

# Chapter 1

## Introduction

*by Ben M Ford*

### THE PROJECT

#### General introduction to the project

This report, commissioned and funded by Cubex Land on behalf of Finzel's Reach Property LLP, describes the result of archaeological investigations carried out at Finzel's Reach, Bristol. The Finzel's Reach project was the largest combined archaeological, geoarchaeological and historic building investigation to have been completed within the historic core of the City of Bristol, and took place on the former Courage Brewery site on Counterslip (Figs 1.1-3). The archaeological excavations and targeted geoarchaeological sampling of the surviving buried remains were carried out by Oxford Archaeology; the recording of the extant historic buildings, prior to their selective demolition and renovation, was initially undertaken by Pre-Construct Archaeology in 2004 (PCA 2004b, DVD section 04) and completed by CgMs Consulting and James Dixon between April 2007 and April 2008 (CgMs and Dixon 2012, DVD section 04). These works were conducted during the initial stages of the rejuvenation of the site to create 'Finzel's Reach', a major redevelopment that was designed to provide a combination of retail, residential and office space housed within a mixture of predominantly new buildings alongside a number of restored former brewery buildings, and constructed on a street pattern that reflected the former medieval crossroads that centred around the site of the Temple Cross. The archaeological fieldwork, historic building recording, post-excavation analysis and publication were undertaken in accordance with requirements set out by Bristol City Council as part of the initial planning permission for the development.

#### The layout and content of the book and DVD

The results of the archaeological, geoarchaeological and building recording investigations are published here in a combination of two formats. The printed volume reports on the archaeological excavations and contains the background to the entire project, the archaeological description of the main excavations, summaries of the specialist analyses and a

discussion of the results. The DVD that accompanies the book (which can be found inside the back cover) contains the full detailed artefactual and ecofactual specialist reports, the historic building reports, reports from previous investigations, and other pertinent project documents.

Chapter 1 of this printed volume establishes the background to the project; it sets out the local geological and topographic context of the site and presents the historical and archaeological background on a local, city-based and site-based level. It outlines the planning background and describes chronologically the sequence of desk-based assessment, geoarchaeological and archaeological evaluation that preceded the main excavations, as well as the historic building recording works at the site. It also details the archaeological methodology that was employed during the main excavations and the post-excavation analysis, along with the research framework that guided these works. It concludes by presenting a chronological synopsis of the results, and presents the Bristol Museum accession codes for the full archives.

Chapters 2, 3 and 4 contain the archaeological descriptions, supported by detailed illustrations, for all the periods of occupation and use of the site. Chapter 5 draws together all the strands of evidence: stratigraphic, documentary, artefactual, environmental and geoarchaeological, to summarise, interpret and discuss the results and the sequence of change through the various periods of occupation. Summarised versions of the specialist reports on artefactual and environmental material appear in Chapters 6 and 7 respectively, along with the finds illustrations and supporting tables.

The DVD contains the full specialist reports (from which the printed summaries have been taken) along with both of the historic building recording reports. There are also copies of the unpublished client reports on both phases of archaeological evaluation, the Written Scheme of Investigation and research design for the main excavation, and the Post-Excavation Assessment and Updated Project Design. A gallery of photographs, and a short film called *A day in the life*, can also be found on the DVD and will hopefully allow readers to gain a sense of the site during the fieldwork stage of the main excavations.



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### TOPOGRAPHY AND GEOLOGY

The underlying geological bedrock upon which central Bristol is situated consists of Old Red Sandstone, known locally as Redcliffe Sandstone, and belongs to the Keuper series from the Triassic period. In places this is overlain by uneroded

Carboniferous Limestone. In the valley floors of the River Frome and especially the much larger River Avon these rock formations are mainly buried below deposits of Pleistocene gravels (c 20-10,000 BP), which have, in turn, been overlain by alluvial silts laid down by the evolving and slowing river



Fig. 1.2 Aerial photograph of Bristol looking southwards, showing the area of Finzel's Reach

Fig. 1.1 (facing page) Location of the Finzel's Reach project area





Fig. 1.3 View across the site toward north-east during demolition of brewery buildings and machining of Areas 4 and 5, with Castle Park in the background



Fig. 1.4 The Avon Gorge, showing Clifton and the Suspension Bridge with the Bristol Channel in the far distance





*Fig. 1.5  
The medieval  
topography  
of Bristol  
and the  
project area*



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systems during the Holocene (from 10,000 BP). In places, however, the Sandstone/Limestone is immediately below the surface and visible in the cliffs and outcrops of the area, notably at Redcliffe and the Avon Gorge (BGS 1974).

Until the 19th century, the water levels in the Frome and Avon at Bristol varied not only with the usual riverine cycle of seasonal flooding, but also, more dramatically, with the daily ebb and flow of the tides in the Bristol Channel. At high tide the rivers would swell and flood the adjacent low-lying marshy areas, and at low tide, the ebb revealed huge banks of mud within which were the channels cut by the flow of the rivers. The tidal flow washes into the mouth of the River Avon at Avonmouth and pushes southwards, passing through the Avon Gorge, a 1.5-mile-long steep-sided narrow gorge that was cut during the last glaciation through the predominantly limestone ridge that now forms the Downs (Fig. 1.4). At the southern end of the Gorge, where the slopes of the Downs fall away to lower-lying ground, the tidal waters of the Avon turn sharply eastwards towards the confluence with the River Frome. It was here, protected from sea storms *c* 5 miles from the coast, that the historic port at the heart of the modern City of Bristol first developed, on an east-west promontory of higher ground between the two rivers and immediately upstream of their confluence. The significance of the tidal flow here is demonstrated by the earliest surviving written description of Bristol, which comes in the *Gesta Stephani*, from the time of the Anarchy (1135-53) and describes the effect of the tide to 'drive back the current of the rivers to produce a wide and deep expanse of water' capable of accommodating a thousand ships (Potter 1976, 47-8).

The difference in height between the tidal extremes is estimated to be in excess of 14.8m at Avonmouth, which reduces to 10.3m just 2km to the west of the centre of Bristol at the site of Cumberland Basin. Historically the detailed extent of this tidal effect can be estimated from excavated evidence as around 3.8m (see DVD section 2.27), allowing seagoing vessels to enter and leave the port on the deeper waters of the high tide and settle at port at low tide. The management of the rivers and their water flow was a Bristolian preoccupation throughout the medieval (and later) period. When Bristol Castle, situated immediately east of the medieval town and across the Avon from Finzel's Reach, was rebuilt in stone in the 12th century, a cutting was made from the Frome to the Avon to supply the moat ditch. This also had the effect of completing the circuit formed by the two rivers around the town (Fig. 1.5). Some 100 years later, between 1240 and 1247, the course of the River Frome was moved westwards via a man-made channel, St Augustine's Reach, that ran for *c* 700m through marshy ground owned by St Augustine's Abbey to the west of the town. The new man-made channel provided the space for new quays to be constructed, greatly increasing the number of ships that could be

moored in the town at one time, and therefore the volume of trade that the town could handle.

The natural rhythm of the daily tidal ebb and flow is no longer evident in the centre of the city, because the river levels are managed through a series of locks and man-made channels constructed from the early 19th century. Between 1804 and 1809 a *c* 1.8-mile stretch of the River Avon, between the Totterdown Basin near Temple Meads and Rownham in Hotwells, was bypassed by the construction of the 'New Cut'. Locks at Netham Weir to the east and Cumberland Basin to the west allowed the bypassed former natural course of the River Avon and St Augustine's Reach (the modified length of the Frome) to be isolated so the water could be maintained at a constant level in. This stretch of the Avon then became known as the Floating Harbour.

Over recent centuries the city has grown significantly from its small historic core to spread northwards up and over the undulating slopes of the Downs and westwards to the edge of the cliffs that form the east side of the Avon Gorge; it has developed inland to the north-east and south-east along the valley floors of the meandering and tamed Frome and Avon and crossed the broad Avon valley floor to climb up and over the hills to the south.

### THE SITE

The site was situated close to the city centre on Counterslip, to the south of a bend in the Floating Harbour between Bristol Bridge, *c* 100m to the west and St Philip's Bridge, immediately to the east (Fig. 1.6). It lay within the Redcliffe Conservation Area and was until 1999 the city centre site of Courage's Brewery. The site covered an area of approximately 2ha which was centred on National Grid Reference ST 5922 7294. The northern and eastern limits of the site were defined by the harbour wall of the Floating Harbour and the southern boundary follows the line of the modern road of Counterslip (located some distance south of the medieval road of the same name), which leads from St Philip's Bridge to Victoria Street. The rear walls of the properties that front onto the east side of Victoria Street (northwards from its junction with Counterslip) form part of the western boundary of the site, after which it runs eastwards to take in Bath Street Terrace, and turns northwards along the west side of Grimes Lane (which forms the eastern boundary to the neighbouring development of George's Square) to return to the Floating Harbour.

The site had formed the larger part of the Courage Brewery until production ceased in 1999. At its peak, Courage's site had also extended westwards from Grimes Lane to Bristol Bridge (now George's Square). This large city-centre brewing complex had grown in an *ad hoc* manner from earlier 17th-, 18th- and 19th-century brewing concerns. The first documented brewer on the site dates from the 15th century (Leech, 2000). By the late 1980s the site contained a variety of different buildings, many



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Fig. 1.6 Overall plan of the project area, showing major buildings of the brewery and the location of the excavation trenches and watching brief areas

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associated with activities other than brewing, that dated from the 18th-20th centuries, with some only added by Courage's in 1985 (Fig. 1.6). It also encompassed parts of a number of streets (many of which had been in place from the medieval period). In the north-west corner of the site are Grimes Lane and Hawkins Lane, named after the brewers Sir John Hawkins and James Grimes who operated adjacent to and on the site from the late 17th and the early 18th century respectively. These lanes lead down either side of the fermentation building (and well head) to the Floating Harbour. To the east were the compressor room, the ale store and the brewhouse, adjacent to the Finzel Building and cask store, which occupied the bend in the Floating Harbour and contained the George's Building. The new offices and Courage's southern accounting centre (formerly the tramway generator station, now a Listed Grade II building) filled the remaining length of river frontage to Counterslip and St Philip's Bridge. Adjoining the back of the Finzel Building and cask store was a large modern cask warehouse built in 1985. Between the eastern side of this warehouse and the new offices and accounting centre ran a small road (formerly called Temple Back). To the south, between the warehouse and the boundary wall on Counterslip, was a narrow car park, with the gatehouse lying on the opposite side of the site access road, and controlling the gates onto Counterslip. Behind the gatehouse lay a larger car park which filled the south-west corner of the site. To the north of this lay the Listed Grade II Georgian Bath Street Terrace which lay on the south side of Bath Street.

Although all the buildings (except for Bath Street Terrace) were used for the large scale 20th-century administration, production and distribution of Courage's brewed products, some of them originated from previous operations at the site and retained significant architectural elements. These included buildings from Messrs Finzel and Sons Sugar Refinery, which operated on Counterslip from 1839 to 1881 and was the largest such enterprise in England by the 1870s. George's Brewery began production at the site in the 18th century, and subsequently expanded to take in Finzel's sugar works after its closure, becoming the Bristol Brewery, George's and Co. Ltd. The Power Generating Station housed large steam engines that produced electricity for the Corporation tram system until the 1920s. The structures that have been retained as part of the development are shown on Figure 1.6 and include the external walls of the fermentation building, the compressor room, the riverside wall of the Finzel Building, the western wall and the main part of the riverside wall of the old cask store (including a short stretch of its eastern return), the western wall and facade of the former entrance and frontage to George's Brewery (bearing the insignia 'Bristol Brewery Georges and Co Ltd') and both the Listed Grade II tramway generator building and Bath Street Terrace.

## THE HISTORICAL AND ARCHAEOLOGICAL SETTING

### Background

As with many cities and towns in England during the 18th and 19th centuries, antiquarian interest led to a few archaeological discoveries within Bristol. In the 1820s J Evans published *A Chronological Outline of the History of Bristol*, and George Braikenridge commissioned a number of artists, such as Hugh O'Neill who mainly used watercolour, to record extensive areas of vanishing Bristol. In 1930, the Bristol Record Society commenced publishing transcripts of Bristol's medieval documents. The city suffered badly from bombing in the Second World War, and the demolition, clearance and rebuilding of many areas of the city, as in London and Coventry, led to a heightened interest in, and a desire to explore and save, its past. The first organised archaeological research within the historic core of the town took place in bomb-damaged areas between Newgate and the Floating Harbour. However, archaeological and architectural discoveries were often piecemeal and usually rapidly recorded in difficult conditions. Excavations at the western end of what is now Castle Park on Mary-le-Port Street took place in 1962-63, and in 1968 the City Council appointed a full time Archaeological Officer. In the same year excavations started at the eastern end of Castle Park and shortly after this a dedicated archaeological unit was formed (later to become Bristol and Region Archaeological Services). The archaeological unit conducted rescue excavations around the city in the 1970s and 1980s. Much of this work remains unpublished, as noted by Bob Jones, former City Archaeologist:

'One of the primary impediments to furthering our knowledge of Bristol's historical development has been the conspicuous lack of detailed analysis and publication of excavations, especially of those carried out during the period of the last major development boom in the 1970s and 1980s.' (Jones in Baker *et al.* forthcoming)

The historical and archaeological background relevant to the present excavations is summarised below. It draws upon evidence from previous works such as those mentioned above, and attempts to place the site that forms the subject of the present report within the wider context of the city and its hinterland, and particularly of the suburb to the south of the River Avon.

### Prehistoric period

There is a general lack of prehistoric evidence from central Bristol, and this may reflect the difficulty in locating such sites in a dense urban area. Of particular note is the recovery during the 19th century of a group of Bronze Age artefacts from the area of the



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southern approach to Bristol Bridge (Bristol HER 50). The site of Bristol Bridge, situated just downstream from the present excavations, taking advantage of the higher and drier outcrop of Sandstone at this location, may have been used as a fording point to cross the Avon during this period. The area of the present excavations at this time probably formed part of a series of salt marshes that had developed in the alluvial silts of the floodplain along the edges of the tidally affected lower reaches of the River Avon (Champness, Chapter 7 and DVD section 02.27)

### Roman period

A probable Roman rural settlement has been identified on the higher ground to the north of the medieval core, in Upper Maudlin Street. Recent excavation has uncovered more of this settlement (Jackson 2000), while the discovery of a lead ingot in Wade Street in the 19th century might suggest the site of a Roman crossing over the River Frome to the east of the city centre. However, the nearest significant settlement is the Roman port of *Abona* at Sea Mills, c 3km to the north-west on the north bank of the River Avon. It is probable that much of the area now covered by Bristol comprised an agricultural landscape with isolated farmsteads, villas such as those at Brislington (Barker 1900), Filwood Park (Williams 1983) and King's Weston Park (Boon 1950), and other small rural settlements similar to the known examples at Inns Court (Jackson 2007a) and Filwood Park (Williams 1983).

### Anglo-Saxon period

Very little is definitively known about the Bristol area during the 500 years between the detachment of Britain from western Roman imperial administration and the late Saxon period. The River Avon formed a natural boundary between the kingdoms of Mercia to the north and Wessex to the south, but after the unification of the Saxon kingdoms it became the boundary between Gloucestershire and Somerset. An early monastic house at Westbury-on-Trym, founded c 716 (VCH 1907, 106), and located to the north-west of central Bristol, was referred to as *Westmynster* in a grant of 804. Manco (2009) speculates that this name indicates the presence of a place of significance lying to the east, perhaps within the area of Bristol. Nevertheless, Bristol does not appear among the places listed in the early 10th-century Burghal Hidage, and nor does it have any surviving Saxon charters. It was not until the latter part of the Saxon period that accurately datable archaeological evidence of a settlement with an urban character is to be found. This can be associated with the flush of late Saxon defended urban centres identifiable from the time when Aethelred II (better known as Ethelred the Unready) ordered the repair of burghal defences and the defence of bridges against the new wave of Viking attacks that took place during his

reign. The evidence from Bristol takes the form of two silver coins with the stamp of the coin maker *Aelfward on Bric*, which date from the latter years of Aethelred's reign (978-1016), and were probably issued in 1009-10 (Grinsell 1986, 25). The coins clearly prove the existence of a mint at Bristol, and since mints required a royal grant which was only given by law to market centres, this therefore demonstrates that a settlement of some status had developed by this time and may already have been a successful trading place with well-established transport connections. Such a settlement would probably also have been provided with some form of defensive circuit of earth and timber. The success and growth of *Brycgstow* or *Brycg stowe* ('the place by the bridge' or 'the place of assembly by the bridge') into such a market centre by the early 11th century was probably the result of its excellent topographic position. The late Saxon core of the town is thought to lie at the end of the promontory of land between the Rivers Avon and Frome to the north-west of the present site. This position not only provided a good crossing point over the rivers but would have been relatively easy to defend, as well as being advantageous for both river and sea transport. Bristol is mentioned, if only fleetingly, in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, but this is as late as 1052 when Harold Godwinson is recorded as having taken a ship to *Brycgstow*, which strongly suggests the presence of a port by this time. A further element of the late Saxon settlement may have lain on the southern bank of the River Avon, perhaps associated with the need to defend a bridgehead at the strategic bridging point and possibly in the approximate location of Bristol Bridge (Leech 2000), although no archaeological evidence for this had been found prior to the excavations at Finzel's Reach.

Archaeological evidence for pre-Conquest activity in Bristol is relatively sparse and is poorly understood (Baker *et al.* forthcoming). Excavations at Small Street revealed part of an earth bank near Leonard Lane (*ibid.*) and a possible ditch was discovered on the line of Dolphin Street (Williams 1992), both tentatively interpreted as evidence for the defences of the late Saxon burh. Mary-le-Port Street was demonstrated in 1962-3 to have a late Saxon origin (Watts and Rahtz 1985) and cess pits and postholes producing late 10th- to early 11th-century pottery were found within the historic core during excavations during 1979 at Tower Lane (Boore 1984, 11) and at Newmarket Avenue in 1990 (Williams 1992). Late Saxon remains were also found on the site of the later Norman castle to the east of the main walled town. Additionally, late Saxon settlement outside the urban core also seems likely, as possible pre-Conquest burials were found at St Augustine-the-Less (Boore 1985) as well as evidence predating the medieval hospital of St Bartholomew's on the north bank of the Frome (Price and Ponsford 1998). Despite the relative paucity of the evidence, the layout of the historic streets within the defended core of the medieval

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town is strongly characteristic of other late Saxon defended settlements such as Wareham, Oxford or Wallingford (Leech 1997).

#### Medieval period

Like Winchester and London, Bristol does not have a specific entry in Domesday Book. It is, however, listed as one of four Domesday boroughs in Gloucestershire and included under the entry for the Manor of Barton, and together their estimated value is recorded to be as high as the other major late Saxon/early Norman towns of Norwich, Lincoln and York (Sivier 2002). By the third quarter of the 11th century, therefore, Bristol may already have been one of England's most significant settlements and ports.

In 1093 Robert FitzHamon was granted the Honour of Gloucester and Lordship of Bristol to the north of the River Avon, and the manor of Bedminster which lay to the south. Robert was subsequently created Earl of Gloucester, probably during the early 1120s, and Bristol became his most significant English power centre. The city played a significant role during the Anarchy (1135-53) as the stronghold of important supporters of Empress Matilda, namely Robert, Earl of Gloucester, who was Matilda's half-brother, and Robert FitzHarding, a wealthy burgess of the town who had bought extensive manorial lands from Earl Robert. The accession of Matilda's son to the throne as Henry II in 1154 ensured that Bristol was rewarded for its support, receiving its first royal charter. Bristol's trade with Ireland was almost certainly well established by the 12th century, and in 1171-2, after Ireland was conquered, Henry II made Dublin a dependency of Bristol, thereby extending Bristol's influence and control of trade along the western seaboard. By the time of the royal charter granted by King John in 1188, Bristol was a thriving merchant port, and through this charter it successfully secured rights to protect the commercial trade of its principal products: leather, corn and wool (Watt 1986, 152-3).

During the 13th century the aspirations of the increasingly prosperous burgesses were realised in the form of the extension and rebuilding in stone of the town defences and the expansion of the port facilities with the building of new quays and wharfage. This was made possible by the construction of a new 800m man-made navigable section of the Frome, called St Augustine's Reach, in the period 1239-47 (Fig. 1.5). By the 14th century Bristol had probably reached the zenith of its medieval growth, and there was to be no further significant expansion beyond its medieval urban limits until the 17th century. In 1373 Bristol became the second place in England to be elevated by royal charter to the status of 'County Corporate' (the first being London). This title, granted by Edward III, gave Bristol additional special liberties and immunities, which meant that the burgesses of Bristol could exert a long sought-after enhanced level of self-governance, with controls over policing, taxation and trade as a separate and

independent entity from the counties of Gloucester and Somerset. Bristol became very prosperous during the late 14th century and throughout the 15th century. The port handled a huge volume of trade, with the export of wool and cloth from the rich producer areas of the Cotswolds and Somerset (the earliest recorded guild in the town was that of the weavers), and the import of wine from Gascony and iron and wine from Spain, as well as luxury goods.

The loss of Bordeaux in 1453, and with it the trade with the Gascon market, combined with the decline in the cloth trade, was significant and severely affected Bristol's mercantile classes and the inhabitants of its southern suburb during the subsequent decades. However, Bristol's merchants were resourceful and continued to exploit and expand connections including those with Iceland and Scandinavia. From the 15th century members of the Merchant Venturers guild led some of the most famous English seafaring adventures, such as John Cabot's expeditions in the 1490s which saw the discovery of North America and provided the foundations for the trans-Atlantic trade that was to play a pivotal role in Bristol's growth for the next 300 years.

The general layout of the centre of late medieval Bristol can be seen on Robert Ricart's late 15th-



Fig. 1.7 Ricart's late 15th-century plan of Bristol



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Fig. 1.8 Hoefnagel's map of Bristol, 1581 (later coloured version)



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century stylised plan of the town (Fig. 1.7), which is the earliest surviving plan of an English town, and clearly shows the High Cross at the centre of a cross-roads from which the four principal streets of High Street, Broad Street, Wine Street and Corn Street extend through the heavily built-up centre to gates in the main town walls. For a wider picture of the settlement within its immediate landscape (including the area of the present site), Hoefnagel's 1581 map of Bristol (Fig. 1.8) clearly shows the positions and layout of the medieval defensive walls, gateways and castle.

Outside the main town walls lay a number of walled suburbs including the southern suburb, Redcliffe, where Finzel's Reach is located. It was during the period of great expansion and consolidation in the mid 13th century that the southern suburb was enclosed by the Portwall and ditch (Hebditch 1968). It can be assumed that the construction of St Augustine's Reach also facilitated the reclamation, development and enclosure by the Marsh Wall of a southern extension of the town into the Marsh. However, Redcliffe (Somerset) remained administratively separate from the town of Bristol (Gloucestershire) until 1373, when it became part of the newly created City and County of Bristol.

### **Post-medieval to modern period**

The refocus of trade away from Europe and across the Atlantic to the Americas that had started in the early 16th century was accompanied by a shift in Bristol's manufacturing base, particularly from the mid 17th century onwards. Unrefined sugar imported from the Caribbean was processed in an ever-increasing number of refineries that developed throughout the city, while the importation of tobacco gave rise to a lucrative clay pipe industry. The increased productivity and close proximity of the coalfields at Kingswood, together with the Somerset coalfields, fuelled the local glass industry, which grew from the end of the 17th century. The construction of the Somerset Coal Canal, connected to Bristol via the Avon, meant this and other industries dependent on coal flourished throughout the 18th and 19th centuries. Glass bottles became an important part of the trade with the Caribbean. From the end of the 18th century products manufactured in brass, an industry that also benefited from the supply of local coal, joined sugar in what has become known as the notorious 'triangular trade' between England, West Africa, the Caribbean and America, comprising metal goods, glassware etc., slaves and African goods, and sugar, rum, tobacco and cotton. The pace and scale of industrialisation and international trade required an increasing number of workers and led to a burgeoning population who settled in the ever-expanding suburbs.

The port, which was prone to silting, also needed significant improvement, which came at the start of the 19th century with the construction of the New Cut, an artificial waterway which was constructed

between 1804 and 1809 to divert the tidal River Avon through the south and east side of Bristol. This was part of the process of constructing Bristol's Floating Harbour, under the supervision of engineer William Jessop.

### **Bristol's southern suburb and the area of the present excavations**

Much of the information below has been taken from the unpublished Archaeological Urban Assessment (Baker *et al.* forthcoming), and a report on the documentary records that survive for the project area that was produced for this monograph by Roger Leech (DVD section 03). The documentary information surviving for the site is inevitably heavily biased to the post-medieval period because very few medieval records have survived; the property histories that it has been possible to reconstruct can be found in detail in Leech's report. In addition to the appearance of the suburb on historic maps from Smith onwards, there are a number of 18th-century views and 19th-century photographs that show buildings and structural elements that clearly date from the medieval period. Modern archaeological excavations (Fig. 1.5) have so far focused mainly on the western side of the suburb.

### ***The medieval period***

The later medieval urban topography of Bristol's southern suburb is probably best represented on Hoefnagel's map of 1568 (Fig. 1.8). This shows a heavily developed area to the south of Bristol Bridge, defined on three sides by a large northwards loop of the River Avon and enclosed to the south by the Portwall, which extended across the neck of the loop. Two gates are shown within the Portwall, through which passed Redcliff Street to the west and Temple Street to the east, these being the two principal roads that lead south from Bristol Bridge. Two other large north-south roads are seen within the suburb: St Thomas Street, which lay between Redcliff Street and Temple Street and led directly northwards across Bristol Bridge into the centre of Bristol, and Temple Backs, which lay to the east of Temple Street. Both these streets led up to, but did not pass through, the Portwall. Redcliff Street ran broadly parallel to the river and led northwards directly to a junction with St Thomas Street immediately to the south of Bristol Bridge. Temple Street ran northwards past the Temple Church, its northern end forming a crossroads with Counterslip (formerly East Tucker Street), where the Temple (or Stallage) Cross was located. The western part of East Tucker Street, with its characteristic dog-leg, ran west to Tucker Street and thence to the main crossroads with St Thomas Street, Redcliff Street and Bristol Bridge (Figs 1.5 and 5.6). The main north-south roads were connected by a series of cross lanes to form a broadly co-axial street system. Smith's map suggests that the western part of the



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suburb was more densely built-up, which may reflect the fact that Bristol Bridge would have presented an impassable obstacle at this time for larger ships. It was in the north-east corner of this suburb, bounded by the Avon and upstream of Bristol Bridge, at the northern end of Temple Street, around the Temple Cross crossroads with Tucker Street, Counterslip, and the lanes to the river, that the excavations at Finzel's Reach were located.

Until the early 12th century the area lay within the manor of Bedminster in Somerset. Subsequently, Robert of Gloucester donated the eastern part to the Knights Templar and the area became known as Temple Fee. Barber (1994, 20-21) suggests this occurred sometime between 1128, when the master of the Templars, Hugues de Payens, first visited England, and Robert's death in 1147. The Mayor and Commonalty of Bristol were often in dispute with the Knights Templars (and after their suppression in c 1312 with the new owners, the Knights of the Hospital of St John of Jerusalem) over their liberties, as the Knights regarded the Fee as entirely outside the jurisdiction of the town. Indeed, Temple Fee still belonged to the Hospitallers at the time of the Dissolution (Latham 1947, 94). To the west of Temple Fee lay Redcliff Fee, which Robert sold to Robert FitzHarding. To the north was the smaller parcel of land known as Arthur's Fee (documented by the late 13th century as being associated with a parcel of land called Stakepenny). Topographic research has suggested that Arthur's Fee occupied an area that measured 120m east-west by 80m north-south, and according to Leech its position at the very north of the loop formed by the Avon suggests it could have its origins in the defensible bridgehead of the late Saxon period (Leech 2000). It is worth noting that in the early 14th century tax records Arthur's Fee was considered, administratively, to be part of Bristol. It has also been suggested that the eastern and western boundaries of Arthur's Fee were later extended southwards to become the principal property boundaries known locally within Redcliff and Temple Fees from the 12th century as the 'Law Ditches' (Jackson 2003, 4). These boundaries also (in part) defined the limits of the parishes of St Thomas, Redcliffe and Temple (Fig. 1.5). The southern limits of the settlement that developed within these Fees and Parishes was probably defined by Pile Street, which may have been a significant early east-west route, and later formalised with the construction of the Portwall.

Within Redcliff Fee, results from excavations at Dundas Wharf, and Nos 95-97 Redcliff Street, combined with those on the opposite side of the street at Nos 68-72 Redcliff Street (Jones 1983; Youngs *et al.* 1983, 164-165) have demonstrated that tenement plots and their associated buildings were orientated with regard to the line of Redcliff Street and confirmed that the thoroughfare was in existence by the mid 12th century. This has recently been supported by the results of excavations at 1-2 Redcliff Street, which revealed ten historic tenement

plots, several of which were in existence from the early 12th century (Alexander 2015, 14-20). At Nos 68-72 Redcliff Street a stone-founded frontage range, with a projecting range at the rear, was constructed in the later 12th-early 13th century; this was demolished and replaced with another stone building in the later 14th century. Frontage rebuilding and remodelling was also noted at Nos 1-2 and Nos 83-87 Redcliff Street throughout the late 13th and 14th centuries, and consisted of a mixture of stone and timber structures. The use of stone for construction, although noted from the 12th century, increased through the later medieval period, attesting to the increased fortunes and wealth of the residents of the suburb. The most notable later medieval stone residence in the area lay at the southern end of Redcliff Street, and was described in William Worcester's survey of Bristol as a large and highly decorated house with a private chapel belonging to William Canynges, a successful and celebrated merchant during the 15th century (Neale 2000, 214-215). Medieval deeds indicate the presence of another large stone building, held by Gilbert Pokerels, a fuller, whose 'capital' residence was on the south side of Counterslip (East Tucker Street). Decorated medieval moulded stone arcading is shown in views from the 19th century of what was probably another large late medieval stone house which stood at No. 5 Temple Street (Leech, DVD section 03, figs 13-17). Well-constructed stone boundary walls containing moulded arcading have also been noted at a number of other sites in Redcliff Street.

The archaeological evidence for tenement development within Temple Fee is more limited. At Nos 76-96 Victoria Street (Ennis, Rackham and Richmond 1997, 26-27) there was evidence of tenement development along Temple Street close to the Preceptory from the 12th century. By 1185, 28 *messuages* or properties, and other property in the area, rendered the Templars an annual income of just over £2 9s (Lees 1935, cxxi; 58). There has also been excavation within the still extant Temple Church, built by the Hospitallers, which has revealed details of the Templar's Preceptory, as well as development following their suppression in the early 14th century (Brown 2008). The excavations revealed an earlier circular stone building, whose projected diameter of 18.5 m is the same size as Temple Church in the City of London (RCHME 1929, 139). This was surrounded by an ambulatory 1.8m wide and at the eastern end there was an apsidal chancel approximately 9m long. Excavations to the north of the church, at Water Lane, revealed evidence for a hall that was considered to date to the Templar's ownership of the site (Good 1992, 20-21). A ditch and wall observed running along Water Lane may have formed the northern boundary to an enclosure surrounding the site (Gilchrist 1995, 74; Good 1992, 7). Together the evidence suggests the normal form for a Preceptory, which comprised an enclosed compound containing a church and other buildings for administration and

habitation. After the demise of the Templar Order in the early 14th century, the church became a parish church for the local community and was rebuilt and subsequently modified throughout the 14th and 15th centuries with the addition of a number of chapels.

Two waterfront excavations, at Dundas Wharf and Nos 95-97 Redcliff Street, on the western side of Redcliff Street, revealed evidence related to the development and use of the waterfront. The original line of the Avon was recorded at 15m and 30-40m respectively inside the line of the modern river wall. At Dundas Wharf a stone river wall was found associated with a timber stair dated to 1147, and the earliest evidence for settlement was represented by timber structures dated to 1123-1133. A stone-lined 'common slip' provided access to the river, and timber structures to the south of this were rebuilt in stone (Good 1991, 31-32; Nicholson and Hillam 1987). At Bridge Parade, on the east side of Bristol Bridge, a possible riverside wall dating to the mid 12th century was identified around 20m north-west of Bath Street (Cox 2000, 6-9). Remains of a substantial later 12th-century stone slip were revealed 3m back from the modern waterfront, as well as evidence for tenements from the same period. A similar sequence of reclamation and construction was also seen on the former Courage Brewery site, immediately west of the Finzel's

Reach project area. The extent of reclamation was less at the north end of Redcliffe, adjacent to Bristol Bridge, but increased downstream to a maximum of over 50m at the southern end of Redcliff Street.

A study of the distribution of craft-related surnames from the 1312 tallage suggests that a significant amount of industrial activity was located within the southern suburb, dominated by trades associated with the cloth industry (Penn 1989, 69). Tucker Street and East Tucker Street, located adjacent to the Avon, take their name from the process of tucking or fulling, the cleansing and thickening of cloth. East Tucker Street was referred to in documents as early as 1285 as *vicus Fullonum*, 'the street of the fullers'. In the 14th century, fullers are recorded in this street and a dyer was resident on Wrington Lane (later Hawkins Lane). Other surnames indicate that tailors and cutters were in the area. Excavations of tenements formerly on Tucker Street immediately west of the Finzel's Reach revealed circular stone hearths, perhaps for dyeing vats, and other features that yielded plants commonly used in dyeing, along with fuller's teasel (Jackson 2007b). Similar evidence was found at Dundas Wharf (Good 1991). A large stone building was erected at Nos 95-97 Redcliff Street during the early 13th century that contained six ovens whose size, averaging 1.5 metres in diameter, suggested an

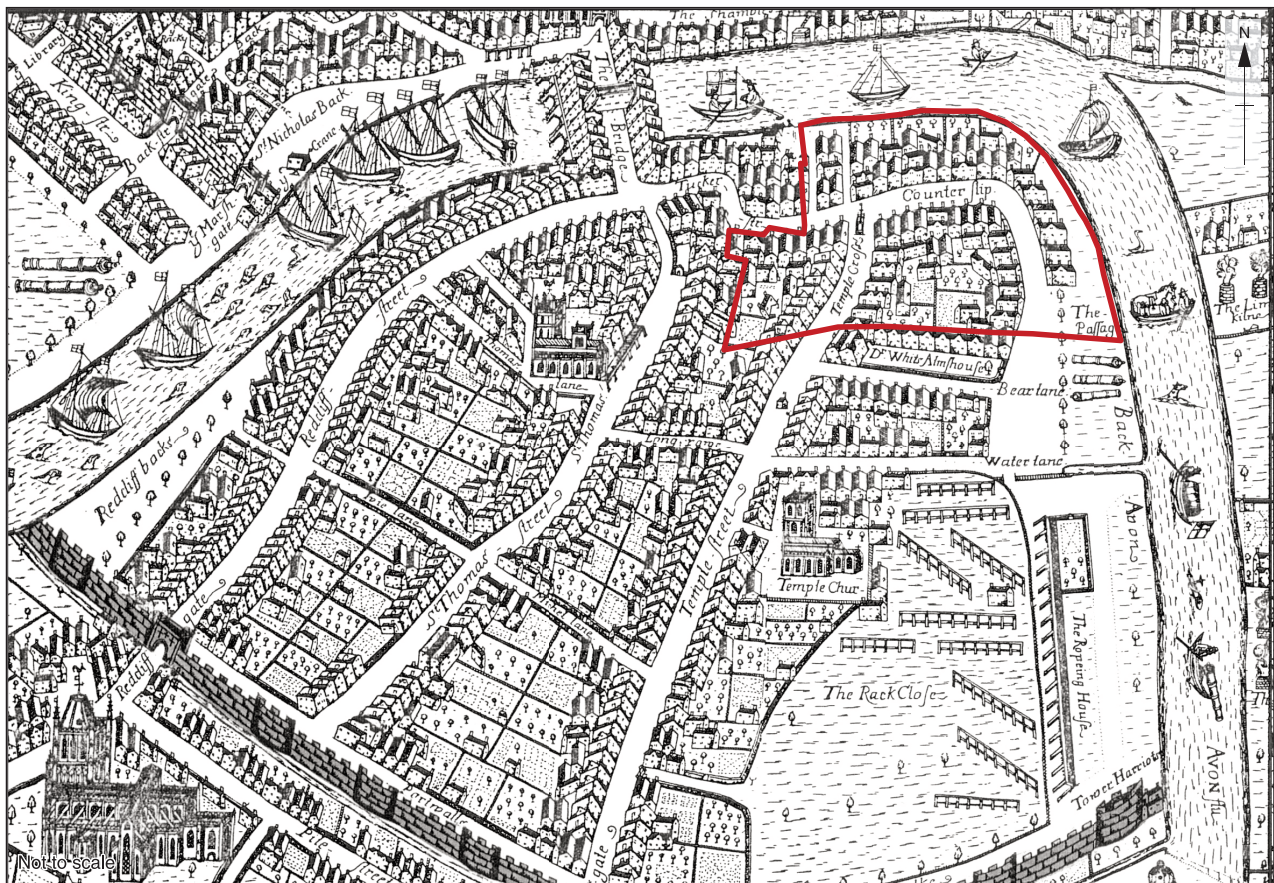


Fig. 1.9 Extract from Millerd's plan of Bristol, 1673



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industrial rather than a domestic function, perhaps for dyeing cloth. Similar large circular hearths were found within several late 13th-early 15th century properties at 1-2 Redcliff Street and could have supported cauldrons or vats in which the dye bath was prepared (Alexander 2015, 143). A 14th-century timber-framed house at Nos 83-87 Redcliff Street that had a loom-base, hearth and associated system of drains was interpreted as a dyer's workshop. The most important chapel at Temple Church, dedicated to St Katherine, was established by the weavers' guild. Rental records show that dyers and tuckers were still resident on East Tucker Street in the early 16th century. There is enough evidence to hint at a zoning of activities within the cloth trade, with dyeing located along the river for ready supplies of water, and the tenter racks for drying in the open space of Temple Meads, as depicted on Millerd's map of 1673 (Fig. 1.9).

Other activities such as metalworking, leather-working, and brewing and baking are also evidenced in the suburb, but without the clear clustering indicated for the cloth trade. Evidence for 13th-century ironworking was noted close to Portwall Lane at Nos 68-72 Redcliff Street, which was superseded by bell-casting in the 14th century and later that century by a bakery (Jones 1983). On the former Templar Precinct, excavation in the garden for the vicarage showed that it, along with several outbuildings, was used in the 15th century for casting and manufacturing in copper alloy (Good 1992). At 1-2 Redcliff Street a furnace for the

casting of leaded antimony bronze cauldrons (or posnets) suggests metalworking had succeeded dyeing by the early 15th century (Alexander 2015, 143-4). Quantities of leather offcuts have been found at both Nos 95-97 and Nos 145-147 Redcliff Street, pointing to the production of leather items on or near both sites. On the east side of Temple Fee, excavation near Cart Lane has indicated a less densely occupied area with evidence for open ground during the 14th century, followed by 15th-century posthole structures interpreted as tenter racks (Ponsford 1974). A John Brewere is documented on East Tucker Street in the early 15th century and, if practising the trade that his name suggests, would be the first reference to such activity within the area.

### *The post-medieval period*

During the 16th and 17th centuries the suburb was occupied by artisans and their workshops, characterised by craftsmen, working people and the poor, but by the end of the 18th century (Fig. 1.10) the smaller scale of activity that had characterised this period was changed as the new industrialists increased the size of their operations. Cloth dyeing was still taking place in the early 18th century at No. 6 Counterslip, but access to water was also important for brewing and sugar refining, which together became the main industries to dominate the area. There may have been brewers in the area as early as the 15th century, and they became widespread by

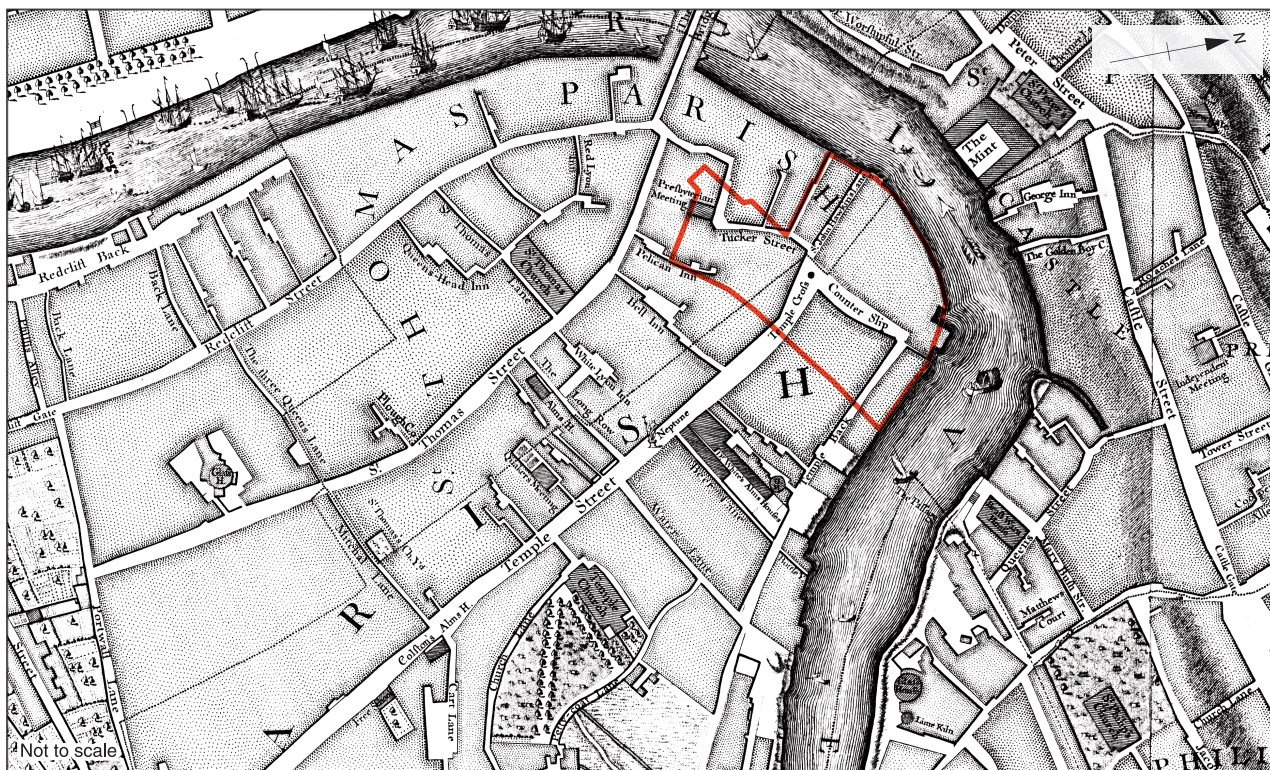


Fig. 1.10 Extract from Roque's map of Bristol, 1747



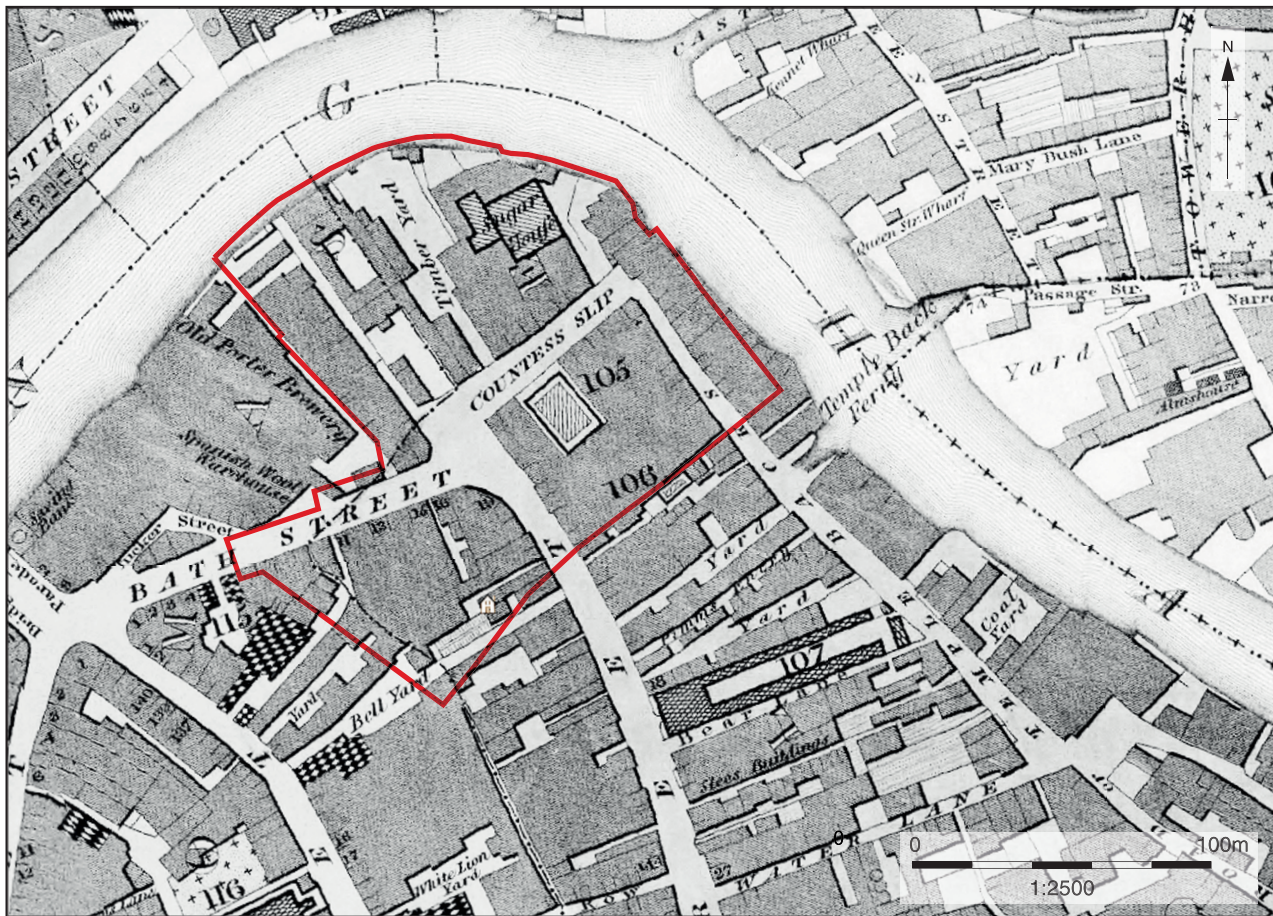
*From Bridgehead to Brewery*

Fig. 1.11 Extract from Ashmead's map of Bristol, 1828

the late 18th century, with six properties used for the purpose, mainly ranged along Counterslip. Sugar refining, which was first documented at No. 7 Counterslip in the late 17th century, was taking place at three other separate properties along Tucker Street (just to the west of the site) by the end of the 18th century.

The layout of the streets was changed in the late 18th century, as part of a wider movement to improve the infrastructure that the city had inherited from the medieval period and to gentrify the urban environment. The dog-leg in Tucker Street, which had been problematic on such an important thoroughfare, was replaced by a more direct route from Temple Street to the recently replaced Bristol Bridge along the newly constructed Bath Street (Fig. 1.11). This required the demolition of a significant number of properties along Tucker Street, many of which would have contained medieval elements if they were not still of entirely medieval build. Bath Street was rebuilt on a grander scale than anything that had previously been on the site. The historically restricted access to the town offered by Temple Street was resolved in the 19th century when the route along Bath Street was extended eastwards, via St Philip's Street, and joined to a new eastern crossing over the Avon with the construction of St Philip's Bridge, a

process which again removed large areas of the preserved medieval topography (Fig. 1.12 and Leech, DVD section 03, fig. 17).

The eponymous Conrad Finzel acquired the existing sugarhouse at No. 7 Counterslip in 1839 and, after its total destruction by fire in 1846, rebuilt it on a large scale. Finzel's Sugar Refinery became the largest such operation in Bristol, but as refined sugar imports from the continent increased the sugar refining industry in Bristol slowly declined. When Finzel's business collapsed in 1881 the event was considered sufficiently newsworthy to be reported in the *New York Times*. The site was bought up by the neighbouring George's and Co. Porter Brewery and the entire north side of Counterslip and Tucker Street became the Bristol Brewery, George's and Co. Ltd.

## THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL RESPONSE

### Mitigation strategy

Prior to the excavations by Oxford Archaeology the site had been subject to several phases of archaeological work. In 2000 Bristol and Region Archaeological Services (BaRAS) produced a report on early borehole investigations at the site (Insole 2000) and the first of two desktop reports was



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Fig. 1.12 The project area on the 1st Edition Ordnance Survey map of Bristol, 1883

written (Leech 2000). The following year, BaRAS produced a second desktop study (Bryant 2001), which concluded that although the archaeological remains would have been destroyed by basemending in some areas of the site, there were areas where 'further work should be undertaken to establish the nature and extent of the survival of the archaeological resource'. In 2002, BaRAS undertook an evaluation in support of a planning application to redevelop the site, which consisted of 14 trenches and revealed that significant archaeological remains survived (King 2002). In support of a new planning application, Pre-Construct Archaeology Ltd (PCA) undertook a second phase of archaeological evaluation (PCA 2004a) and a programme of building recording (PCA 2004b). In 2005, planning consultants CgMs oversaw the final approval of a Project Design and Specification for an Archaeological Excavation (NTA 2005), which was submitted to the City Archaeologist for Bristol City Council. In addition, CgMs compiled a Specification for an Archaeological Watching Brief (CgMs 2006) and

Oxford Archaeology were contracted to complete the archaeological excavations and watching brief, in accordance with a detailed Written Scheme of Investigation and Research Design (OA 2006). These reports can be found in section 01 of the DVD. CgMs completed the historic building recording (CgMs and Dixon 2011, DVD section 04).

#### Excavation and watching brief methodology

Eight separate areas of high archaeological potential were targeted for investigation (Areas 1-2, Areas 3a-d, and Areas 4-5, Fig. 1.6). In addition to these areas, other areas were defined that were considered to have lower archaeological potential and were to be mitigated under the terms of the watching brief. The excavations encompassed some 4,512m<sup>2</sup> and the watching brief a further 2,798m<sup>2</sup>, amounting to a total area of 7,310m<sup>2</sup>, or 2.9 % of the walled suburb to the south of the River City Avon, and representing the largest excavation that had been conducted within the historic core of the city.

All machine-assisted excavation to remove modern overburden was supervised by a competent archaeologist to ensure that the surviving archaeology was clearly revealed and not damaged. All modern foundations were left *in situ* except where their removal could be achieved without compromising the surrounding archaeological deposits. The full archaeological sequence was then hand-excavated except for the extensive deposits of garden and re-deposited alluvium found in Area 1. Here, with the agreement of the City Archaeologist, these deposits were subject to a number of hand-excavated trenches and were also targeted for monolith sequences and bulk and incremental sampling. The deposits were then removed by machine-assisted excavation until the next archaeological horizon was exposed.

The watching brief was a salvage recording exercise that entailed observation and recording only. The location, extent, date, character, condition and significance of any surviving remains within the areas indicated on Figure 1.6 were recorded, as far as was reasonably possible, adding to and where possible linking the information gathered from the more detailed investigations in the excavation areas.

### Geoarchaeological investigation

A number of previous geotechnical boreholes had been logged and modelled (PCA 2004a, fig. 3). Based on this model, the most suitable locations were chosen for further purposive archaeological boreholes and their positions agreed with the City Archaeologist. The cores were obtained using a Terrier Rig operated by specialist subcontractor CC Ground Investigations and were retained by OA for further study. The full methodologies for the fieldwork and lab-work are detailed in the Geoarchaeological report (DVD sections 02.27 and 02.28).

### Overview of the historic building recording

Historic building recording works were carried by PCA in 2004 and CgMs in 2007-8. The illustrated reports on these works, which contain the methodologies and results, can be found in section 04 of the accompanying DVD. In brief, photographic surveys were conducted of the building interiors prior to stripping out and existing surveys of the structures' elevations and floor plans were annotated to show the details of the building's history before work commenced. This information was supplemented by annotation of details that were revealed during the renovation and conversion works. The structures that were subject to historic building recording were the Fermentation Building, the Well Head, the Compressor Room, the Ale Store, the Brewhouse, the Finzel Building, the Cask Store, George's Building, the New Offices, and the Tramway Generator Building (see Fig. 1.6).

## POST-EXCAVATION ANALYSIS

### The approach to post-excavation

After the excavation was completed, a post-excavation assessment report was produced (OA 2009; DVD section 01). This reviewed the entire archive from the fieldwork: that is, all paper records, photographs, artefacts, ecofacts and samples. The assessment report clearly highlighted the huge potential in the archive for further analysis and suggested the results were of sufficient significance to support a programme of detailed analysis and publication. In the light of the provisional results of the excavation, the original research aims that had been set out at the beginning of the fieldwork in the Project Design and the Written Scheme of Investigation largely remained valid. However, the questions to be considered were more precisely defined, leading to a series of updated research aims. This monograph was guided by the updated research design and revised research aims detailed within the Assessment Report. These research aims are summarised below:

- What was the date and purpose of the large ditch identified in Area 1 that became the boundary between the Redcliff and Temple Fees. Could it have originated as part of a defensive system protecting Bristol Bridge during the late Saxon period?
- Did the frontages on either side of Temple Street develop at different times?
- How does the development of this part of Temple Street compare spatially and chronologically with the development of other parts of the suburb?
- How did building methods develop on either side of Temple Street?
- What were the earliest industries to occupy the site and how did they develop and change spatially and chronologically?
- What evidence is there for the status of the inhabitants and for their crafts and occupations and how do they compare between the different properties?
- How did the definition and development of the medieval and later waterfront compare with other sites in the vicinity?
- How did the site develop in the early and later post-medieval period?
- How reliable are the documentary and cartographic sources for the area of the site and how do they compare with the archaeological evidence?
- What does the excavated evidence add to pre-existing knowledge of Finzel's Sugar Works?



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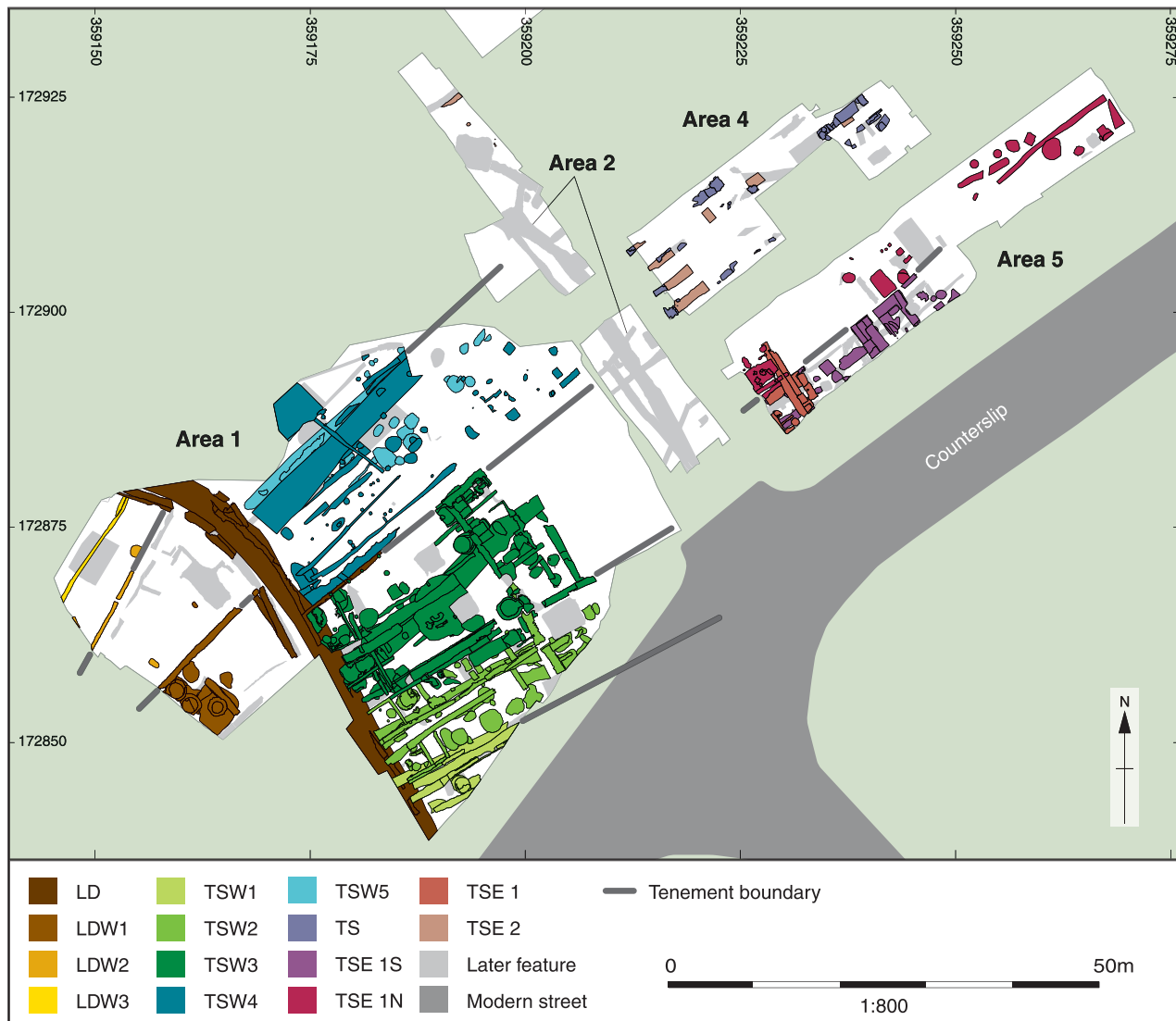
**Dating, phasing and grouping: stratigraphy, finds, and scientific dating**

A good chronological resolution was considered vital to enable some of the research questions to be addressed. A detailed study of the ceramic assemblage, the largest at the time to have been recovered in Bristol, provided a comprehensive relative chronology (Chapter 6, this volume; DVD section 02.1). Due to the high level of the watertable, the preservation of organic remains was good, and included wooden objects and structures; all such remains were assessed by the relevant specialist and those with potential to yield a dendrochronological date were submitted for assessment for analysis. Some of the earliest features on the site lacked pottery, so radiocarbon dates were obtained from organic remains within these desposits. The scientific dates (DVD section 02.29) were used to refine the chronology obtained from the ceramic sequences. In

combination, the stratigraphic sequence along with the relative and absolute dating results provided the basis for the definition of a sequence of nine principal periods of activity (Table 1.1).

*Table 1.1 Site periods*

<i>Period</i>	<i>Period name</i>	<i>Date range (AD)</i>
0	Late Saxon-early Anglo-Norman transition	c 950-1100
1	Early Anglo-Norman	c 1100-1150
2	Late Anglo-Norman	c 1150-1225
3	Earlier medieval period	c 1225-1375
4	Later medieval period	c 1375-1500
5	Later medieval to early post-medieval transition	c 1500-1550
6	Early post-medieval	c 1550-1700
7	Late post-medieval period	c 1700-1800
8	Modern period	c 1800-2000



*Fig. 1.13 Plan of Areas 1, 2, 4 and 5 showing the allocation of features to Property groups based on the tenement subdivisions evident in Period 4*



*From Bridgehead to Brewery*

Fig. 1.14 The excavation team and Area 1, showing the stone channel of the Law Ditch and the stone walls and drains that divided the properties that fronted onto Temple Street and St Thomas Street

As part of the analytical process, groups of archaeological features forming potential buildings, linear features such as ditches, tracks, paths and fence lines, or related groups of discrete features such as pits, were identified using the project GIS resource and the finds databases, taking account of a combination of factors such as dating evidence, proximity and similarity of form. Grouping also took into account the features' location in relation to defined boundaries between properties (below). Each Group was assigned a unique code relating to the Area of site where they were located, for example Area 1 Group 1 became A1.1; Area 4, Group 9 became A4.9; Area 5 Group 12 became A5.12 etc. In order to enable the very large datasets generated by the excavation to be correlated with the complex stratigraphic sequences across the site, the Groups were then combined into higher-level site subdivisions that were based on the more clearly defined tenements of the later medieval and post-medieval periods (Figs 1.13–14). For the sake of simplicity these were referred to as 'Properties', and the property designations that are used throughout this book reflect their location on site (thus TSW1-5 are on the west side of Temple Street, TSE1-2 are on the east side, and so on). As part of their analysis, specialists were asked to consider the evidence for similarities and contrasts between different properties, and this is reflected in many of the specialist reports.

The aim of analysis by property was to identify important individual items or assemblages that could be associated with specific areas of the site and highlight any marked differences between them. In practice, the extents of the selected properties were not completely stable over time, and in some instances were unclear, but it was not feasible to structure specialist analyses to take account of all possible boundary changes. Readers should therefore use property references in the specialist analyses as a quick guide to the relevant site area; the Group number (eg A1.62) identifies the group within the property from which the material came, and this links directly to the stratigraphic narrative in Chapters 2-4.

#### **Period summaries (Figs 1.15–16)**

Short summaries of each Period are presented below. This evidence is visually supported by the simplified plans shown in Figure 1.15, along with a landuse diagram which has been produced to represent the changing activities on different parts of the site during these periods (Fig. 1.16).

#### ***Period 0: Late Saxon-early Anglo-Norman transition***

A massive curvilinear ditch, possibly 10th century in origin, may have enclosed a bridgehead on the south side of a crossing over the Avon. It was recut during



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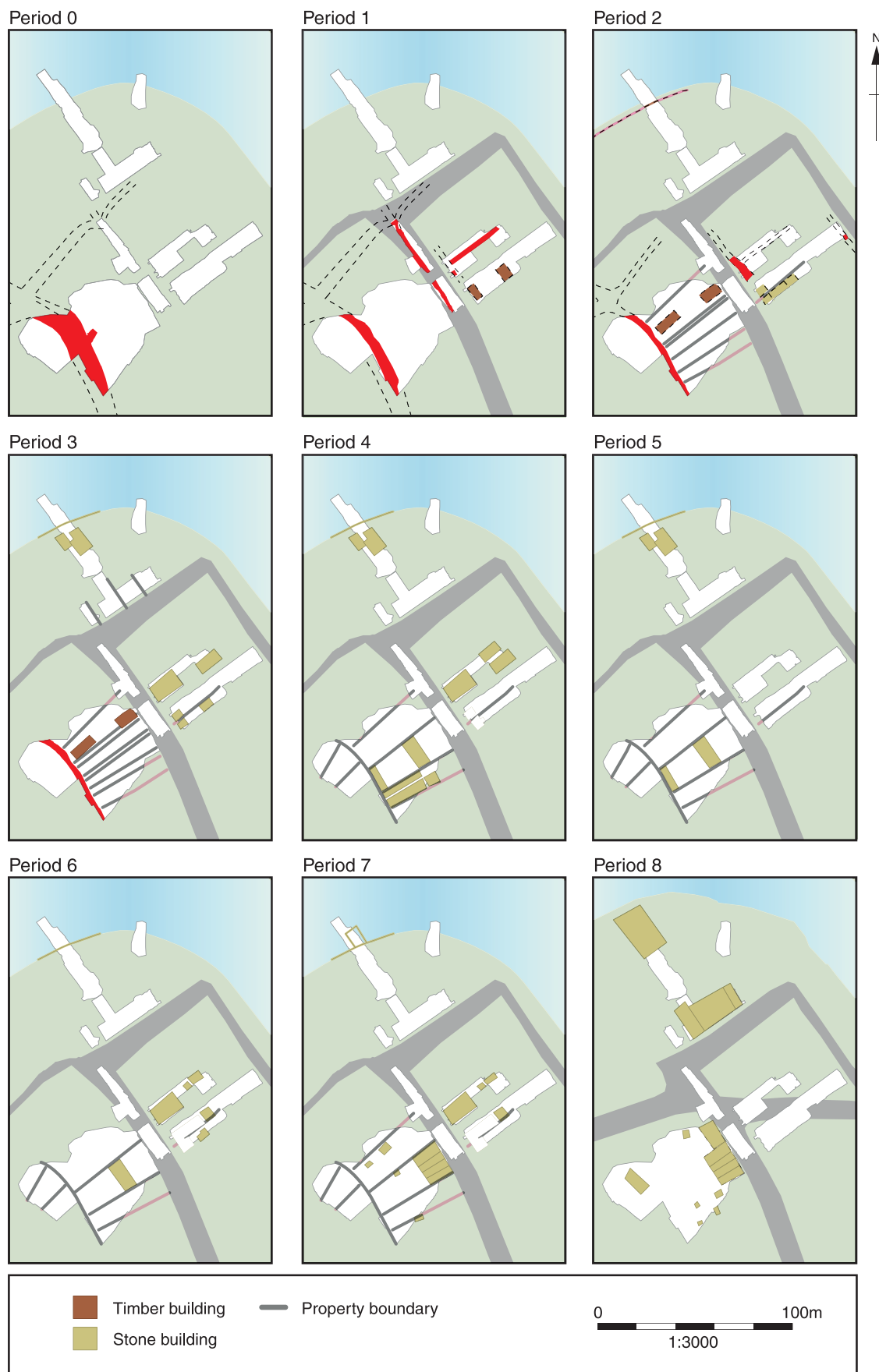


Fig. 1.15 Simplified plans showing the development of the site from Period 0 to Period 8



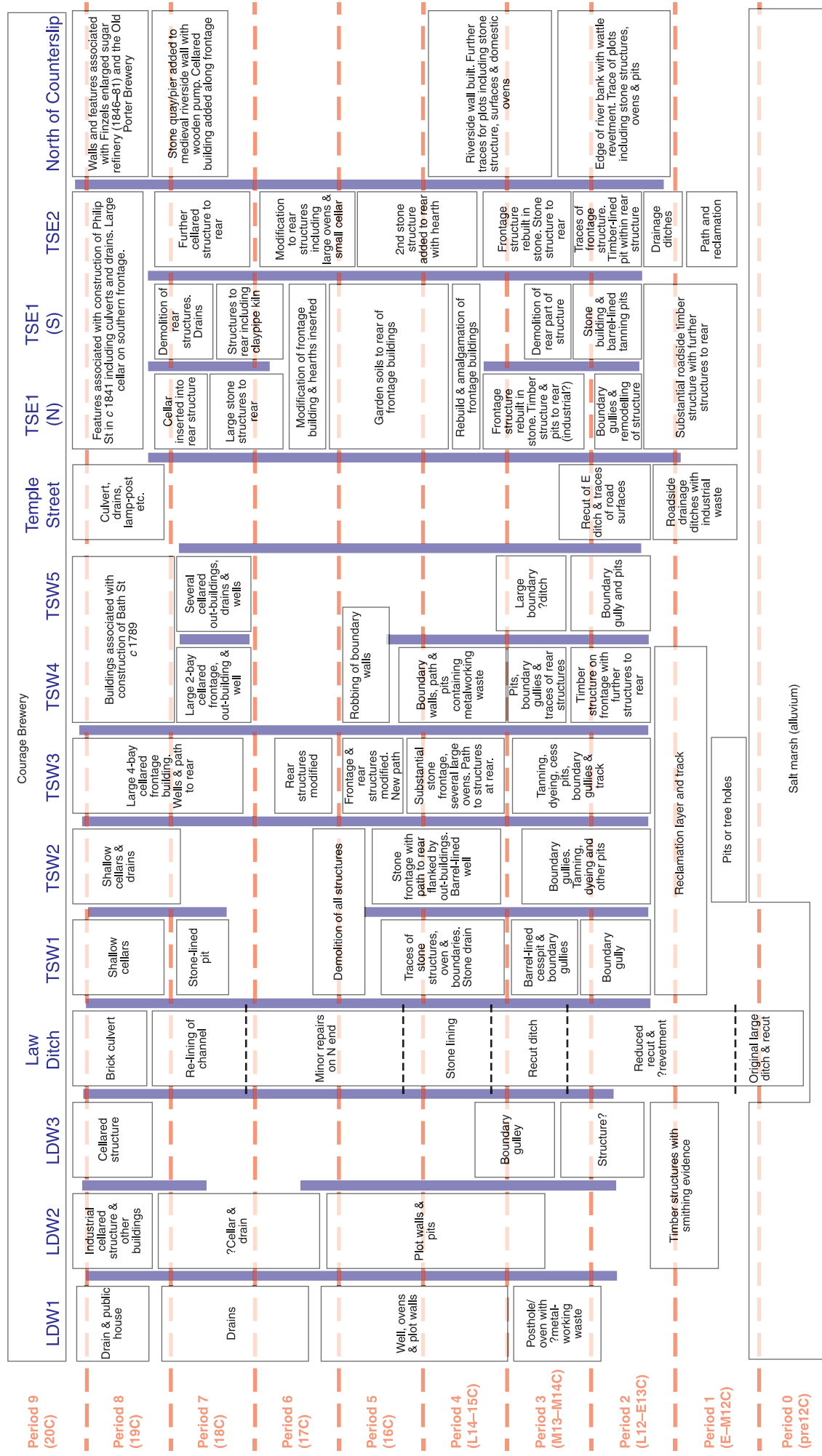


Fig. 1.16 Schematic diagram showing the archaeological evidence for site use over time



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the early 11th– mid 12th century and became the 12th century boundary between Temple and Redcliff Fees (later recorded as the Law Ditch).

### *Period 1: Early Anglo-Norman period*

Drainage and reclamation of the site aided by the recutting of the Law Ditch and by ditches along both sides of Temple Street. Earliest evidence for structures on the east side of Temple Street, one containing a post dendrochronologically dated to 1099–1131. Evidence for iron smithing from this structure and from one of the roadside ditches. Within the Redcliff Fee were traces of timber structures possibly also associated with smithing.

### *Period 2: Late Anglo-Norman period*

Earliest evidence for occupation on the west side of Temple Street, comprising a number of plots defined by drains and other ditches. Most of the frontage areas on the west side of Temple Street had been destroyed by later development and much of the evidence comprised pits in the rear parts of the tenements, although a timber building lay on the frontage of one property. Further development on the east side of the street with more formalised properties, one of which contained a stone building. Evidence for similar plots on the north side of Counterslip, including a building with ovens. The river's edge was reinforced with a wattle revetment. Evidence for tanning on both sides of Temple Street, with the stone building on its east side containing two barrels used for the soaking of skins. Continuation of smithing on the east side of the street. Evidence for dye plants from fills of pits on the west side of the street and from the river edge.

### *Period 3: Earlier medieval period*

The boundary ditches on the west side of Temple Street were maintained, with the addition of fences and lanes, but the amount of pit digging declined. The Law Ditch continued to be recut, part of which was for the first time revetted with stone walls. The east side of the street saw the replacement of the remaining timber frontage structure with stone buildings. A riverside wall was constructed, reclaiming some land on which were traces of stone buildings. Tanning continued on the east side of the street whilst dyeing appeared to be the predominant industry on the west side.

### *Period 4: Later medieval period*

Amalgamation of some of the properties on the west side of Temple Street, with the earlier boundary ditches replaced by stone walls, contemporary with conversion of the Law Ditch into a

stone culvert. Substantial stone buildings extending from the frontage area within two of the properties with further stone structures located further towards the rear. One building contained four large circular hearths attached to its rear wall, each with an internal firing chamber suggesting an industrial complex likely to be associated with dyeing. Further circular hearths of similar size were found in two other properties and in a property within the Redcliff Fee. On the east side of the street two of the properties were merged and a new substantial stone building built on its frontage. In contrast the occupation of the other side of the street here appears to be domestic.

### *Period 5: Later medieval-early post-medieval transition*

Activity was attributed to this period on the basis of small quantities of Cistercian-type wares and was only identified on the west side of Temple Street. In practice, it is likely that this activity does not represent a discrete period but was contemporary with the latest Period 4 activity elsewhere on the site. Buildings to the rear of two of the properties were demolished and in a third the outbuildings were rebuilt. The Law Ditch continued to be maintained.

### *Period 6: Early post-medieval period*

The properties on the east side of Temple Street saw renewed development with new buildings added towards their rear and one former amalgamated property reverting back to two separate tenements. Fireplaces and ovens inserted into two of the frontage buildings suggest a domestic function. However, an outbuilding within one property contained a clay pipe kiln containing pipe production waste bearing the stamps of Flower Hunt (pipe-maker 1651–90). In contrast, evidence on the west side of the street and within the rear of the Thomas Street properties was relatively slight, largely comprising stone drains and minor modifications to existing buildings.

### *Period 7: Late post-medieval period*

Several cellars were constructed along the frontage of three properties on the west side of Temple Street. The east side of the street saw few modifications apart from several small cellars and stone drains added to the rear. A further cellar was recorded within a property fronting Counterslip. A possible pier and slipway were added to the riverside wall against which were found the remains of a wooden pump assembly.

### *Period 8: Modern period*

Between the 1790s and the late 1860s the street pattern was altered dramatically to improve access



*From Bridgehead to Brewery*

to Bristol Bridge, with the construction first of Bath Street then Philip Street, followed by Victoria Street. Remnants of several houses were recorded on Bath Street that encroached on to two of the former Temple Street properties. On the east side of Temple Street, municipal services associated with Philip Street and a large cellar fronting onto it had removed tenements that had formally occupied this area. On Victoria Street a large cellared industrial complex was revealed and on Counterslip extensive remains of Finzel's Sugar Refinery were recorded. The stone channel of the Law Ditch was replaced by a brick culvert and ultimately by a ceramic pipe.

**The project archive**

The project archive, which comprises the written, photographic and drawn site records, all the retained artefacts and ecofacts, and the research archive will be held by Bristol Museum under Accession Code BRSMG:2007/28. The archaeological and historic building recording works that were carried out previously at the site by other archaeological contractors are held by Bristol Museum under the following codes: BaRAS 2002: Evaluation Phase 1 and Borehole Monitoring Accession Code BRSMG:2002/21. PCA 2004: Evaluation Phase 2 and Building Recording Phase 1 both under Accession Code BRSMG:2004/26.