (1 AD 406-1416) (Beaven, 1908: lxiv). On his death in AD 1419 Speleman had extensive property holdings in the City, including shops, houses and breweries, as well as land in Bedfordshire and Essex (Sharpe, 1890: 416-419).

The Manor and Liberty of Paris Garden in the 15th century

Stephen Speleman was succeeded as lessee of Wideflete by John, Duke of Bedford, who was in possession of the farm in 1420 (Roberts & Godfrey, 1950: *ibid*). Ordinances of that year identified the property as “the privileged place called parish gardyn otherwise called Wideflete or Wyles”; the earliest references both to the name by which it would subsequently become known and to the property’s status as a ‘privileged place’, or liberty, within which private rights of jurisdiction applied (*ibid*). These rights were most probably a legacy of the property’s earlier possession by the Templars, who had enjoyed immunity under a papal bull of 1200 (Malden, 1912: 141-151). The privileges pertaining to the liberty were clearly defined by the Duke of Bedford, whose ordinances stipulated the conditions under which fugitives from justice elsewhere might gain admission to the liberty, their obligations once admitted and the fines that were to be imposed upon anyone who committed felonies within the liberty.

Little is known about the history of Paris Garden during the years between the death of the Duke of Bedford in AD 1435 and 1460, when the Court Rolls of the manor of “Paresgarden alias wyls” began. Nor is it known whether the manor continued to be farmed, or whether it reverted to the direct management of the Hospitallers during these decades. In the 1470s and 1480s the manor was

identified in documents as the lordship of St. John at Parys Garden (Malden, 1912: *ibid*). That the Order continued to take an interest in the affairs of the manor is indicated by an order of AD 1489, which instructed the tenants of the manor to place crosses on their houses “as other tenants of the Prior of St John of Jerusalem in England were accustomed to do” (Roberts & Godfrey, 1950: *ibid*).

In the late 1490s the lease of Paris Garden was in the possession of one John Hellow, who was described in a contemporary document as a ‘pikeman’ of London (presumably a fishmonger) and as the “keeper of Paris Garden” (TNA C 1/121/15). By Hellow’s time the farmer of the manor had the use of a ‘mansion’, from which the estate was managed and justice was dispensed. There is evidence that this property (or its predecessor) was in the possession of one Robert de Paris during the reign of Richard II (r.1377-1399) (Norman, 1901: 59; Walford, 1878: 368-383). In June AD 1505 Sir Thomas Docrwa, the Prior of the Order granted the farm of the manor to Robert Udale (alias Uvedale), citizen, moneylender and goldsmith of London for a term of 31 years at an annual rent of £8 13s. 4d. Udale’s lease contains a detailed description of the mansion and the lands surrounding it, which reveals much about the composition of the late medieval manor. The property comprised:

“ther mansion place of Paris Garden in the countie of Surry, as it standith within the mote ther; and also iij [two] gardens butting upon the said mansion place wt the gate house, and with iiij [three] pastures called the pownde yarde, the conyng garth, the chapel hawe, and wolnot tres wt the appertanances like as oon John Hellow lately all the same held and occupied and also other pasturs about the dikes ther called the Willowes, woddes and trees upon the said pastures ther growing oonely except, and to the foresaid prior and his succrs alwey res’ve’d” (*The Gentleman’s Magazine*, 1833: 508). Udale’s acquisition thus comprised a manor house, with gate house and gardens enclosed by a moat; three adjacent closes known by their current or former functions, i.e. an enclosure for stray or escaped livestock belonging to manorial tenants (the pound, or ‘Pownde yard’), a rabbit warren (the ‘conyng garth’) and a field (‘hawe’) that may once have contained a manorial chapel. The property also included a pasture called the Willows, which was protected by dykes; although it is striking that the property appears to have contained little, if any arable land, a consequence of its propensity to flooding.

Robert Udale renewed his lease on the property for a further 30 years in 1518 (Malden, 1912: 141-151). In 1524 Robert Amadas, a fellow goldsmith (and subsequently Master of the Jewels to Henry VIII) leased the same premises for a term of 40 years at an annual rent of £10 (*ibid*). The extent to which either Uvedale or Amadas played an active role in the administration of the manor is not known, and it is possible that both did little more than collect the income that the farm generated.

The Manor of Paris Garden during the 16th century

The surrender of the Abbey of St Saviour in 1536 brought to an end Bermondsey Abbey’s rights over the manor, which was conveyed into the possession of the Crown. The same year the manorial rights and title were briefly assigned to Jane Seymour as part of her dowry on her marriage to Henry VIII; however on her death in October 1537 the manor promptly reverted to the Crown. Shortly afterwards it was leased to a certain Robert Urmiston. The dissolution also resulted in the creation of the parish

of St Saviour, which was created out of the union of the old parish of St Margaret Southwark (of which Paris Garden was part) and the parish of St Mary Magdalene Overy in AD 1540 (Norman, 1901: 60).

In 1542 the Court of Augmentations (which handled the disposal of former monastic property) recorded the lease for a term of 21 years to one William Baseley of 'Parisgarden' of the "messuage called Parisgarden and marsh land, parcel of Kennington manor, Surrey" (*Letters and Papers Henry VIII*, xvii, 690-705). The terms of the lease indicate that Baseley took possession of the mansion house and the adjacent parcel of land only. Four years later William Baseley enlarged his holding when he obtained a 21 year lease of "Lands in Lambeth Marshe and St. George's Felde in St. George's parish, Southwark and Lambeth", although he did not acquire the title to either of the two manors (*Letters and Papers, Henry VIII*, xxi part 1, 7771).

According to the *Survey of London*, the mansion house of Paris Garden was in a ruinous state when it was acquired by Baseley, who repaired the property and dwelt there for the next 24 years (Roberts & Godfrey, 1950: 94-100). During this time it is claimed that Baseley turned it into a public gaming place, with "cardes, dyze and tables" indoors and bowling alleys outside (*ibid*). He is reputed to have acquired a licence from the Crown to maintain it as such, despite Parliament's prohibition of the game of bowls in AD 1543 (*ibid*; Malden, 1912: 141-151).

Throughout the period of Baseley's lease, the title to the manor of Paris Garden remained in the possession of the Crown. In AD 1578 Queen Elizabeth granted "the Lordship or Manor of Paris Garden, the rents of freehold and copyhold tenants, the Mansion-house within the mote, the gatehouse, four pastures, one of which is called the Chapel Hall, two pastures ditched about" to a consortium comprising the Queen's cousin, Henry Carey, Lord Hunsdon (later the Lord Chamberlain of the royal household), Robert Newdigate and Arthur Fontaigne (Norman, 1901: 57; Malden, 1912: 141-151; Roberts & Godfrey, 1950: 94-100). Subsequently the mansion house and its appurtenances were demised to Lord Hunsdon in his own right, while the manor was divided into two properties, the former comprising the demesne lands and the latter the copyhold portion. In AD 1580 Hunsdon, Newdigate and Fontaigne conveyed the former (comprising the freehold land) to Thomas Cure, saddler to Queen Elizabeth, while the copyhold land was placed into trust for a term of 2,000 years, the rights to which were vested in trustees (Malden, 1912: *ibid*; Roberts & Godfrey, 1950: *ibid*). A plan of the manor surveyed in AD 1627 indicates that the demesne was concentrated in the central part of the manor, while the copyhold lands occupied the fringes, including the Upper Ground by the Thames, the Broad Wall banks beside the Pudding Mill Stream and a small piece of ground in the north-eastern corner (**Figure 10**).

The panorama of London and its environs known as the 'Agas' map depicted the manor as it appeared in the early 1560s (**Figure 9**). The figure revealed the extent of development along the north side of Upper Ground, showing a concentration of development at its north-east end in the vicinity of the Thames-side landing stage known as Paris Garden Stairs, as well as a second group of properties to the west. On the south side of Upper Ground stood the manor house, then in the occupation of William Baseley. The open land to the south of the house was overwhelmingly pasture,

still bisected by the sewers that carried away the water that made the area unsuitable for cultivation. The land to the immediate south, west and southwest of the mansion house was occupied by woodland, which was frequently mentioned in contemporary leases.

The wooded and untamed character of the area earned Paris Garden a reputation as a haunt for conspirators and enemies of the state. In the 1570s and 1580s the recently secured Protestant ascendancy faced threats both from within, in the form of radical Presbyterianism, and from without in the form of Catholicism and the foreign powers which sought to restore it. On 12th July 1578 William Fleetwood, the Recorder of London reported that the French Ambassador had been discovered in Paris Garden by the watch the previous night accompanied by Sir Warham St. Leger, and Sir William Morgan. Resisting arrest, the ambassador “swore great othes that he wold do many thinges” to his captors (*Cal. SP Dom: Edward, Mary and Elizabeth, 1547-80, 1856: 594-598*). Fleetwood subsequently inspected the scene of the meeting, which he described as being “so dark with trees that one man cannot see another, ‘except they have lynceos oculos or els cattles eys”, and concluded that Paris Garden was “the very bower of conspiracy” (*ibid*). In January 1585 the bailiff and constable of Paris Garden raided a house occupied by Hugh Catelyne, where they discovered one John Worrall, “notorious person for papistry, and two others”, as well as many “papistical books...and popish relics” (*Cal. SP Dom: Elizabeth, 1581-90, 1865: 222-226*).

In addition to its reputation for hosting conspiracies and Catholics, Paris Garden also became known in the late 16th and early 17th centuries for bull and bear baiting. References to these entertainments taking place in Paris Garden abound in contemporary accounts. In his book *Perambulation of Kent*, published in AD 1576, William Lambarde wrote that “No more than such as goe to Paris-gardein, the Bell Savage, or Theatre, to behold Beare baiting, Enterludes or Fence Play, can account of any pleasant spectacle unlesse first they pay one pennie at the gate, another at the entries of the Scaffolde, and a thirde for a quiet standing” (Lambarde, 1826: 210-211). The antiquary John Stow wrote of a disaster that occurred in the afternoon of Sunday 13th January 1583, when the “old and underpropped scaffolds rounde about the Beare garden, commonly called Paris Garden” collapsed, killing eight people and injuring many others (Stow, 1605: 1173). To Stow this was a cautionary tale, or a “friendly warning to such as more delight themselves in the crueltie of beasts then in the works of mercie...which ought to be the Sabbath daies exercise” (*ibid*). Such warnings do not appear to have deterred those who landed at the Paris Garden Stairs intent on enjoying the spectacle to be seen at the bear and bull baiting rings. In July AD 1623 it was reported that the Spanish Ambassador was present at Paris Garden, where he witnessed various “sports with bull, bear, and horse”, which included a white bear being thrown into the Thames and baited while swimming (*Cal. SP Dom: James I, 1623-25, 1859: 1-21*).

There is plentiful evidence that an association between Paris Garden and the sports of bear and bull baiting formed in the public imagination during this period. However contemporary maps suggest that these activities actually took place in locations to the east of the manor in the adjoining Clink Liberty. Detailed documentary research undertaken by C.L. Kingsford and others have revealed no evidence

of bear baiting having taken place in the manor, and it has been suggested that the association of Paris Garden with the bear gardens was “a simple transference of names”, which derived from the fact that many of the spectators would have alighted at Paris Garden Stairs before making their way to the arenas on Bankside (Norman, 1901: 64; Kingsford, 1920; Roberts & Godfrey, 1950: 66-77). There was at least one tangible aspect to the relationship between Paris Garden and the spectacles that took place on the Bankside, which arose from the office of the “Master of the Queen’s Game in Paris Garden”. In AD 1573 the Queen granted the mastership of “our games, pastimes and sports, that is to say of all and every our bears, bulls and mastiff dogs” to a certain Ralph Bowes (Malden, 1912: 125-135). Evidence exists which suggests that Bowes kept the animals in Paris Garden; in May 1580 the Queen’s Council and the Court of King’s Bench were asked to adjudicate in “a controversy between Edw. Bowes, master of the Queen’s game in Paris garden, and Diggs and Cape, about a lease of ground in the garden”, in which Diggs and Cape were accused of disturbing Bowes “and the quiet of the game” (*Cal. SP Dom: Elizabeth, Addenda 1580-1625*, 1872: 5-6).

Following Bowes’ death in AD 1589, the mastership of the game passed to John Dorrington. In AD 1604 Philip Henslowe and his son-in-law the actor Edward Alleyn obtained a grant from James I of the “Office of Cheefe Master, Overseer and Ruler of our beares, Bulls and mastiffe dogges” (Roberts & Godfrey, 1950: 66-77). It is possible that Henslowe and Alleyn kept game animals in Paris Garden during the years they held this office. Although animals continued to be baited in the playhouses of Bankside until the English Civil War, the association of these activities with Paris Garden ended in the early years of the 17th century. Following the suppression of bear and bull baiting by the Commonwealth in AD 1653, the pursuits were briefly revived on Bankside after the Restoration, although they appear to have ceased altogether south of the Thames by the 1680s (Malden, 1912: 125-135).

Francis Langley and the development of Paris Garden during the late 16th and early 17th centuries

In 1589 Thomas Cure sold the manor of Paris Garden to Francis Langley, citizen and draper of London, who also held the City offices of alnager and searcher of cloth (Roberts & Godfrey, 1950: 66-77). In addition to the manorial title, Langley acquired appurtenances which included “four messuages, two tofts, four gardens, ten acres of land, fifty acres of meadow, thirty acres of pasture and one acre of woodland”, which together comprised almost the entire demesne grounds (*ibid*: 94-100). In contrast to his immediate predecessors, Langley played an active role in the affairs of the manor and may have been the first of the lords of the manor to have actually lived there, occupying a property situated near Copt Hall from 1593-1601 (**Figure 10**).

Like his contemporary and sometime associate Philip Henslowe, Langley was primarily a speculator, who was quick to appreciate the financial potential of the growing public appetite for audience-based entertainments such as theatre and animal-baiting. In 1588 Henslowe’s Rose Playhouse opened in Rose Alley in nearby Bankside, one of four playhouses to be built in the district in the decades either

side of 1600. Five or six years after he purchased the manor of Paris Garden, Francis Langley built the Swan Playhouse, the only one of the Bankside theatres to be built in Paris Garden. The Swan stood approximately 400' to the south of Upper Ground, in the vicinity of a lane later known as Green Walk and subsequently as Hopton Street. The Swan theatre outlived its principal benefactor, who died in 1601, by at least 20 years. The accounts of the vestry of the parish of St Saviour reveal a number of payments "from the players of the swanne" throughout the 1610s until as late as 1621, although the sporadic nature of these contributions suggest that the establishment might not have been trading continuously during this period (Norman, 1901: 68, 71). The theatre was shown as the "olde playe house" on the 1627 copyholders plan of Paris Garden, suggesting that it was no longer in business by that date (**Figure 10**).

The development of the Swan theatre, together with the trade generated by the crowds attending the Rose, the Globe and the Bear Gardens and Hope Theatre in Bankside appears to have greatly stimulated the economic development of Paris Garden around the turn of the 17th century. New housing sprung up in the vicinity; a number of tenements known as 'Langley's Rents', which stood close to the theatre at the east end of Upper Ground were first recorded in AD 1602 (*ibid*: 66). Development continued after Langley sold the manor to Hugh Browker and his son Thomas in 1601. The map of 1627 showed that housing had extended to the south side of Upper Ground along more than half of its length, while a return of newly built tenements of c.1634 listed around 30 houses in the manor, including a number constructed of brick (**Figure 10**; Roberts & Godfrey, 1950: 94-100). The list also mentioned a brick and timber tenement "buildd by Richard Boddy" in 1631 on land which belonged to the demesne manor of Paris Garden (*ibid*: 108-110). References to Boddy living by "Bodyyes Bridg" in Upper Ground suggest that Richard Boddy must have bridged over the sewer in front of this house, giving rise to the name Boddy's Bridge, which in turn was given to a street that was in existence by the 1680s and which was first identified as such on Rocque's map of 1747 (**Figures 12 and 13**).

The arrival of the playhouse brought with it actors and their associates into the neighbourhood, prompting the local justices to order householders not to take in lodgers without permission from the constable (Roberts & Godfrey, 1950: 94-100). During the second half of the 16th century justice in Paris Garden was increasingly enforced through the use of instruments of punishment such as the cage, the cucking (ducking) stool and the stocks, a reflection of a wider trend, particularly apparent in urban areas, which saw the use of these instruments increase markedly after c.1560 (*ibid*; Underdown, 1985: 126). In October 1596 Francis Langley was instructed to mend the cage, the cucking stool, the pound and the stocks (Roberts & Godfrey, 1950: *ibid*). Whilst the majority of male offenders were indicted for crimes associated with property, most of those presented for crimes of misconduct were women, who tended to be charged as whores, huxters or scolds, the latter mirroring a preoccupation with scolding women which was a characteristic of the century after AD 1560 (Underdown, 1985: *ibid*).

In his 1632 work *London and the Countrey Caronadoed and Quartered into Several Characters*, the poet Donald Lupton launched a withering broadside at the unsavoury characters that frequented Paris Garden:

“This may better bee termed a foule Denne then a faire Garden. It's pittie so good a piece of ground is no better imploied : Heere are cruell Beasts in it, and as badly us'd; heere are foule beasts come to it, and as bad or worse keepe it, they are fitter for a Wildernesse then a City : idle base persons (most commonly) that want imployment, or else will not be otherwise employ'd, frequent this place; and that money which was got basely here, to maintaine as bad as themselves, or spent lewdly; here come few that either regard their credit, or losse of time: the swaggering Roarer, the cunning Cheater, the rotten Bawd, the swearing Drunkard, and the bloody Butcher have their Rendevouz here, and are of chiefe place and respect” (Lupton, 1632: 291-2).

The most potent symbol of the changes that swept Paris Garden in the first half of the 17th century was the fate of the former mansion house. Having already doubled as a gaming house during the period of William Baseley's tenure, by the early 1630s the building had become notorious as a brothel, which was the subject of a satirical play called *Holland's Leaguer An historical Discourse of the Life and Actions of Donna Britannica Hollandia, the Arch-mistress of the wicked Women of Utopia*. The establishment was forcibly closed in 1632 after some resistance by its occupants, becoming known in the popular imagination as Holland's Leaguer thereafter. The property was sold by the then lord of the manor to a City woollen draper named Hugh Jermyn in 1660, at which time it was in the occupation of one Widow Blunden, who used the house, its grounds and moat for bleaching cloth (Norman, 1901: 63; Roberts & Godfrey, 1950: 94-100). The property was identified as 'Holland Leaguer' on Morgan's map of 1682, which showed the full extent (believed to be around 1 acre), of the moated enclosure upon which the house stood (**Figure 11**). The house was known as the 'Beggar's Hall' in 1688-9, by which date it appears to have been used as a “low lodging house” (Norman, 1901: *ibid*; Malden, 1912: 141-151). The site of the house was preserved in a street known as 'Holland's Leger' shown on John Rocque's map of 1747 (**Figure 12**), and it was reported in 1825 that the moat had been in existence existed within the lifetimes of the oldest inhabitants of the neighbourhood (*ibid*).

The development of the parish of Christchurch during the second half of the 17th century

In 1655 Thomas Browker and his wife Mary sold the demesne estate to Richard Taverner, a haberdasher and William Angell the younger, a citizen and grocer of London (Norman, 1901: 58). The following year the estate was divided, Taverner retaining some of the land while Angell took possession of the mansion house, the manorial title and the remainder of the freehold estate (*ibid*; Malden, 1912: 141-151). At the time of the sale the manor was said to comprise ten messuages, 80 cottages, 20 tofts, 20 gardens, 20 orchards, ten acres of land (presumably cultivable arable), 50 acres of meadow, 30 acres of pasture and only 1 acre of woodland (Roberts & Godfrey, 1950: 94-100). Like Francis Langley before him, Angell was an avid speculator who worked hard to achieve the maximum return on his investment. He developed property in Upper Ground, as well as laying out

Angell Street (the modern Broadwall) between the Old Barge House and Melancholy Walk (later named Surrey Row) (*ibid*).

In 1627 a London gentleman named John Marshall left a bequest in his will towards the construction of a new church in the parish of St Saviour (*ibid*: 101-107). Marshall's bequest was administered by trustees who for several years sought unsuccessfully to realise the terms of his will. Following the reconstitution of the trust in 1663, the trustees actively set out to find land upon which the benefactor's wishes could be realised. This was forthcoming in 1670, when William Angell offered to provide the necessary plot of ground on condition that the new church was built in his manor of Paris Garden. Despite the objections of the parish authorities of St Saviour's, the ground was conveyed to the trust in 1671 and a private Act of Parliament obtained for the creation of a new parish to be called Christ Church. The church was built in brick soon after and consecrated in December 1671, although the steeple and spire were not completed until 1695 (*ibid*).

The earliest depiction of the new church appears to have been James Morgan's map of 1682, which also revealed the extent of development in the vicinity that had occurred in the half century since the copyholders' map was surveyed in 1627 (**Figure 10 - 11**). The map revealed that the west side of Angell Street (Broadwall) was already largely developed by that date, although the western arm of the Pudding Mill Stream occupied the eastern side along almost its full length. Boddy's Bridge had been laid out as a street and built up on both sides, while development had also taken place to the south of Upper Ground. The most striking change shown on the map was the development of Bennet (modern Bennett) Street, which ran southward from Upper Ground to the new parish church. Given that the street can only have been laid out at the same time as or after the completion of the church 11 years earlier, the extent of development on both sides at the northern end is remarkable. Angell's decision to invite the trustees of John Marshall's will to build Christchurch on his land appears to have paid off. Having paid £500 for the manor in the mid-1650s, William Angell mortgaged the property to George Baron for £1,600 in 1677. The Baron family remained in possession of the title of the manor throughout the 18th century, before it descended to the Lethbridges in 1833. William Angell's contribution to the development of the parish was commemorated in the name of the *Angel* public house, which occupied the plot of no. 41 Upper Ground as early as 1669 (*ibid*: 108-110).

The low-lying and marshy nature of the ground to the south of Boddy's Bridge and the east of Bennett Street and Christchurch restricted the potential of these areas for commercial or residential development throughout the remainder of the 17th and 18th centuries. In 1682 the land to the south of Holland's Leaguer was laid out with parallel east-west aligned ditches; this two and half acre plot was used as a 'whiting ground' in the 1660s (*ibid*: 94-100). The rapid expansion of the textile finishing industry of which this site was a part in the London area from the middle of the 17th century was largely a consequence of the arrival of migrants from the Low Countries (and later France), who brought with them a variety of new industrial processes. Entrepreneurs realised that hitherto waterlogged and under-developed areas on the banks of the capital's rivers were ideally suited for the commercial bleaching of cloth, leading to the development of bleaching and whiting grounds from the

mid-1650s onwards in the vicinities of various waterways including the Lea, the Wandle and the Thames in Southwark. John Rocque's map revealed that a tenter ground (for drying newly manufactured cloth) remained in use in nearby Lambeth Marsh until as late as the mid-1740s (**Figure 12**).

During the late 17th century a number of foreign-born entrepreneurs established several glass bottle works in the Bankside area (*ibid*: 1-8). Although the parish of Christchurch had yet to acquire the industrial base for which it subsequently became known, by the 1730s it was already noted for the presence of "a very large Glass-house, for making of Bottles" which stood in Glass House Yard, on the north side of Holland's Leaguer a short distance south of the Thames and to the west of the old mill-pond (Maitland, 1756: 1382; **Figure 12**).

The parish of Christchurch during the first half of the 18th century

Despite the continued absence of main drainage, some rebuilding took place in the built-up areas of the parish during the first half of the 18th century. Owing to the marshy ground upon which it had been built and the insufficiency of its foundations, Christchurch began to deteriorate within a few years of its completion. In 1721 it was reported that the building was "in a very decaying Condition, both withinside and without", whilst graves were "filled with water as soon as they are dug" (Roberts & Godfrey, 1950: 101-107). In 1737 the Marshall trustees applied to Parliament to pull down and rebuild the church and to enclose a plot of former garden ground for use as an extension to the churchyard (*ibid*; Maitland, 1756: *ibid*). The new church was built of brick between 1738 and 1741.

A number of properties were built in Boddy's Bridge during the first half of the 18th century, probably by John Graves or his nephew George Sterry, who inherited the property in 1722 (Roberts & Godfrey, 1950: 108-110). These properties (nos. 10-14) stood towards the southern end of the west side of the street and were still standing after the Second World War. They had been demolished by 1970, when the street was stopped up prior to redevelopment (**Figure 20**).

According to the antiquary William Maitland, at the end of the 1730s the parish of Christchurch contained a total of 1,011 houses (Maitland, 1756: 1382). The parish employed a workforce of 20, which included two overseers of the poor, four constables, a beadle, six watchmen and two scavengers, the latter of whom paid a raker for cleaning the streets and carrying away the dust (*ibid*).

The extent to which the built-up area of the parish had grown in the 65 years since Morgan's map of 1682 can be ascertained from John Rocque's map of 1747 (**Figure 12**). Development was at its most dense on either side of Upper Ground. Whilst the north side was lined with predominantly commercial and industrial premises, the south side contained a mix of industrial concerns (a glass house and s dye house) and residential courts. The latter included Queen Ann's Court, which stood either side of a passage a short distance to the east of Bennett Street and Scrubs Square, a mixed development that occupied the ground between the rear of the properties on the east side of Boddy's Bridge and the west side of Bennett Street. It is possible that Scrubs Square, which was bordered on its south

side by an open sewer that passed beneath Boddy's Bridge, was associated originally with the dyeing or bleaching industries.

The urban development of Christchurch during the second half of the 18th century

In 1756 the City of London obtained Parliamentary powers to build a new bridge at Blackfriars (Malden, 1912: 125-135). Construction of the bridge commenced in 1760 and it opened to traffic nine years later. Although the 1756 Act gave powers to form the approaches to bridge these were considered insufficient and an additional Act was obtained in 1768 to create a new road from the southern end of the bridge to Newington Butts (Roberts & Godfrey, 1950: 115-121). The new road extended southward to St George's Fields where it crossed the turnpike road; for several years it was known variously as St George's Road and Great Surrey Street, until its name was changed to Blackfriars Road in 1829 (*ibid*; Walford, 1878: 368-383).

Plots alongside the route of the new road were let out by the Baron family to local builders and speculators, who were quick to purchase building leases to develop new residential properties. The majority of the original houses in Great Surrey Street were built between 1765 and 1790 (Roberts & Godfrey, 1950: *ibid*). The construction of the new road stimulated a wave of new residential development in the vicinity. As early as 1770 the builders Edward Wilson and Jeremiah Leverett built a number of new houses in Upper Ground Street (SHC QS 2/6/1770/Mid/12-18). Within two years, the eastern end of the newly created Stamford Street had been laid out and development commenced along its north side. In 1772 a number of new houses on the west side of Bennett Street and the north side of Stamford Street were certified as having been built in accordance with regulations set out in an 'Act for the Better Regulating of Buildings and to prevent mischiefs that may happen by fire within the Weekly Bills of Mortality and other places therein mentioned' (SHC QS2/6/1772/Mid/12). The eastern end of Stamford Street had been fully built up as far as the southern end of Boddy's Bridge by c.1790; (Horwood 1792-99, **Figure 13**) to the west of this the garden grounds remained open until c.1803 when the westward continuation of Stamford Street was added (Roberts & Godfrey, 1950: 122-124).

Records indicate that the new properties on the north side of Stamford Street were tall, brick built structures of between three and four storeys in height and all had basements (*ibid*). The first edition of Richard Horwood's map of 1792-99 shows that substantial gardens had been laid out on the hitherto undeveloped land to the rear of these properties (**Figure 13**). Late 18th century residents of the properties on the north side of Stamford Street included Roger Smith, a gentleman who first insured his house at 19 Stamford Street, in October 1792 (LMA MS 11936/391/607188), the solicitor Wasey Sterry, who lived at no. 29 in 1794 (LMA MS 11936/399/630854) and the celebrated engineer John Rennie, who insured the contents of his house at no. 27 the same year for the then eye-watering sum of £3,050 (LMA MS 11936/398/624018). Rennie lived at 27 Stamford Street from 1794 until his death there in 1821 (Roberts & Godfrey, 1950: *ibid*; *Post Office Annual Directory*, 1808: 237).

The newly erected houses on the west side of Bennett Street (nos. 27-31) were also built of brick. Early residents included one Frederick Heisch, who lived at 26 Bennett Street and insured the contents of his house there for the not inconsiderable sum of £800 in 1797 (LMA MS

11936/409/668740). In contrast to the genteel inhabitants of Stamford Street and upper Bennett Street, the residents of the older properties around the corner in Boddy's Bridge tended to work in a variety of skilled trades, and included at least one cooper and a number of lightermen. Insurance records suggest that these individuals were not poor and several could afford to take out insurance on their household goods and stock (e.g. LMA MS 11936/369/573278), though the majority of properties in Boddy's Bridge were insured by their non-resident landlords.

By the time that Richard Horwood surveyed the first edition of his map of London and Southwark in the early 1790s, the north side of Upper Ground (to which the suffix 'Street' had been added by that date) was dominated by wharves and manufactories which lined the south bank of the Thames (**Figure 13 Horwood, 1792-99**). These included such concerns as Frederick Nicholson's Timber Yard, Heringshaw & Co.'s Wharf and a substantial iron foundry, the latter of which occupied plots on both the north and south side of the street, a short distance to the north of the present development site. Insurance records reveal that neighbouring firms included a 'butt dealer in spiritous liquors', operated by Messrs Holmes, Target and Tiflet (LMA MS 11936/360/556552).

It has been suggested the development of Blackfriars Road and surrounding streets "drew attention to the dirty and almost impassable state of Upper Ground" in the late 18th century, prompting the vestry to seek powers to improve the street (Roberts & Godfrey, 1950: 108-110). These were granted in June 1791 by the cumbersomely titled "Act for paving, cleansing, lighting, watching, widening, regulating and improving a certain Street called the Upper Ground Street in the Parish of Christ Church in the County of Surrey, and certain other Streets, Lanes, Passages and Places within the said Parish, and for removing and preventing Encroachments, Nuisances and Annoyances therein, and for shutting up Part of an Alley or Passage leading from Bull Alley to Marygold Court" (*London Gazette* no. 13314, 04/06/1791: 328). This Act, which was soon followed by another piece of legislation which permitted the closure of the eastern end of the street in 1793, authorised the appointment of commissioners who were empowered to widen the street at either end, to number the houses, provide beadles and a watch house and to clean and water the roadway (*London Gazette* no. 13539, 18/06/1793: 513; Roberts & Godfrey, 1950: *ibid*).

The improvement of Upper Ground Street led to the development of new properties by speculators and the owners of businesses who already occupied premises in the street. The latter included Edward Lefort and his sons William and Edward junior, who established a barge and boat building business on the north side of the street at Bull Alley around the end of the century. Insurance records indicate that the Leforts themselves lived in a brick and timber house with workshop adjoining, but also owned a substantial number of nearby properties (nos. 8-14 in 1806) which they leased to tenants (LMA MS 11936/438/795344). The Leforts built an elegant three storey brick property at 26 Upper Ground Street, which recorded by the Survey of London after the Second World War (Roberts & Godfrey, 1950: *ibid*). Other owners of property in Upper Ground Street included the bricklayer and speculative builder John Hoare, who jointly owned the *Angel* public house (then in the tenure of

William Guest), and nine adjoining residential properties, all of which were constructed of brick and timber (LMA MS 11936/398/619630).

Horwood's map of 1792-99 also revealed that the extent of Scrub Square had been somewhat reduced by the construction of the yard belonging to the iron foundry on the north side of Upper Ground Street in the decades since Rocque's map was published (**Figure 13**). Although few documentary records relating to the square appear to have survived, insurance records suggest that the properties were built either of brick or brick and timber. In September 1792 a hatter named William Jackson insured his personal belongings in his (brick) house there for a total value of £200 and his stock, utensils and goods in trade therein to the value of £300 (LMA MS 11936/387/604975). Interestingly the only other resident of the square known to have insured his possessions and goods also traded as a hat maker. In November 1802 Nathaniel Parr of 3 Scrub Square insured the contents of his (brick and timber) house, "Plankhouse, Stove Room and Offices all communicating" to the value of £30, his wearing apparel to the value of £10 and his stock and utensils to the value of £60 (LMA MS 11936/427/740339). A directory records that six years later Parr had moved to new premises nearby in John Street (*Post Office Annual Directory, 1808: 217*).

The district during the first half of the 19th century

Between 1801 and 1851 the population of Southwark nearly doubled (Malden, 1912: 125-135). The growth in population led to an upsurge in new residential development and in those areas of the borough that were already built-up, increasing subdivision of existing properties. Development in the vicinity of the site during this period took a number of distinct forms, dependent upon location. The socio-economic stratification that developed in the vicinity of the present development which had emerged during the late 18th century intensified.

Stamford Street continued to flourish as desirable and prosperous thoroughfare. The extension of the street westward as far as Broadwall was added c.1803, at around the same time that Hatfield Street was laid out (Roberts & Godfrey, 1950: 122-124). Known initially as Upper Stamford Street, the extension was depicted on the third edition of Horwood's map, published posthumously in 1813 (**Figure 14**). Later maps show that the back gardens of nos. 1-5 Upper Stamford Street lay partially within the boundaries of the present site. Insurance documents reveal that in 1832 the resident of no. 4 Upper Stamford Street was one Frederick Owen Dickins (or Dickens), the successful owner of a firm of coal merchants which traded from premises at Jamaica Wharf and New Jamaica Wharf in Upper Ground Street during the 1820s, 1830s and 1840s (LMA MS 11936/531/1133812; LMA MS 11936/495/1010532; LMA MS 11936/556/1261348). Dickins was still living in Stamford Street in 1841, when he was listed as a ship owner as well as a coal merchant (*Post Office London Directory, 1841: 242, 264*). Other residents listed in a directory of 1841 included two solicitors, an auctioneer and appraiser, a livery stables proprietor and a dealer in horses, an engineer and a clergyman (*Post Office London Directory, 1841: 242*).

A directory of 1841 suggested that Hatfield Street contained a concentration of businesses involved in the garment trade, including at least three hatters or hat makers and a dressmaker (*Post Office*

London Directory, 1841: 120). It is possible that these businesses represented a survival of the industry that had previously been concentrated around Scrub Square. The latter street was not listed in any directories of the period, and appears to have succumbed to the encroachment of the industries based on the south side of Upper Ground Street by the time that Gardner's map was published in the late 1820s (**Figure 15**). Other businesses listed in 'our stretch' of Hatfield Street in 1841 included a comb maker, a cheesemonger and a public house named the *Duke of Wirtemburgh* (*sic*), which was in the tenure of one T. Marshall (*Post Office London Directory*, 1841: *ibid*).

Development on the south side of Upper Ground Street was concentrated around the iron founder's yard first shown on Horwood's 1790s map (**Figure 13**). Horwood's map of 1813 showed that a number of new structures had been built around this yard (**Figure 14**), which was shown in much greater detail on a plan drawn up around 1850 (**Figure 16**). This figure revealed that the south and east sides of the yard area were fringed by stables, warehouses, sheds and workshops, while the south-west corner was occupied by a foundry building, part of which lies within the boundary of the present development site. In the 1820s these were the premises of Ward, Ainger and Handasyde, a partnership founded by James Ward, Major Ainger and William Handasyde to continue in business the existing iron foundry on the site (*London Gazette* no.18845, 06/09/1831: 1823; TNA B 3/5364). Although Ward was declared bankrupt in September 1831, Ainger and Handasyde continued trading from the premises for at least another decade (*Post Office London Directory*, 1841: 264; LMA MS 11936/537/1145578). Following Ainger's death and Handasyde's retirement, the business was taken over as a going concern by Robert Graham of Upper Thames Street and the ubiquitous Frederick Owen Dickins (*London Gazette* no. 20242, 14/07/1843: 2399).

Horwood's map of 1813 also revealed that the terraced properties on the west side of Boddy's Bridge had been extended southwards at some point during the preceding 15 years or so, and a substantial building of unknown function had been erected between the rear of these properties and the houses on the north-east side of Hatfield street (**Figure 14**). Insurance records reveal the names of a number of the residents of Boddy's Bridge during the first half of the 19th century. These included Mary Lefort, the widow of Edward Lefort senior, who insured no. 1 Boddy's Bridge in October 1834 (LMA MS 11936/541/1184864). William Ward, a gentleman of independent means, insured his household goods and property at no. 7 Boddy's Bridge in 1832 and 1837 and was still living there in 1841, when, if a census return is to be believed, he was 95 years-old (LMA MS 11936/534/1143613; LMA MS 11936/557/1256784; TNA HO 107/1083/7/13/8: 10). Number 11 Boddy's Bridge was the home and business premises of a bookbinder named John Woodhouse Sherwood in the late 1830s and early 1840s (LMA MS 11936/555/1245454; *Post Office London Directory*, 1841: 26). A census return from 1841 reveals that the then 55 year-old Sherwood lived at the property with his wife Elizabeth, their four children and a 30 year-old carman named William Winterman and his wife Sarah (TNA HO 107/1083/7/13/8: 10). Including the aforementioned Ward and Sherwood, the population of the 12 properties in Boddy's Bridge numbered 175 adults and children; an average of 14.58 per house. The occupations of the 21 heads of households in the street were a mixture of skilled and unskilled, labourers making up the largest single group, representing 23.8% of the total. Four heads of

household worked in maritime trades (19%), while other occupations included a millwright, a carman, a victualler, a basket maker and a mangler. Only one individual who lived in Boddy's Bridge (J.W. Sherwood) was listed in a contemporary street directory, and the street was not listed at all in subsequent editions, suggesting that after Sherwood there were few, if any, business owners resident in the street (*Post Office London Directory*, 1841: *ibid*).

The district during the second half of the 19th century

In the decades between 1851 and 1891 Southwark experienced something of a demographic transformation, as the wealthier residents began to migrate from the central to the outlying districts of the rapidly expanding metropolis (Malden, 1912: 125-135). Certain areas of the parish of Christchurch had become a byword for poverty as early as the 1840s, a trend which increased in the decades that followed.

Census returns from 1861 suggest that the previously genteel properties on the north side of Stamford Street were being subdivided as the wealthier residents moved out and less affluent ones moved in (TNA RG 11/515/65: 17-18). The professional classes who had occupied these properties only 20 or 30 years before had almost entirely gone. Ground floor premises were increasingly given to retail outlets, whilst the upper floors became home to multiple households, the heads of which tended to be employees of larger businesses, such as railway companies and printing firms. A directory of 1882 listed 13 businesses based at nos. 18-50 Stamford Street (north side, Bennett Street to Hatfield Street); these included two milliners, a cash box maker (Henry Biggs & Co), which occupied two properties (nos. 32 and 42), a printers, a dressmaker, a hairdresser, a cigar maker and two hat makers, a remnant of an industry that had been active in the area for at least a century (*Post Office London Directory*, 1882: 609). A directory published 13 years later indicates that no hat makers remained in this part of Stamford Street, although the garment trade was represented by a shirt manufacturer, a tailor and a firm of needlework designers (*Post Office London Directory*, 1895: 674). When the philanthropist and reformer Charles Booth visited the area in 1899, he observed that there were a "great many prostitutes" in Stamford Street, who plied their trade from hotels, "some of which are little else than brothels" (Booth B363). Booth himself noted that the "most disreputable" of these were situated to the west of the Waterloo Road, whilst a contemporary directory lists only four 'private hotels', all of which were on the south side of the street (*Post Office London Directory*, 1895: *ibid*).

Directories from 1882 and 1895 suggest that Hatfield Street managed to retain something of its earlier character. Businesses trading from premises there in 1882 included a number of specialist concerns, including a pianoforte tuner, a bookbinder, a glass embosser, a watchmaker, two hat makers and the *Duke of Wurtemberg* public house (*Post Office London Directory*, 1882: 376). Several of the same businesses were still trading in 1895 (*Post Office London Directory*, 1895: 419). Charles Booth described the street as solidly working class (Booth B363).

Although the residential properties that stood on the east side of Boddy's Bridge were still standing when the First Edition Ordnance Survey map of the area was published in 1872 (**Figure 17**), they had been demolished 22 years later and replaced by what Charles Booth described as the wall of a

warehouse or school (**Figures 17 -18**). In fact it appears to have been the side wall of premises occupied by a firm of 'hydraulic engineers' which traded as Shand Mason & Co from premises in Upper Ground Street (*Post Office London Directory*, 1890: 675). Booth described the properties on the west side of the street as "very poor", whilst those still standing on the east side were poorer still (Booth B363).

The district during the 20th century

There was virtually no population growth in Southwark between 1891 and 1904; the riverside districts becoming increasingly dominated by warehousing to the exclusion of the small businesses that had clung on throughout earlier decades (Malden, 1912: *ibid*).

A directory of 1914 indicates that the shops on the north side of Stamford Street remained in the occupation of small retailers, with hairdressers and tailors and clothes and shoe shops well represented (Pot Office London Directory, 1914: 636). Small retailers continued to dominate in the years after the First World War, with a number of tobacconists, dining rooms and hairdressers surviving for several decades (*Post Office London Directory*, 1920: 617). No. 28 was occupied by dining rooms from the late 1920s until at least the mid-1960s (*Post Office London Directory*, 1930: 636; *Post Office London Directory*, 1965: 916).

The east side of Hatfield street seems to undergone something of a transformation during the first decade of the 20th century, when the existing buildings were demolished and replaced with larger industrial premises (**Figure 19**). A directory of 1909 indicates that the new buildings were occupied by the London Hydraulic Power Co, who were joined around 1920 by the General Hydraulic Power Co (*Post Office London Directory*, 1909: 385; *Post Office London Directory*, 1920: 390). The east side of Hatfield Street continued to be dominated by these and a small number of light industrial concerns until the mid-1960s (*Post Office London Directory*, 1965: 564).

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Surrey History Centre (SHC)

QS 2/6/1770/Mid/12-18

Affidavit of George Evans of Holborn, SURVEYOR, that HOUSES erected by Edward Wilson and Jeremiah Leverett, BUILDERS, at Upper Ground Street, Christchurch...1770

QS2/6/1772/Mid/12

Surveyor's affidavit that houses erected on the west side of Bennett Street and the north side of Stamford Street in the parish of Christ Church are built according to directions in an 'Act for the Better Regulating of Buildings and to prevent mischiefs that may happen by fire within the Weekly Bills of Mortality and other places therein mentioned', 4 Geo. III, 1772

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The King's Barge House

By Guy Thompson

Historical maps and documents indicate that a property known as the King's (or Queen's) Barge House stood close to the westernmost limit of the manor of Paris Garden during the 16th and 17th centuries. The property was situated at the north-west end of Upper Ground, and comprised boat houses and ancillary structures which housed the oared barges used to ferry the monarch and members of the royal household along the River Thames. Records suggest that at least part of the barge house complex stood in the 'Corner Meadow' of a marsh called Prince's Meadows, a detached portion of the manor of Kennington in Lambeth, whilst the remainder stood near, or over, the sluice at the north-western end of the Pudding Mill Stream, which marked the original boundary with the manor of Paris Garden (Roberts & Godfrey, 1951: 12-17). The fact that Kennington Manor was royal property may well have influenced the decision to build the barge house in that location in the first place. It has been suggested that the boundary between the two properties was diverted following the stopping of the sluice, which isolated a former portion of the Corner Meadow of Kennington in the parish of Christchurch after the latter was founded during the reign of Charles II. The barge house itself was illustrated on a plan of c.1636, and its site was clearly indicated ('Old Barge house') on Ogilby and Morgan's map of 1682, although it had gone out of use by that date (**Figure 11**). The structure had long since disappeared when John Rocque surveyed the area in the mid-1740s, although its approximate location has been preserved in the name of the 'Old Barge House Stairs' (**Figure 12**).

The date of the foundation of the King's Barge House has been the subject of some debate. The *Survey of London* cautiously suggested that it may have originated during the reign of Elizabeth I, "and perhaps earlier", while the authors of the *Victoria County History* of Surrey argued that it may have been built as early as the reign of Henry VI (1422-1471) and that it was certainly in existence during the reign of Henry VII (Roberts & Godfrey, 1951: *ibid*; Malden, 1912: 125-135). The latter claim was based upon evidence that the barge master to Henry VI lived in the manor of Lambeth, suggesting that the barge house at the corner of Prince's Meadow was in existence by that date. Unfortunately the barge house is not readily identifiable on the 'Agas' map of London of 1561, which does not show any buildings in the immediate vicinity of the sluice upon which it later stood (**Figure 9**). There are however a number of references in the accounts of the court and household of Henry VIII which suggest that the barges belonging to the Crown were being landed in this corner of Paris Garden during the early decades of the 16th century. In February 1515 a Groom of the King's Chamber called Henry Annesley was paid 16d for "conveying the King's barge from Greenwich to 'Parys Garden'", whilst a certain Roger Hunt was paid 5s for the cost of a barge "from Westminster to Parys Garden" in June 1538 (*Letters and Papers Henry VIII*, ii, 1466-1469; *Letters and Papers Henry VIII*, xiv part 2: 308-356). Further references to journeys made by the King's Barge between Lambeth and the King's riverside palaces in London and Westminster may relate to the same location, the confusion of names reflecting contemporary ambiguity over where the boundary between Paris Garden and Lambeth actually lay.

Court accounts indicate that the Crown maintained a small flotilla of state barges from the reign of Henry VIII onwards. The 'flagship' of this fleet was the 'King's great barge', a substantial and lavishly decorated vessel completed in 1530 named the *Lyon* (*Letters and Papers Henry VIII*, xvi, 380 (f129b)). This and lesser state barges made regular voyages along the Thames, travelling between royal palaces at Greenwich, Westminster, York Place (Whitehall Palace) and other riverside locations. The barges were the responsibility of the Master of the Barge, an office occupied during the early years of Henry's reign by John Thurston and subsequently by John Johnson. The Crown reimbursed the Master of the Barge paid for the cost of maintaining the state barges, procuring oars 'bayles' and other sundries. In October 1529 Johnson claimed the sum of 40s to cover the cost of "the rent of the house where the henchmen lie", suggesting that he probably employed personnel to maintain the vessels, most likely based at or near the landing place in Paris Garden (*Letters and Papers Henry VIII*, v, 20,030 (f.40)). The oarsmen who crewed the barges were drawn from the ranks of the King's Watermen (Weir, 2008: 53). The watermen worked for a separate department of the royal household to the Barge Master, and were therefore paid directly by the Crown. Court accounts contain numerous references to payments granted to the watermen for the reimbursement of such expenses as the cost of uniforms. The latter could be substantial; in November 1529 the payment was authorised of a sum of £10 to the boatmen for the cost of their new liveries (*Letters and Papers Henry VIII*, v, 20,030).

The Crown maintained a landing place and barge house in Paris Garden throughout the reigns of the later Tudor and early Stuart monarchs. Court accounts contain periodic references to payments to craftsmen for the construction of new barges and the appointment of barge masters. Less than a month before her death, Queen Mary authorised a warrant to pay £20 to one William Stephin, shipwright, "for making the Queen's new barge" in October 1558 (*Cal. SP Dom. Edward, Mary & Elizabeth, 1547-80*, 1856: 106-110). It is possible that Queen Mary's barge remained in royal service throughout much of the reign of her sister Elizabeth (r.1558-1603). The Queen's barge was described in 1593 as containing "two splendid cabins beautifully ornamented with glass windows, painting and gilding" (Malden, 1912: 125-135).

Four years later Queen Elizabeth granted payment of the substantial sum of £100 "to a person nominated by Lord Chamberlain Hunsdon, towards making barges for the Queen; and any further sums due on the finishing of them" (*Cal. SP Dom: Elizabeth, 1595-97*, 1869: 496-507). It appears that it was necessary to build new accommodation for the new vessels and Crown accounts indicate that "the building of her new Bargehouse" featured among the works undertaken by Her Majesty's Office of Works during the period March 1598 to February 1601 (*Cal. SP Dom: Elizabeth, 1599-1601*, 1869: 542-602). That the latter structure was located in Paris Garden is confirmed by an account of a survey of the site carried out in 1660, which made reference to an old barge house erected by Queen Elizabeth (Roberts & Godfrey, 1951: 12-17).

At the start of the reign of James I the Crown confirmed the appointment of Richard Warner senior and Richard Warner junior to be Masters of the Queen's and King's Barges respectively (*Cal. SP*

Dom James I, 1603-10, 1857: 103-140). The elder Warner (d.1612) had previously served as Barge Master to Queen Elizabeth, whilst his son's grant of the office of King's Barge Master was confirmed in 1614. The younger Warner occupied the position until his death in 1625, following which his son Nowell was appointed King's Barge Master to Charles I (*Cal SP Dom James I, 1611-18; 1858: 240-250; Lysons, 1796: 426-493*).

In July 1605 payment of £20 per annum was granted to a certain Philip Henslow/Henslowe for the provision of "a dock and a yard" for the King's barges (*Cal. SP Dom James I, 1603-10, 1857: 227-238*). Henslow was the proprietor of the Rose Theatre on Bankside, where he owned a number of tenements, as well as being the business partner and father-in-law of the celebrated actor Edward Alleyn (Malden, 1912: 125-135). Both men were keen speculators who actively sought to acquire profitable royal patents. After several years of trying, Henslow and Alleyn jointly purchased the patent of "the Office of Master of the Royal Game of Bulls and Bears" in 1604, which entitled them to keep and enjoy the profits of the bears, bulls and mastiffs which fought in the bear-gardens on the Bankside (Roberts & Godfrey, 1950: 66-77; for bear-baiting see below). Given his status as the holder of a Crown patent and as a local property owner of some substance, the decision to pay Henslow to improve the facilities at the King's Barge House at Paris Garden made sound financial sense, although the extent of the works he undertook on the King's behalf is not known. A plan of Paris Garden surveyed in 1627 showed the 'Staires near the Barge House" at the western end of the manor (**Figure 10**).

The Stuart dynasty was as keen as its Tudor predecessor to project royal authority via the carefully managed use of imagery and symbolism. During the reign of James I a number of new royal barges were commissioned, including two which were built for the King's eldest children Prince Henry and Princess Elizabeth in 1609 (*Cal. SP Dom James I, 1603-1610, 1857: 495-507*). In 1617 three more barges were ordered from the shipwrights Richard Walford and Clement Chapman, followed by the construction of "his Majesty's new Privy Barge" in 1622 (*Cal. SP Dom James I, 1611-18, 1858: 439-456; Cal. SP Dom James I, 1619-23, 1858: 418-435*). The latter vessels featured ornate carvings supplied at considerable expense by Maximillian Coult, the King's Carver of the Works (*ibid*). In June 1623 as many as eight barges were employed to ferry the Spanish Ambassador in style from Gravesend to Greenwich during the failed negotiations for the marriage of James' son and heir Charles to the Infanta of Spain (*Cal. SP Dom James I, 1619-23, 1858: 611-625*).

Nowell Warner continued to serve as King's Barge Master throughout the reign of Charles I until he was dismissed from the post by Parliament in 1648. In February 1628 the Crown granted Warner £30 per annum "for building upon his own ground a barge-house for keeping the King's Barges, and £330 for arrears of the said rent" (*Cal. SP Dom Charles I, 1627-28, 1858: 539-557*). It is not entirely clear where this new barge house stood, although it cannot have replaced the late Elizabethan building at Paris Garden, which was reported to be still standing in 1660. It is possible that it was built elsewhere (perhaps Greenwich, where members of the Warner family were buried), or it may have represented an additional structure built at Paris Garden. A plan of the King's Barge House as it appeared c.1636

depicted two long tiled, timber-framed barge houses on either side of an open area called the 'Kinge's Barge Yarde', alongside which stood two ranges of apparently residential buildings (**Plate X**). The entire yard appeared to be enclosed by a wall and gates on the landward side.

During the English Civil War of 1642-1645 the King and Court left London for Oxford, leaving the Barge House and its contents to fall into the hands of Parliament. In 1646 it was reported that the King's Barges were "out of repair" (*Journal of the House of Lords: Volume 8, 1645-1647, 1767-1830: 406-408*). Around the time of the outbreak of the Royalist rebellion known as the Second Civil War, the House of Commons gave orders in April 1648 that "the King's great Tow Barge, the Archbishop's Barge, and the Four Oars Barge" should be placed at the disposal of the Army "for the present Service of the State, and Safety of these Parts" (*Journal of the House of Commons: Volume 5, 1646-1648, 1802: 531-533*). Although it is not known whether the military authorities made use of these vessels, in September of that year a number of Thames watermen were arrested and imprisoned in Southwark for attempting to steal the King's Privy Barge and a second boat called the 'Leader' from the King's Barge House (*Cal. SP Dom Charles I, 1648-9, 1893: 262-294*). Officials were despatched by Parliament to Southwark to question the prisoners and apprehend other suspects, as well as being ordered to bore holes in the barges' hulls in order to prevent their removal by anyone else (*ibid*).

In September 1652 Parliament ordered that a survey of the King's Barge House and its contents be carried out in advance of their sale or disposal (*Journal of the House of Commons: Volume 7, 1651-1660, 1802: 182*). The commissioners appointed to survey the property described the barge house "as adjoining and bounded with the wharf or timberyard now in the possession of Griffith [?] Kent [?] towards the west, the River Thames towards the north and the Common Causeway or landing place towards the east" (TNA E 317/SURREY/49). They noted that it was "built of Timber and covered [?] in the Tyle containing in length sixty-six foot of assize more or less. And in breadth twenty-six foot of assize more or less" (*ibid*). The surveyors' report suggests that the buildings were in a poor state of repair, although the former King's Barge of State was still laid up inside when they visited. The barge itself was earmarked for sale by the Trustees for the sale of the late King's Goods. The new government had no use either for the barge or the barge house; the commissioners noted that the Council of State had already "ordered other Bargehouses to be built for their use...and are already finished" (*ibid*).

Although the fate of the barges themselves is not known, a survey of the barge house undertaken by Sir Charles Harbord recorded that it was still standing in 1660. By the latter date several houses and wharves had been erected during the preceding decade along the river bank in the vicinity of the King's Barge House, whilst much of the surrounding marsh was used for the washing and whitening of cloth (Roberts & Godfrey, 1951: 12-17). Harbord noted that three new barge houses had recently been built there, including one for the use of the Lord Mayor, a second for the Merchant Taylors' Company and a third for the Woodmongers' Company. All three of these organisations were granted leases of their barge houses following the Restoration, whilst a lease of Prince's Meadows was granted to John Arundell around the same time. In 1676 Arundell sublet the site to Richard Rawe,

whose lease described the property as containing “meadows, wharves and osier grounds...extending to the place where there is built a certain ruinous house called the King’s Old Barge House” (*ibid*).

In May 1660 Nowell Warner was restored to the office of King’s Barge Master on the order of the Convention Parliament (*Journal of the House of Lords: Volume 11, 1660-1666, 1767-1830: 25-26*). A few days later the House of Lords gave orders to requisition a barge named *The Brigantine* on the grounds that there was “no other Barge fit for His Majesty’s Service” (*ibid: 29-30*). Warner continued to occupy the office of King’s Barge Master until his death two years later, upon which he was succeeded by his son John, who held the position until he died in 1694 (Lysons, 1796: 426-493). However neither the Barge Master nor the King’s barges returned to Paris Garden after the Restoration. The sale and subdivision of the Barge House site in the early 1650s, followed by the rapid development of the waterfront during the remaining years of the Interregnum prevented it from being returned to royal use after the Restoration. Although the site of the Elizabethan barge house was considered Crown property in 1660, the remainder of the site was in private possession and there appears to have been little incentive to return it to its former owners (Roberts & Godfrey, 1951: 12-17).

At least one of the barge houses that appeared on the 1636 plan was still standing in 1682 (**Figure 11**), although it may have been demolished soon after. John Rocque’s map of 1747 showed that western half of the site was occupied by properties flanking ‘Glass House Yard’ (**Figure 12**). The latter was one of a number of glass bottle manufactories established in the Bankside area in late 17th century by mainly foreign entrepreneurs, and in 1780 the site of the former barge house was in the possession of Thomas Lowe & Co, glass bottle makers (*The Gentleman’s Magazine*, 1833: 509; Roberts & Godfrey, 1950: 1-8; Roberts & Godfrey, 1951: 12-17). Gardner’s map of 1828 indicated that the western half of the site was occupied by Hawes Soap Manufactory, a substantial brick-built factory in the possession of Thomas and Nathaniel Hawes until at least the mid-1830s (LMA MS 11936/512/1072188). Premises at Old Barge House Wharf were subsequently occupied by a succession of coal and coke merchants, iron founders and corn merchants. By the early 20th century it was in the occupation of a firm of builders’ merchants (*Post Office London Directory*, 1914: 672).

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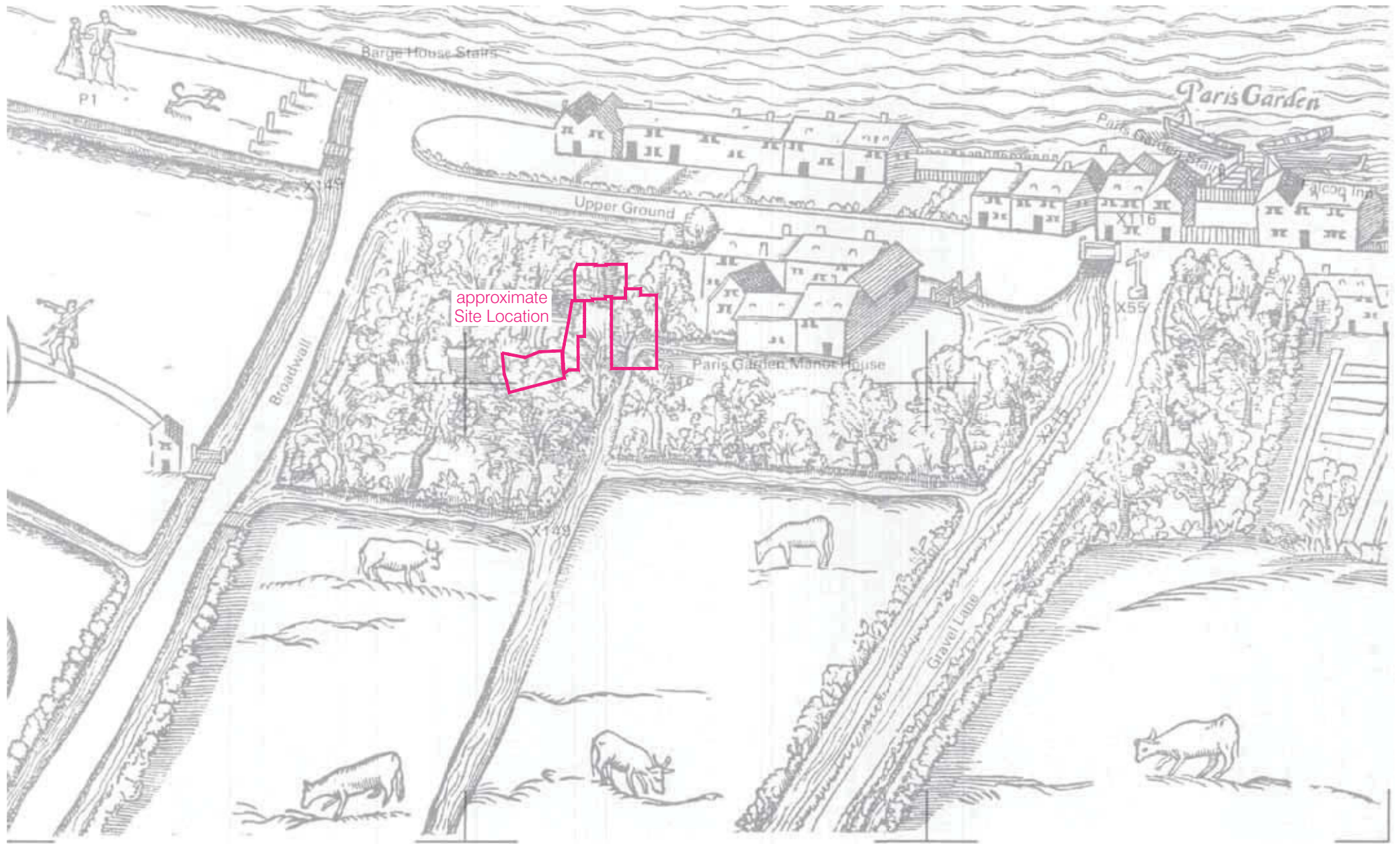
Cal. SP Dom. Edward, Mary & Elizabeth, 1547-80, 1856

Cal. SP Dom: Elizabeth, 1595-97, 1869

Cal. SP Dom: Elizabeth, 1599-1601, 1869

Cal. SP Dom James I, 1603-10, 1857

Cal. SP Dom James I, 1611-18, 1858



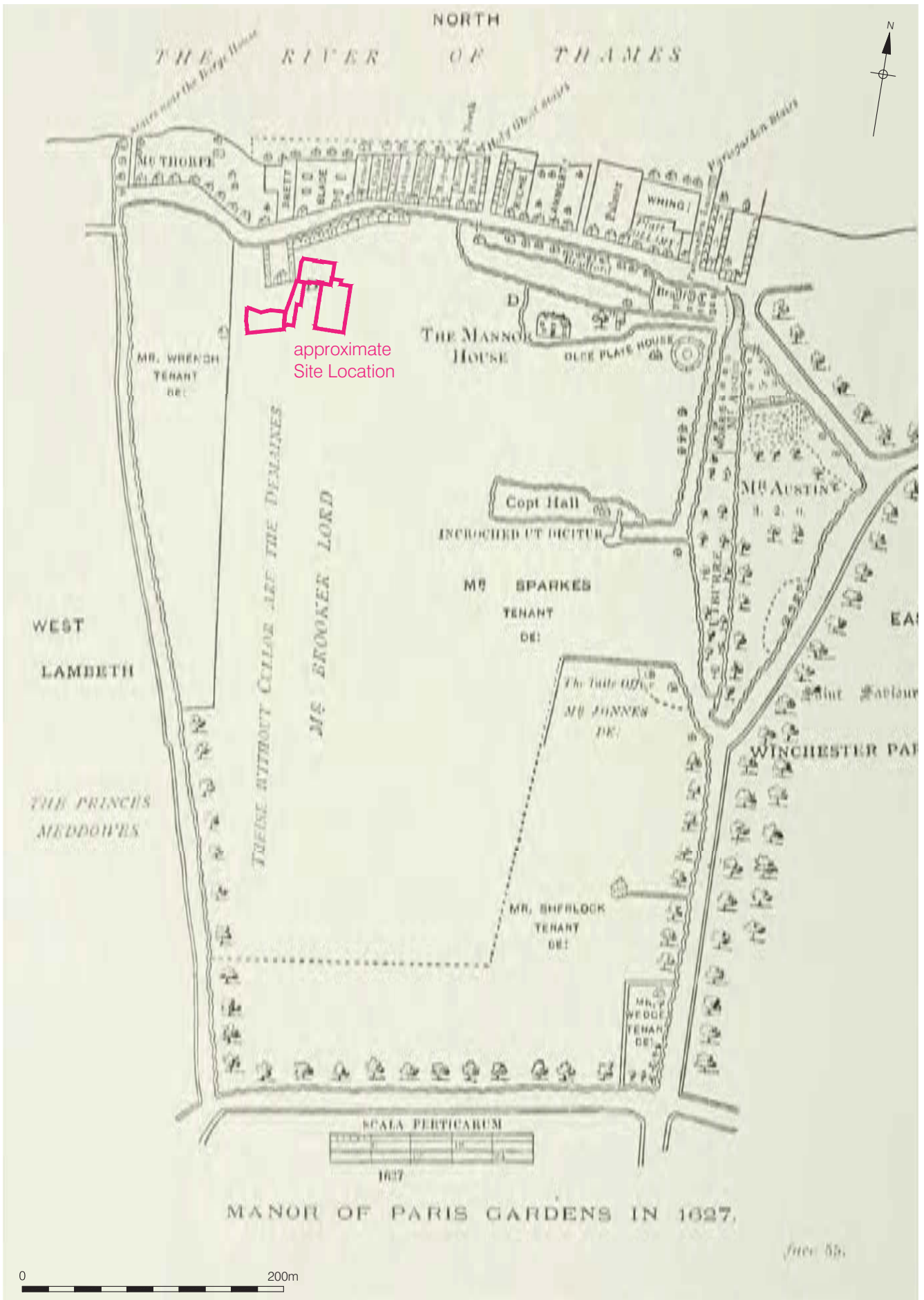


Figure 10
Map of the manor of Old Paris Garden, 1627
approx 1:4,000 at A4

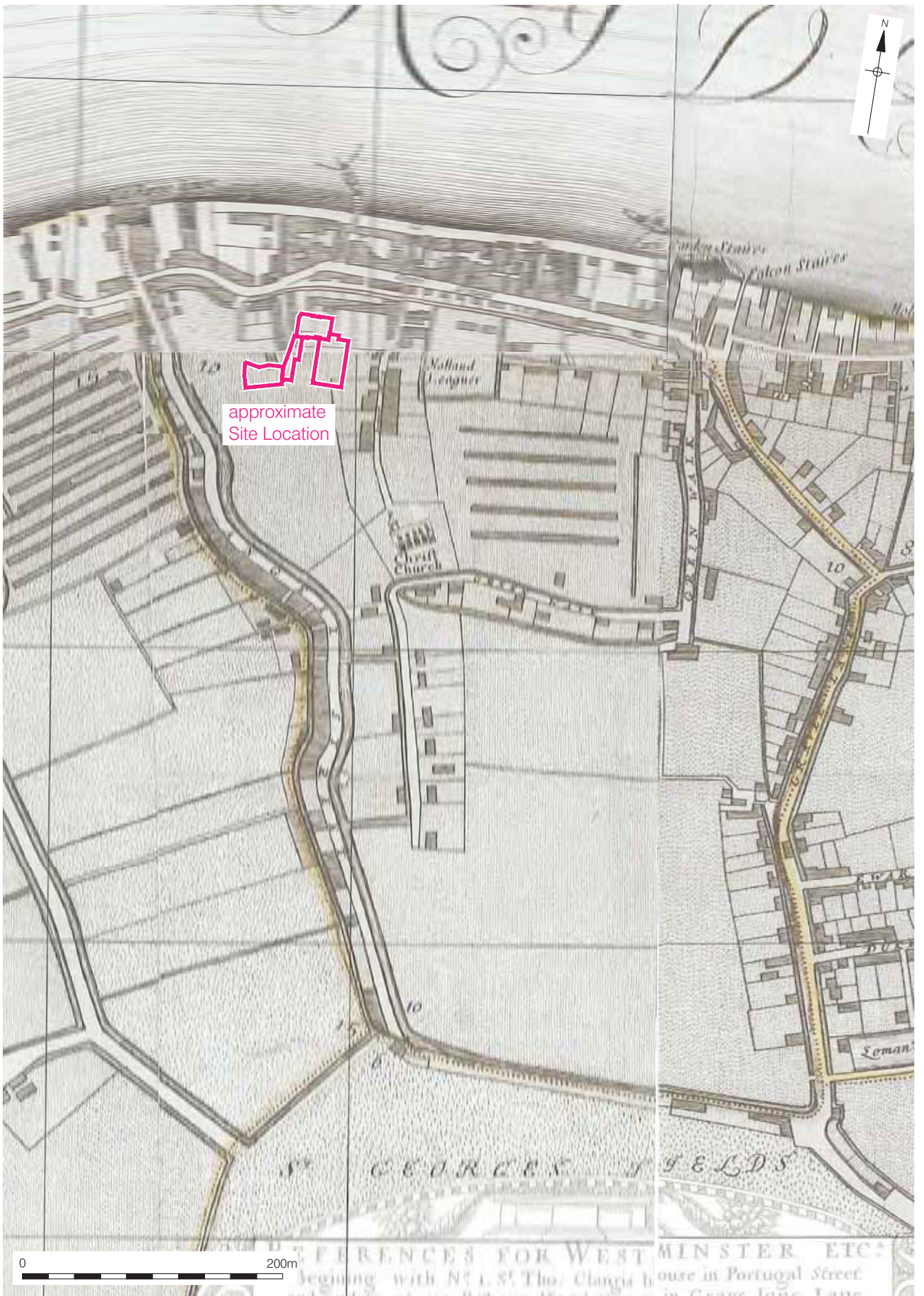


Figure 11
William Morgan, 1682
approx 1:4,000 at A4

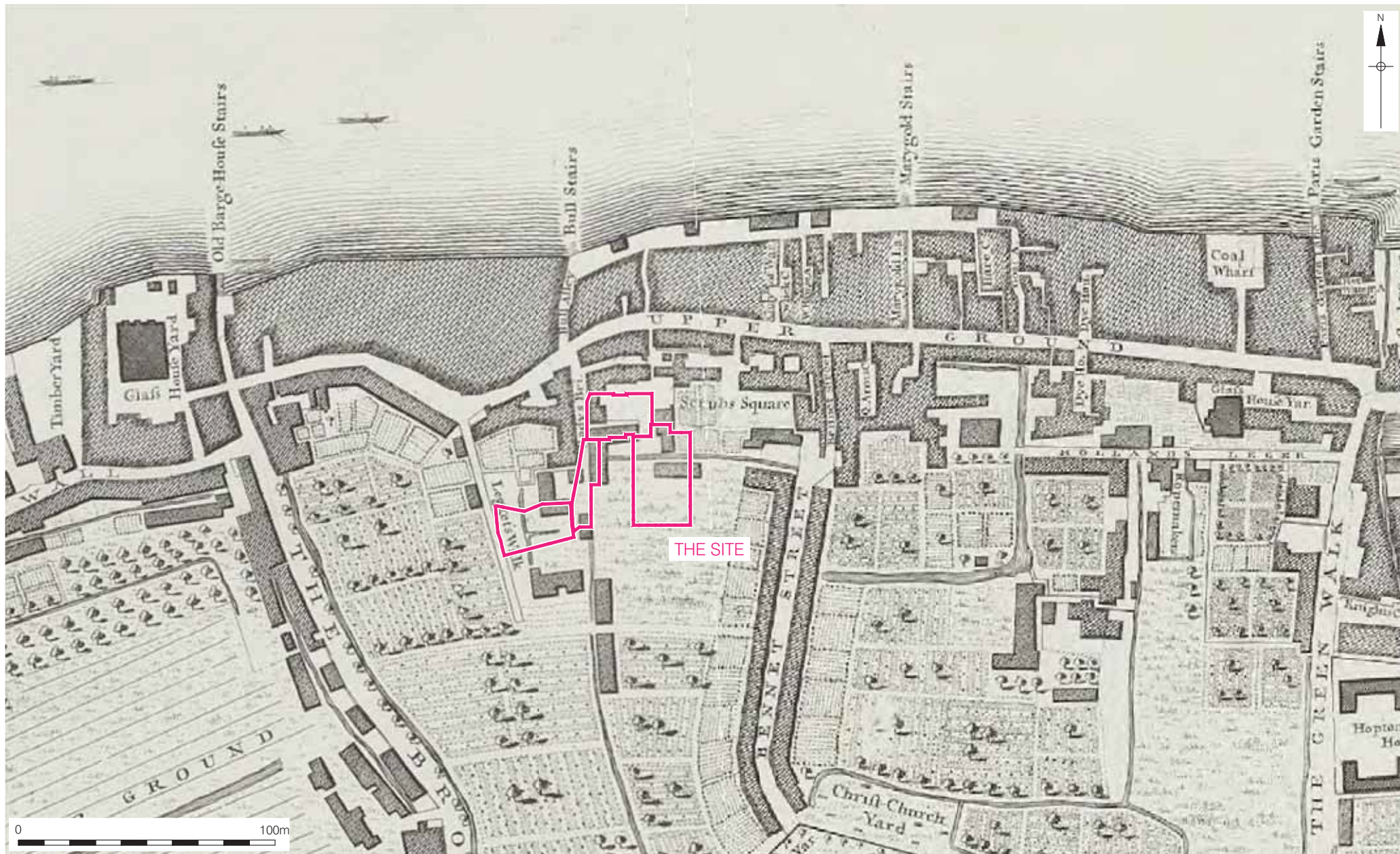


Figure 12
Rocque, 1747
1:2,000 at A4

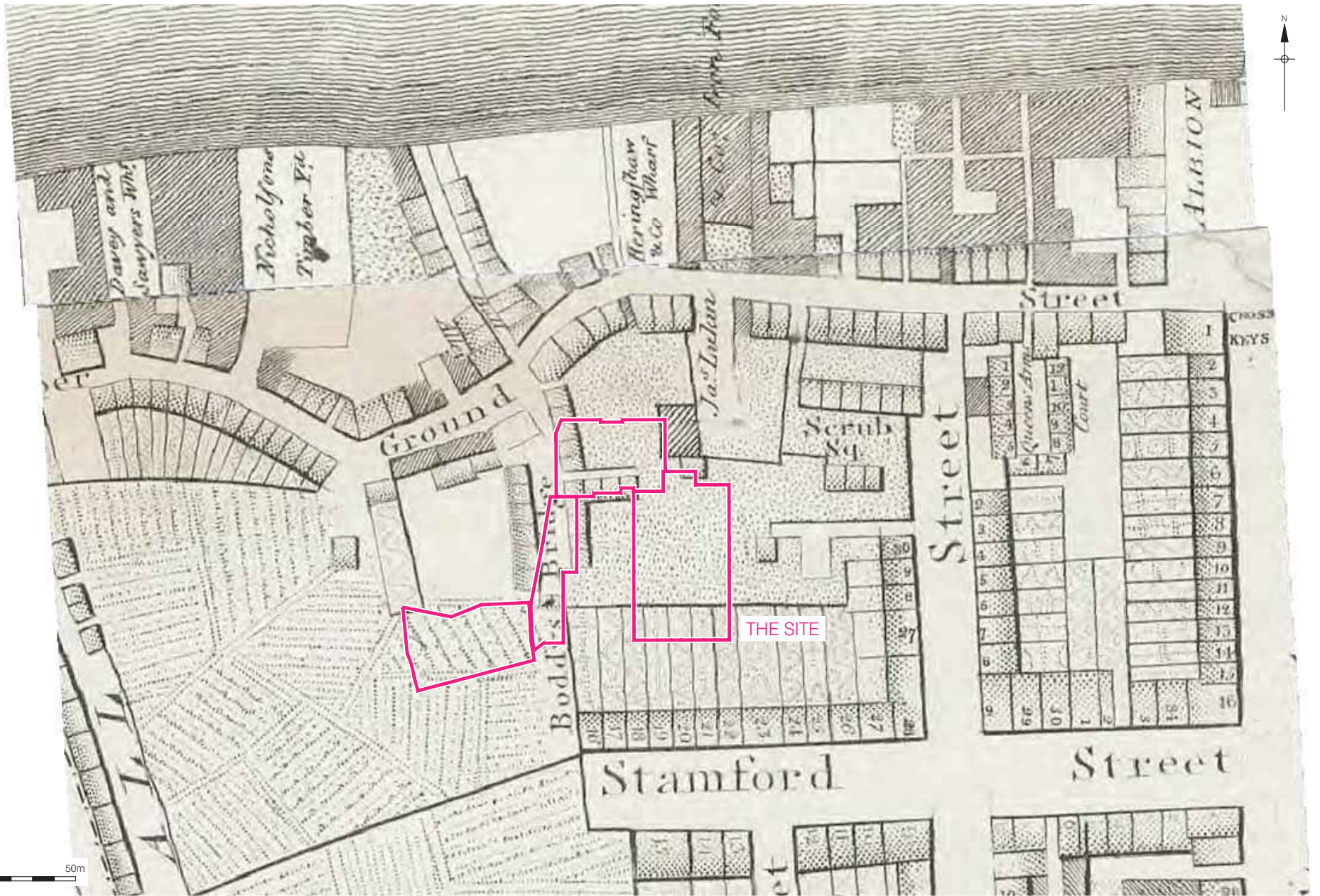


Figure 13
Horwood, 1792-99
1:1,250 at A4

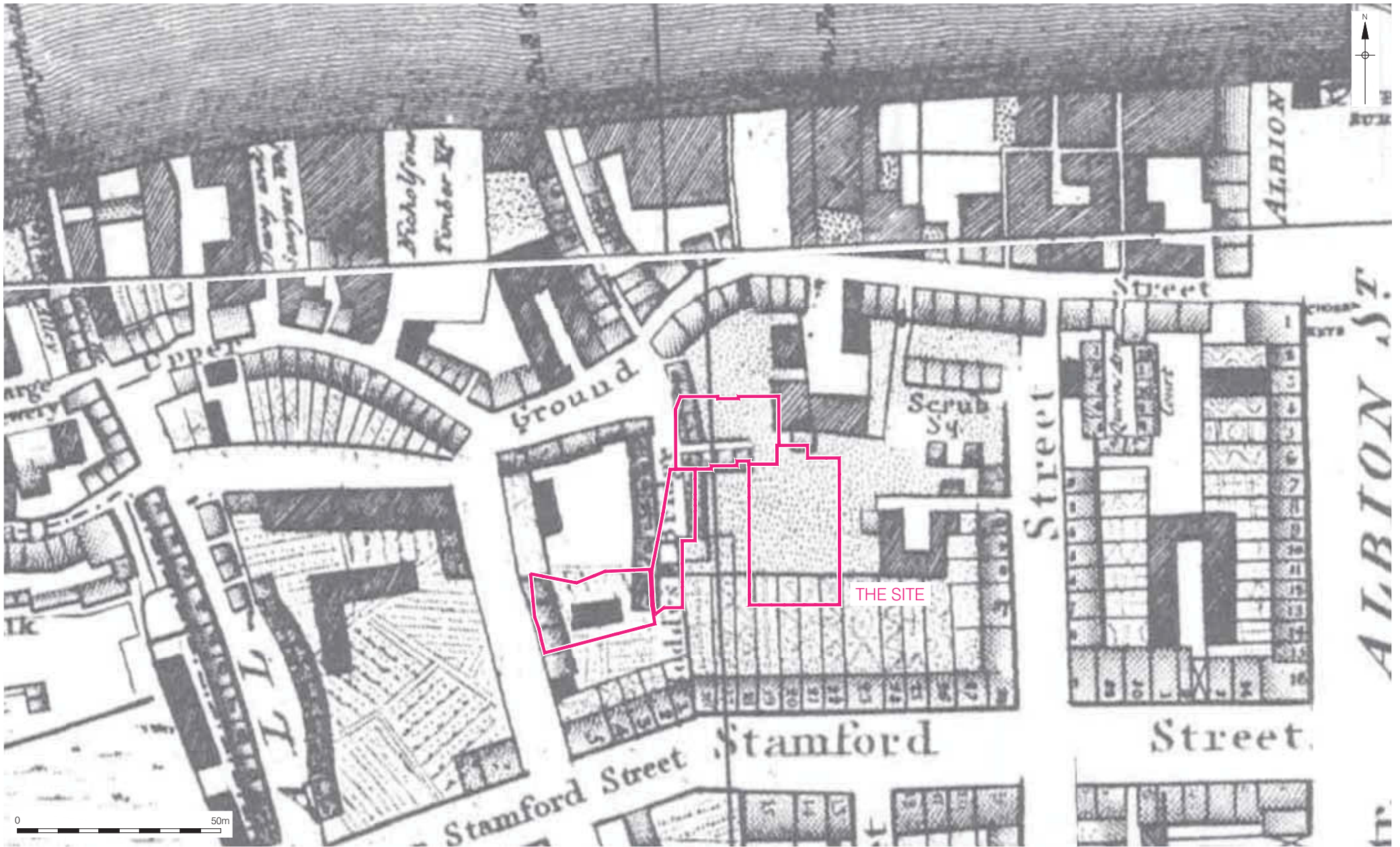
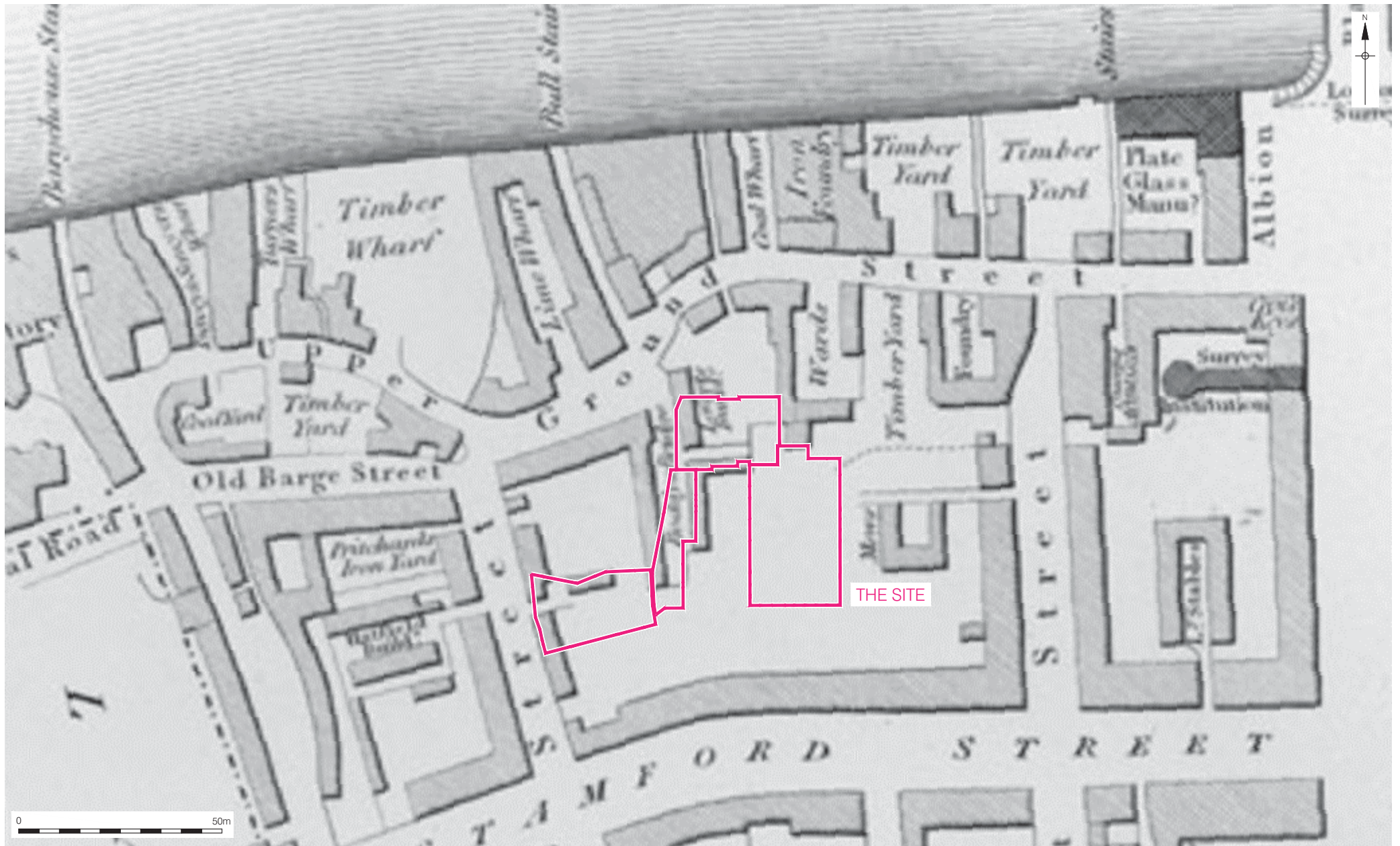
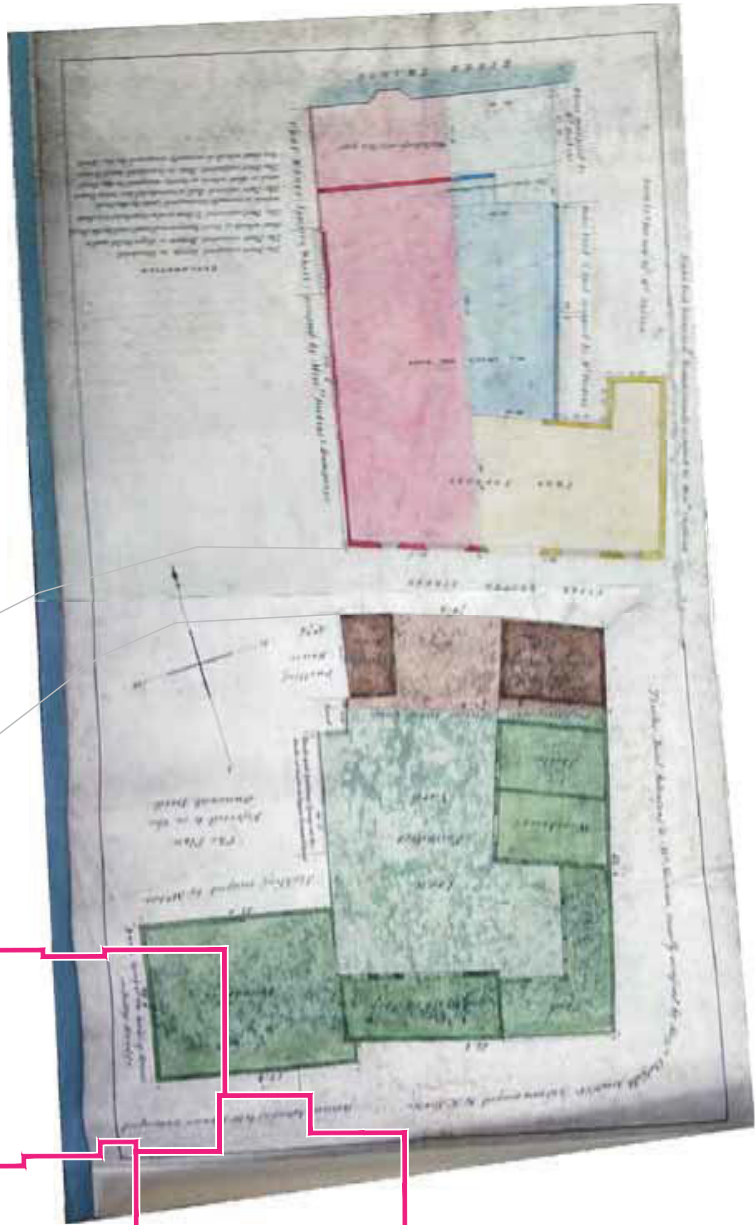


Figure 14
Horwood, 1813
1:1,250 at A4





UPPER GROUND STREET

THE SITE



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Figure 16
Plan of properties on Upper Ground Street, 1850
1:1,250 at A4

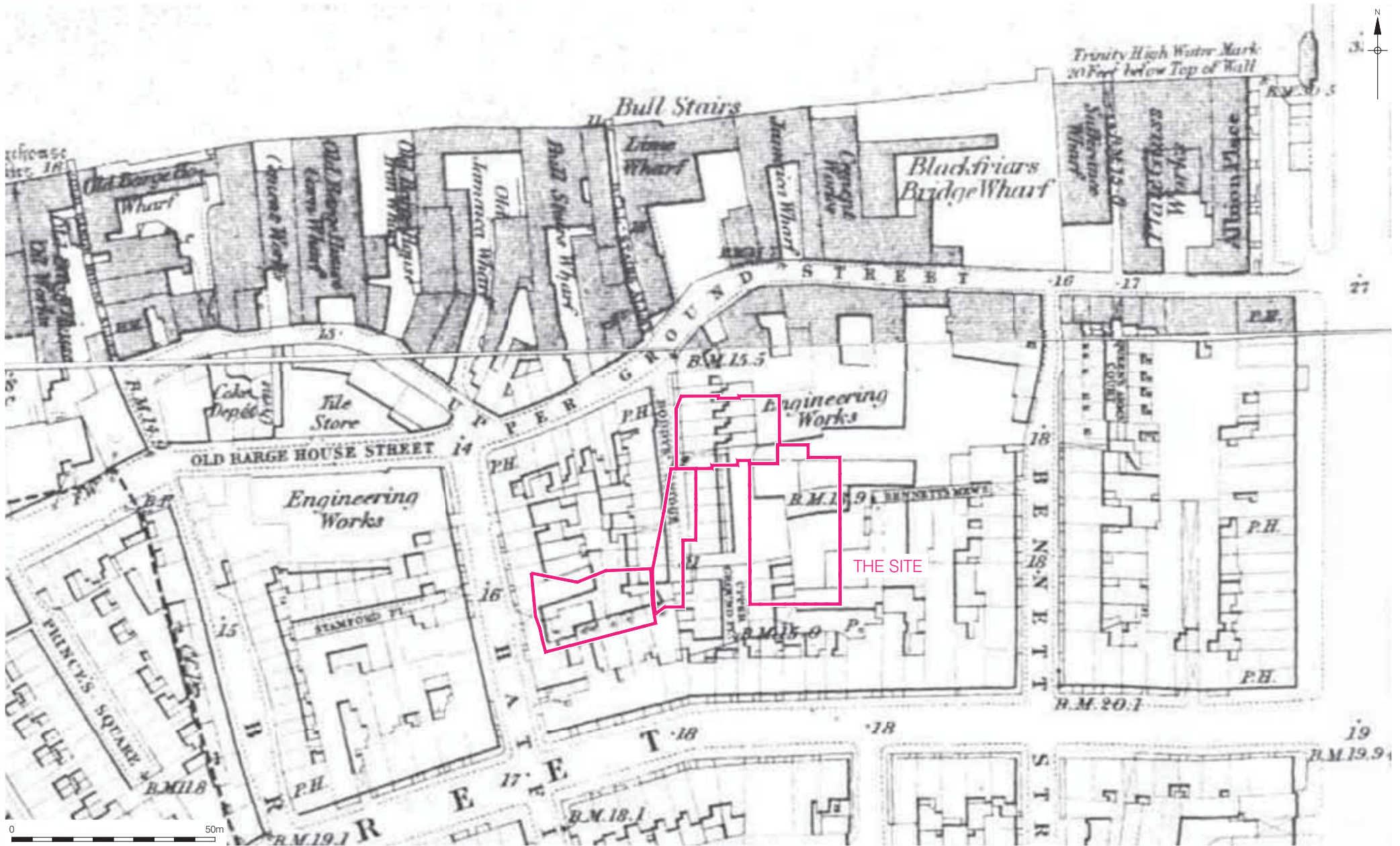
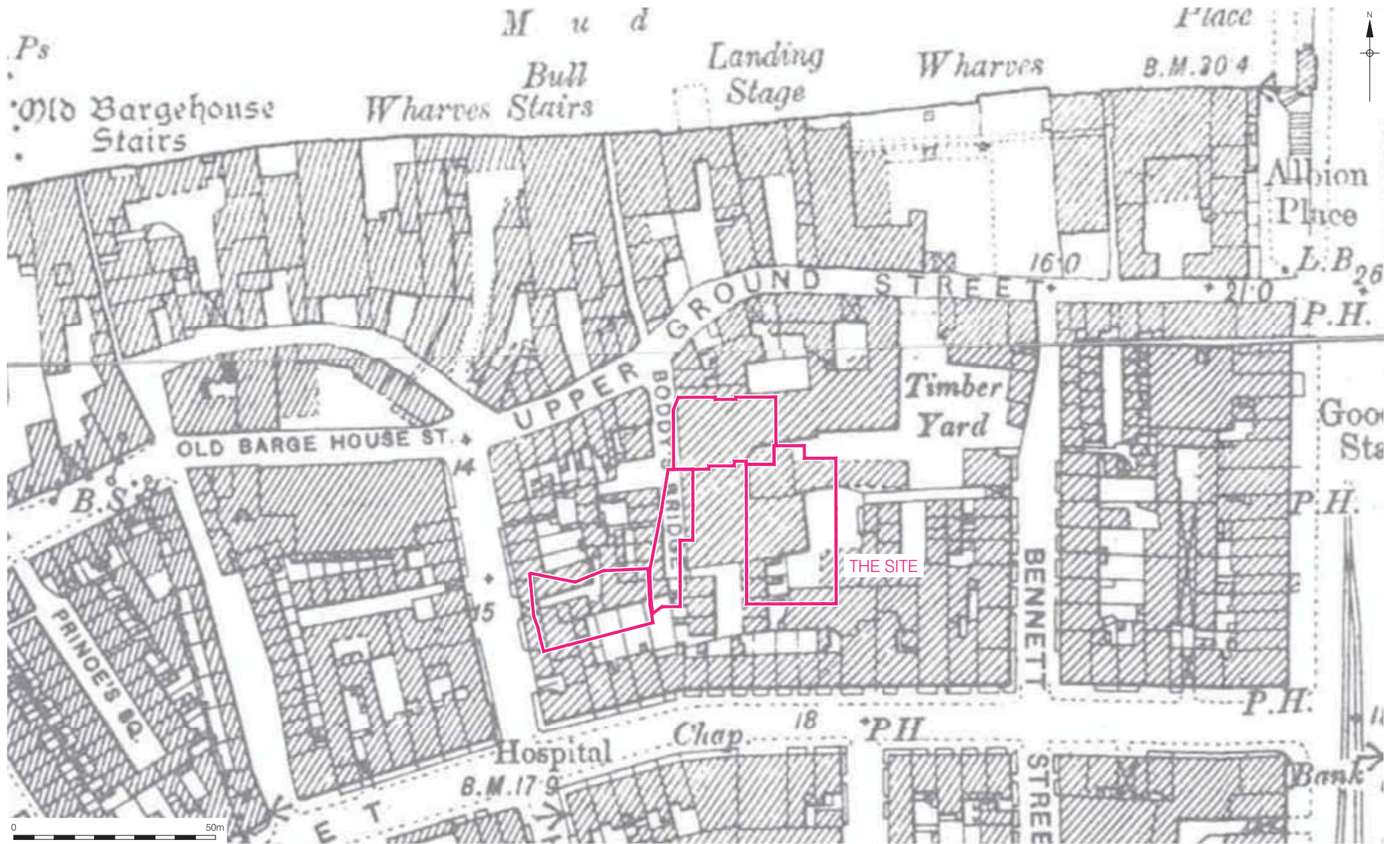


Figure 17
Ordnance Survey, 1872
1:1,250 at A4



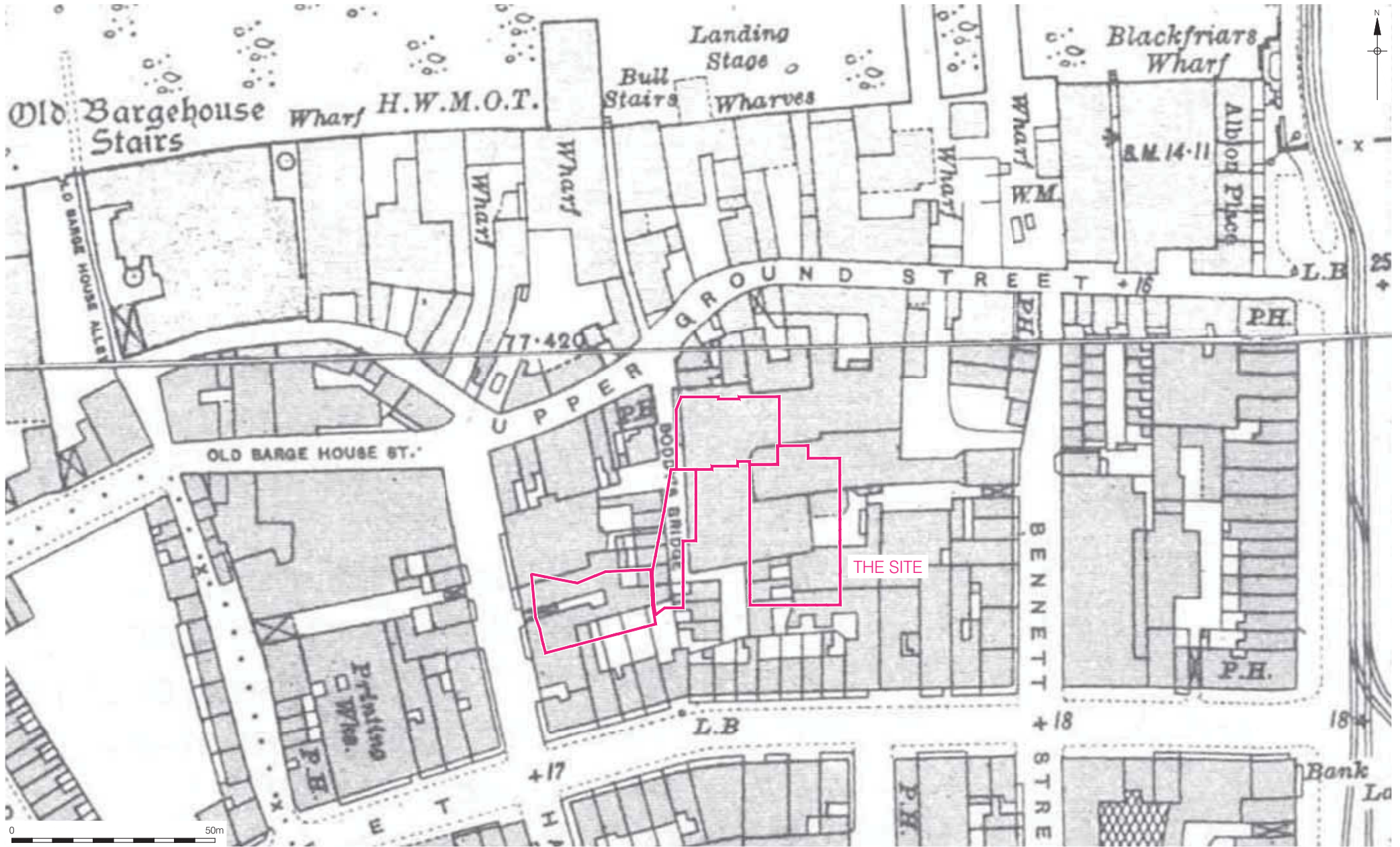
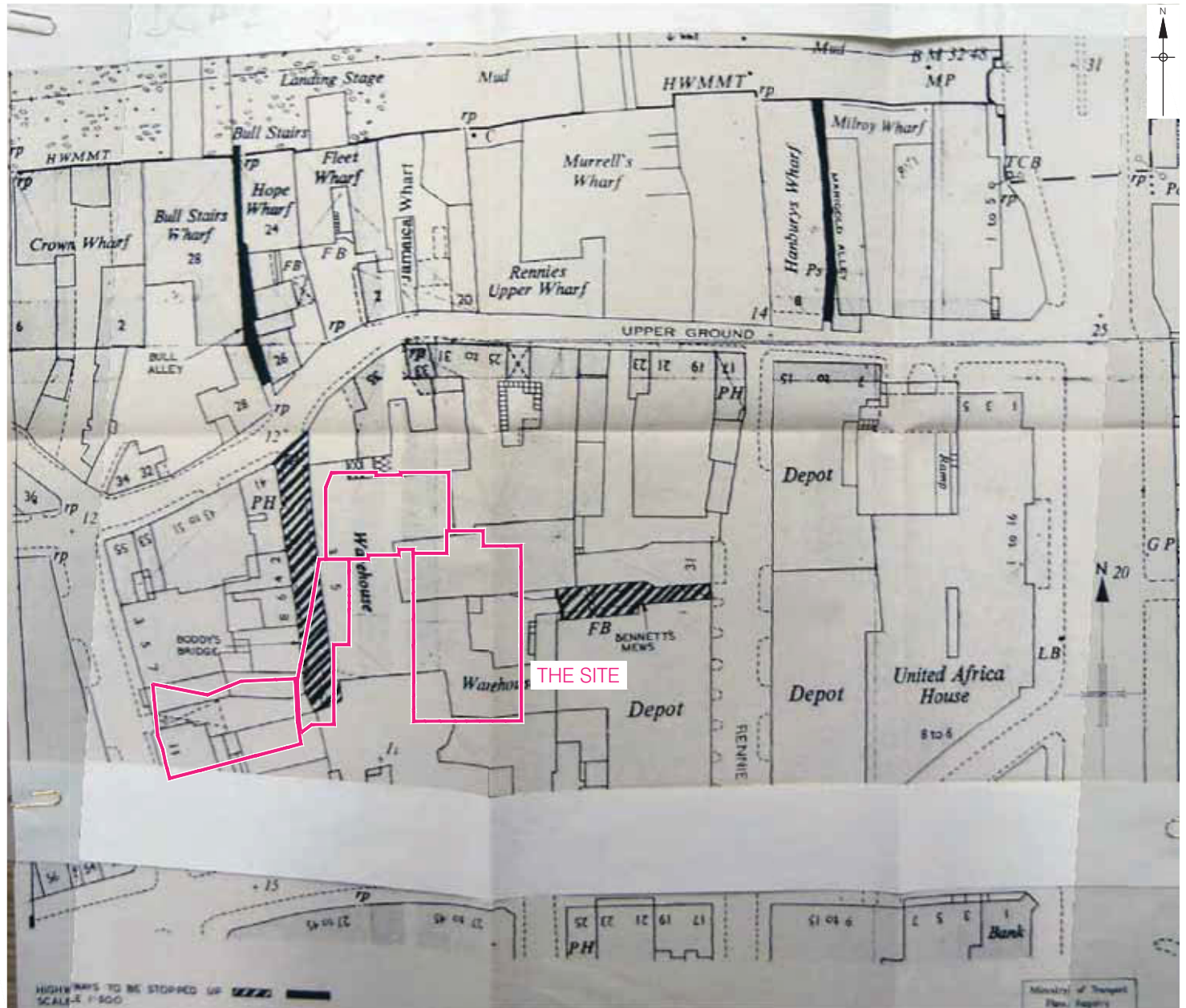


Figure 19
Ordnance Survey, 1914
1:1,250 at A4



0 50m

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Figure 20
Ordnance Survey, 1970
1:1,250 at A4

APPENDIX 7: Assessment of the animal bone

By Kevin Rielly

Introduction

This large site was situated just west of Blackfriars Bridge Road in the Paris Gardens area, bordered to the north by Stamford Street.

Methodology

The bone was recorded to species/taxonomic category where possible and to size class in the case of unidentifiable bones such as ribs, fragments of longbone shaft and the majority of vertebra fragments. Recording follows the established techniques for the Greater London Area and elsewhere in the United Kingdom whereby details of the element, species, bone portion, state of fusion, wear of the dentition, anatomical measurements and taphonomic including natural and anthropogenic modifications to the bone have been registered.

Description of the bones

A total of 12 bones were hand recovered from 4 deposits (see Table 1), namely [1] (dated to the mid 19th century) and [12] (late 16th to 18th) ground raising levels: [17] (mid to late 18th) a dump and [26] a peat layer, which is undated but clearly predating the archaeological horizons. In addition a single bone was taken from a sieved peat layer [63]. Starting with the oldest bones there is a cattle first phalange from [63], there is a single cattle-size vertebrae fragment from [26], followed by a cattle ulna with major butchery evidence through the shaft and a sheep/goat femur, tibia and metatarsus from [12], then cattle- and sheep-size ribs, a sheep/goat radius and a chicken sternum from [17]; and finally two cattle-size ribs from [1].

Context	1	12	17	26	63
Species					
Cattle		1			1
Cattle-size	2		1	1	
Sheep/Goat		3	1		
Sheep-size			1		
Chicken			1		
Total	2	4	4	1	1

Table 1. Species abundance and distribution

All of the cattle and sheep/goat bones are from adult individuals, signifying animals surviving to at least their third year, while an indication of size is provided by the complete sheep metatarsus from [12] with a greatest length of 121.3mm. This translates to a shoulder height of 550.7mm (after von den Driesch and Boessneck 1974), corresponding to the lower part of the sheep size range from contemporary deposits as seen for example at Bermondsey Abbey (Rielly in prep).

Conclusions

This collection is clearly well preserved and certainly well dated but falls down in terms of potential value concerning the rather small quantity of bones recovered. The earliest bone, the cattle phalange recovered from the lower peat level, may indicate human activity in the vicinity of the site in prehistory probably during the Bronze Age. It may be that this bone was intrusive in this context as the small piece of ceramic material also associated may be of post-Roman date. It is possible to suggest that cattle and sheep formed part of the local meat diet for the post-medieval period. In addition these animals had clearly spent some time as wool or milk producers or indeed as work animals prior to their arrival at the city scalding houses/butchers. It should also be mentioned that the size of the sheep appear to conform to those taken from contemporary levels at other London sites.

These few conclusions provide the sum total of the information which can be gleaned from this rather small collection.

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APPENDIX 8: Environmental archaeological assessment

By Marta Pérez

Introduction

This report summarises the findings arising out of the environmental archaeological assessment undertaken at Pre-Construct Archaeology, from two bulk samples taken from King's Reach site. The aim of this environmental assessment is 1) to provide an overview of the contents of the bulk samples, 2) determine the environmental potential of these samples and 3) identify if further analysis should be undertaken.

Methodology

The two bulk samples (7 and 15 litres) were processed by wet sieving and flotation for the recovery of waterlogged plant macrofossils (seeds and wood). Initially the two samples were processed by flotation using a 300 micron and 1mm mesh sizes, both flots and residues were kept wet prior to assessment.

Flots were scanned for the presence of charcoal, weed seeds, molluscs and other environmental remains. They were viewed under a binocular microscope.

The residues were wet sieved into a 2 and a 1mm sieve to retrieve artefacts and un-floated organic remains (such as wood). After these residues were sorted they were kept wet due to the high concentration of organic matter (roots and grasses).

RESULTS

Waterlogged seeds were present in both samples. Tree taxa *Alnus* (alder) was very common in sample <101> context (63) and shrubs were represented in both samples by *Sambucus nigra* (elder).

Herbaceous seeds comprised *Polygonum/Rumex* sp. (knotweed/sorrel/dock), *Solanum nigrum* (black nightshade), *Urtica* sp (stinging nettle) and *Chenopodium album* (goosefoot; sample<101>).

No wood fragments were found in any of the samples, only roots and grasses.

Only samples <101> produced some artefacts, a bone (possibly cow) and a pottery fragment.

Discussion

The preservation of these assessed samples can provide some information about the general environment of the site.

The waterlogged plant macrofossil assemblage representative of trees and shrubs mainly comprised alder and elder. Alder occurs in both bog woodland and fen carr (Mauquoy & Van Geel, 2007), and its prominence within sample <101> is likely to reflect its dominant role within the surrounding woodland. All the other waterlogged plant macrofossils recorded are likely to represent taxa mainly growing or found on damp ground and often associated with streams, standing water and fen carr (Stace, 1997). Waterlogged seeds of sorrel/dock, black knightshade, stinging nettle indicate the growth of a typical fen woodland ground flora.

The absence of any worked wood or wood fragments could indicate that we are in the presence of a natural feature (a stream or pond) rather than an anthropogenic one. There are no environmental remains indicative of human activity around the sampled feature, with the exception of the small pottery fragment and bone.

The lack of snails from any of the samples suggests that the soil conditions may be quite acidic. No further analysis is recommended for the assessed samples.

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APPENDIX 9: OASIS FORM

OASIS ID: preconst1-207543

Project details

Project name	Assessment of an Archaeological Watching Brief at South Bank Tower
Short description of the project	There earlier parts of the sequence indentified comprise gravel and sand deposits followed by a sequence of silty clays and peat formation possibly of Bronze Age date, followed by alluviation. The post-medieval segment of the archaeological succession comprised 16th to 18th century and later ground raising and consolidation with a number of largely non weight bearing internal walls, wells or soakaways, a flagstone floor remnant and segments of timber structures and a few pits. These largely appear to be of 18th century date and later and are sealed by some evidence for demolition and ground levelling.
Project dates	Start: 03-08-2013 End: 17-07-2014
Previous/future work	Yes / No
Any associated project reference codes	KII10 - Sitecode
Type of project	Recording project
Site status	Local Authority Designated Archaeological Area
Current Land use	Other 3 - Built over
Monument type	DWELLING Post Medieval
Significant Finds	N/A None
Significant Finds	N/A None
Investigation type	"Watching Brief"
Prompt	Direction from Local Planning Authority - PPS

Project location

Country	England
Site location	GREATER LONDON SOUTHWARK SOUTHWARK South Bank Tower, Stamford Street
Postcode	SE1
Study area	1900.00 Square metres
Site coordinates	TQ 3150 8045 51.5071619872 -0.104977507293 51 30 25 N 000 06 17 W Point
Height OD / Depth	Min: 0.33m Max: 1.43m

Project creators

Name of Organisation	PCA
Project brief originator	Mills Whipp
Project design	Mills Whipp

originator
Project director/manager Tim Bradley
Project supervisor Ireneo Grosso
Type of sponsor/funding body Client
Name of sponsor/funding body CIT

Project archives

Physical Archive recipient LAARC
Physical Contents "Animal Bones", "Ceramics", "Glass"
Digital Archive recipient LAARC
Digital Contents "Animal Bones", "Ceramics", "Environmental", "Glass", "Stratigraphic", "Survey"
Digital Media available "Database", "Images raster / digital photography", "Spreadsheets", "Survey", "Text"
Paper Archive recipient LAARC
Paper Contents "Animal Bones", "Ceramics", "Environmental", "Glass", "Stratigraphic", "Survey", "Wood"
Paper Media available "Context sheet", "Matrices", "Report", "Unpublished Text"

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