

BUTCHER ROW, RATCLIFF, E.14

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Major road works on the east side of Butcher Row and the restoration of murals within the adjacent Master's House, the Royal Foundation of St. Katharine (Fig. 1), presented the opportunity to examine this area both archaeologically and through documentary records.

Archaeological evidence up to the 17th century has been recorded and the history of the Master's House has been traced back to the 16th century.

The report comprises an account of the excavations carried out in 1975 by the Inner London Archaeological Unit; notes on the history of the present site and house of the Royal Foundation of St. Katharine; and a report on the finds from the excavation.

EXCAVATIONS AT BUTCHER ROW, RATCLIFF, E.14.

IRENE SCHWAB

INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY

Between June and September 1975 the Inner London Archaeological Unit excavated two sites on the east side of Butcher Row, Ratcliff in advance of a road widening scheme (Fig. 1). The earliest settlement at Ratcliff was probably concentrated along the river-front, possibly around Broad Street (Plate 2). However, in the later medieval period this settlement expanded westwards towards Wapping, eastwards to Limehouse and northwards along Butcher Row, the continuation of which was the main route to Stepney and Hackney.

The purpose of the excavation was to determine the date of this expansion to the north, and the nature of the settlement.

Trial trenching showed the area to have been heavily disturbed by post-medieval cellars and in Trench I the early features were, in the main, only preserved where they cut the natural brickearth. Trench II produced evidence of a stream, which had silted up in the 14th or 15th century, running roughly parallel with the present line of Cable Street. A gravel surface to the north of this channel may have been a track which was replaced after two large scale floods had necessitated the raising of the land level. The earliest settlement on the site appeared to be in the late 15th-early 16th century when a building, at least partially constructed of brick, was erected.

The complete archaeological records, including all the unpublished plans and sections, are available for examination at the headquarters of the Inner London Archaeological Unit.

TRENCH I (PLAN 1, FIG. 2)

An area of 72 sq. metres was investigated on the eastern side of Butcher Row, to the south-west of the Royal Foundation of St. Katharine. The trench was limited on the south side by the Rotherhithe Tunnel, on the west by Butcher Row, on the north by the access road to the Royal Foundation of St. Katharine and on the east by St. James's Gardens.

The trench had been heavily disturbed by the cellars and foundations of 18th and 19th century warehouse buildings, originally fronting onto Butcher Row. A number of service trenches and an early 19th century well also damaged many of the earlier deposits. No

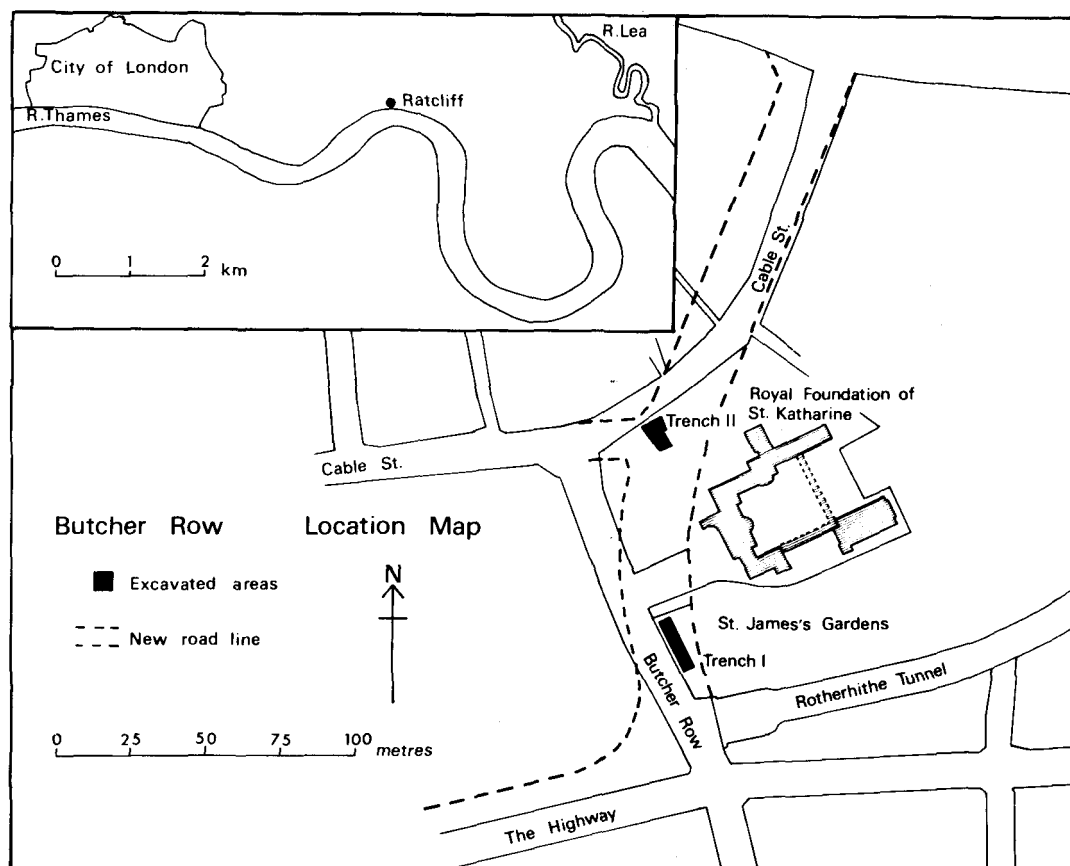


Fig. 1. Butcher Row: Location map

occupation levels survived on the site and the five pits and the gully that did survive were truncated by these later features. While in most cases the pits could not be related to each other, the dating evidence suggests that they were all filled within a hundred years, from the mid 16th century to the mid 17th century, and pits 1, 2, 3 and 5 may have been contemporary.

The site lay on an alluvial deposit of brickearth, the top of which lay at +6.10m OD.

PIT 1:

This was a rectangular pit truncated by the later cellars, bisected by the concrete foundations of an 18th or 19th century wall and cut by the early 19th century well. The pit, which had almost vertical sides, measured 2.34m north-south by 1.34m east-west and retained a depth of 0.90m. It contained three layers of fill, the lowest, layer I, being 0.09m deep and consisting of brown clay containing a quantity of animal bone. Above this was a layer, 0.24m thick, of sandy soil, layer II, which contained a large amount of pottery and tile.

The layer above, layer III, was *c.* 0.58m thick and consisted of brown clay which contained fragments of brick, charcoal, chalk and mortar.

The pottery from all three layers was of similar type and is of late 16th century date. Unlike the other pits on the site, there was little residual material, and this does not appear to be an ordinary refuse pit. The quantity of unabraded sherds suggests it may have been dug specifically to dump this material,

which may have been waste from a kiln. While the pottery resembles closely that found with the earthenware kiln at Woolwich, it may also be derived from a more local, as yet undiscovered, kiln.

PIT 2:

On the western edge of the site, adjacent to the road frontage, lay a sub-rectangular pit with a flat base 3.60m in length (north-south) and *c.* 2.00m wide. It had been cut by the 19th century walls and three drainage trenches. It retained a depth of 0.46m and contained five layers of fill. The western edge lay beyond the western limits of the trench. The earliest layer, layer I, consisted of 0.15m of brown-grey clay containing fragments of charcoal. It contained a quantity of bone and shell, with pottery dating from the mid 16th to 17th century and two early 17th century clay pipes. The second layer did not extend over the whole pit, but consisted of a patch of dirty orange clay 0.11m deep.

Layer III was a thin layer of brown clay only 0.04m thick containing a substantial amount of charcoal. Layer IV consisted of 0.02m of yellow clay. Layer V was 0.14m deep and was formed of orange clay.

There were no finds from layers II, IV and V, and the pottery from layer III, which dated to the mid 16th century, must all have been residual. The range of pottery, the quantity of bone and the presence of charcoal suggest that this was used as a refuse pit.

At the southern end of the site lay two features, only a small proportion of which lay within the trench:

PIT 3:

The earliest of these was a large pit, cut into the natural brickearth. Little of its plan was obtained but it measured at least 3.40m east-west and at least 1.34m north-south. It retained a depth of 1.90m. The first two layers of fill covered a smaller area than layer III, which belled out another 1.40m to form a step.

Layer I contained yellow-brown clay and was 0.88m deep. Layer II was a thin layer of charcoal 0.06m thick which did not entirely cover layer I, but measured 2.03m east-west and 0.40m north-south.

Sealing the charcoal and the clay was a layer of brown clay Layer III, which was 1.05m deep, and broadened out towards the east.

The pit contained very little dating material. There were no finds from layer II and only one sherd from layer III, but the finds from layer I suggest a 16th or early 17th century date for the fill. From its size and the paucity of finds, this feature seems likely to have been dug for the extraction of brickearth.

PIT 4:

Pit 3 was cut by Pit 4, which measured at least 1.20m east-west and at least 0.54m north-south. It had been filled back with yellow-brown clay containing patches of chalk, charcoal and pebbles to a depth of 1.60m. There was no dating evidence from this feature.

PIT 5:

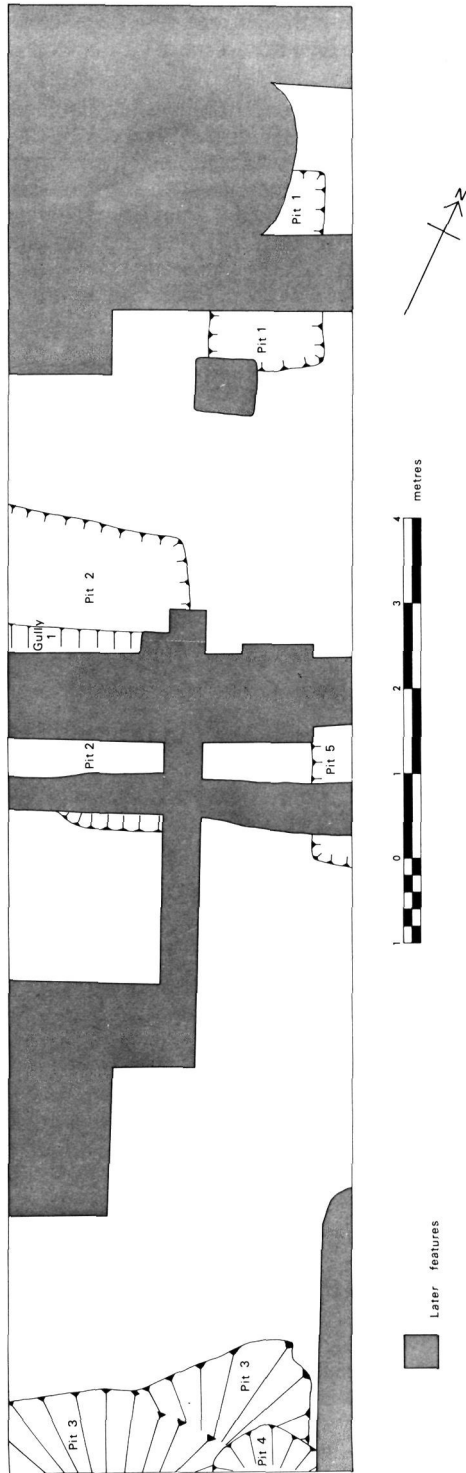
To the north of Pits 3 and 4, on the eastern edge of the trench, lay a rectangular pit. This had been cut through by a drainage trench and the northern part had been destroyed by the foundations of a late 18th or early 19th century wall. It retained a length of 1.66m and a width of 0.48m although its eastern edge lay beyond the limits of the trench. It had almost vertical sides and rounded corners and had been filled with yellow-orange clay to a depth of at least 0.55m. The pottery from the fill dates to the late 16th or early 17th century.

GULLY 1:

Pit 2 was cut by a shallow gully, only a half section of which was obtained, the other half having been removed by the foundations of an 18th or 19th century wall. It was, however, at least 0.74m wide (north-south) and at least 1.80m long (east-west). The gully contained three layers of fill, with a total depth of 0.30m.

Layer I consisted of brown, burnt sand and was 0.15m deep. Layer II contained very burnt black sand to a depth of 0.08m. Layer III was a lighter deposit of burnt sand *c.* 0.07m deep.

Some, but not all, of the pottery from this feature had been burnt. This, together with the size of the feature, suggests that it was not a hearth, but a shallow gully, into which burnt material had been dumped. The pottery from the gully dates to the 16th century and is therefore probably residual.



Butcher Row 1975 Trench I Plan I

Fig. 2. Butcher Row: Trench I plan 1

CONCLUSIONS

Due to the badly disturbed nature of the trench, no occupation layers survived. It is therefore difficult to associate the results of the work in this trench with the findings from Trench II. While the presence of the pits in Trench I does not preclude the possibility of earlier occupation layers, it seems likely that during the period when the building in Trench II (p. 226) was in use, the more southern area was not built on, and was probably in agricultural use.

Despite the cellars, the top of the brickearth survived to the same height as in Trench II. There was, however, no evidence for any of the environmental features such as channels or flood deposits which were exposed in Trench II, or of cut features earlier than the mid 16th century. This suggests that the earliest known use of the site would, perhaps, have been contemporary with Phase VIIIg in Trench II.

TRENCH II

This trench was situated at the northern end of Butcher Row, bordering onto Cable Street. An area of *c.* 75 sq. metres was cleared by mechanical excavator to a depth of *c.* 1.40m from the ground surface (+7.20m OD).

The trench contained fewer modern intrusions than Trench I, although a certain amount of damage was caused by a 20th century drain running north-south through the centre of the trench, and by three late 19th century concrete and brick pillar bases. The edges of the trench were limited by modern cellars to the east, west and south and by Cable Street on the north. The reason that this area remained uncellared was that it had been used for access to the buildings, and had thus been preserved by a cobbled road surface.

The natural alluvial sands and clays (1) lay at *c.* +5.61m OD in the northern part of the site, sloping slightly towards the south (and the River Thames), where the top lay at +5.535m OD. One worked flint (Fig. 11 no 1) was recovered from this deposit, but it was not possible to date it with certainty.

PHASE I

(Plan 2 Fig 3; Section 1 Fig. 4)

a) The earliest feature on the site was a natural water channel, aligned north-east-south-west and with a width of *c.* 3.80m. The line of this watercourse was evident from a marbled effect of blue and grey clays and sands (2) in the natural sand and clay which would have been created by the movement of the ground water on the surrounding sands. The edges or banks of the channel were unclear as the staining faded out only gradually and graded into the natural yellow sand and clay.

The flow of the water in the channel caused yellow sand (3) to be deposited on the southern bank.

The sand (3) contained a small amount of Roman material, including a very abraded sherd of samian, but a single shell-gritted sherd suggests a date of 12th century or later. No dating evidence was retrieved from the bed of the stream and it is therefore impossible to estimate the date of its formation.

The direction of flow of the stream is unknown, but it seems likely that it rose somewhere to the north-east of the site and flowed into the Thames to the west of the site.

b) A trench, Ditch 1, was dug into the edge of the south bank of the stream, running roughly parallel with the line of the channel. It was 1.24m wide and butt-ended 1.42m from the west section. It had a depth of 0.28m and a broad flattened base. It had been filled back with brown silty sand (4) and a layer of gravel on the surface was probably caused by weathering. The top of the ditch lay at +5.40m OD. The trench deepened at its eastern end into a sump, where the fill was more gravelly. The ditch contained one fragment of Roman tile. If, however, Phase I is post 12th century, this must be residual. The purpose of this ditch remains unclear.

The stream was still flowing at this time, as shown by the fact that a bank of sand (5) was still being formed and no material was being deposited on the streambed.

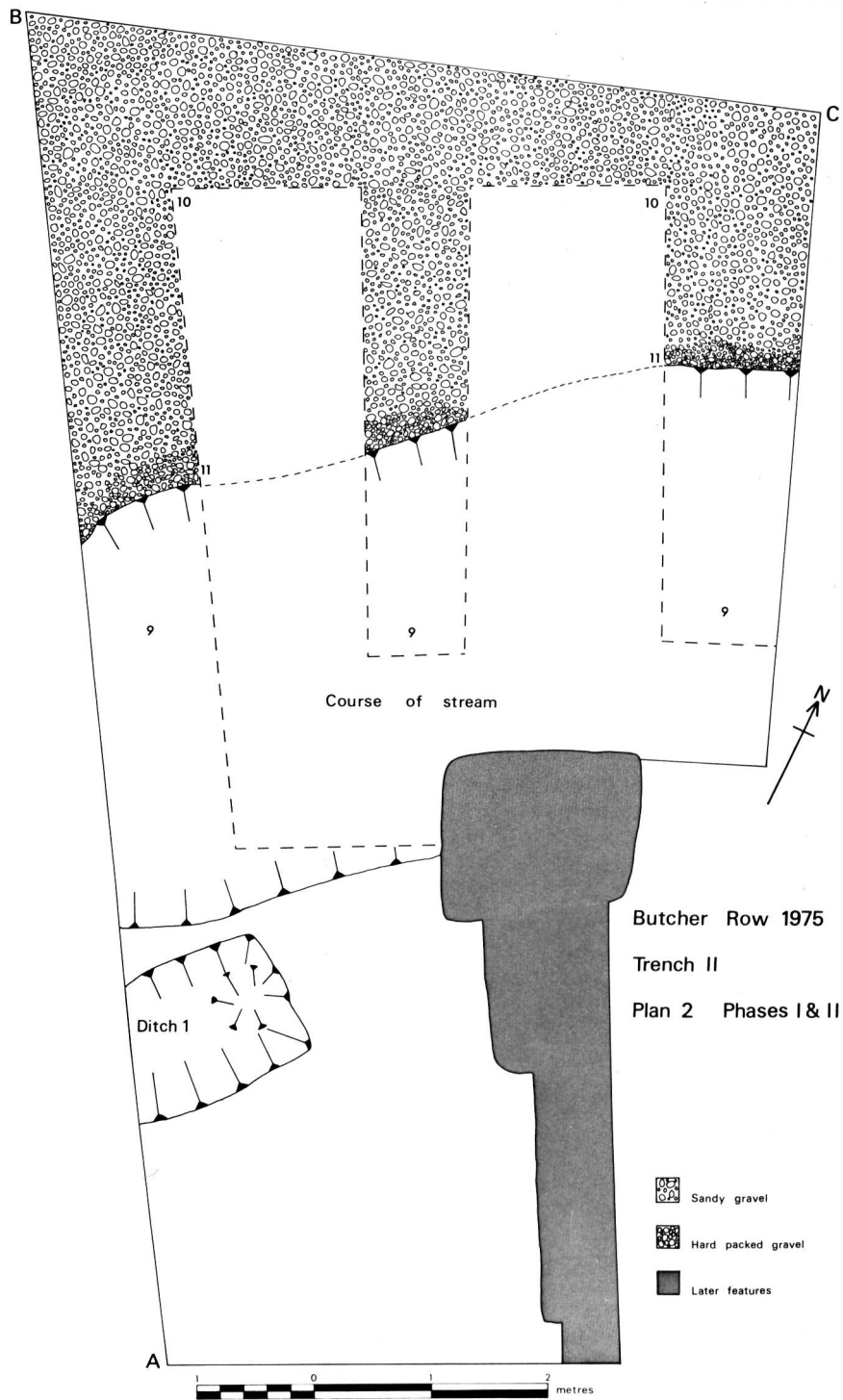


Fig. 3. Butcher Row: Trench II plan 2

Butcher Row 1975 Trench II Section 1



Fig. 4. Butcher Row: Trench II section 1

DISCUSSION OF PHASE I

No Roman features were found on the site although some half a dozen sherds were recovered from later features, notably in these earlier phases. The possibility remains of a Roman road along the line of the Highway leading to, or through, a small riverside settlement at Ratcliff. The evidence from the excavation neither proves nor disproves this theory, although if a Roman settlement existed it was not in the area covered by the excavation.

The stream was certainly flowing along this line by the 12th century and may have been in existence much earlier. As it had silted up and had had a track or road constructed over it by the 14th or 15th century (see Phase II), it is not surprising that it is not recorded on the earliest map of the area (Faithorne and Newcourt 1658). However, on Gascoyne's map of 1703 (plate 2) Cable Street, to the west of Butcher Row, is called Brook Street and had been thus named at least since 1405.¹ As no other brook is known in the vicinity, it seems likely that the brook referred to is that recorded in the excavation.

PHASE II

(Plan 2 Fig 3; Section 1 Fig. 4; Section 2 Fig. 5)

Sealing the ditch (4) and stretching over the site south of the watercourse were deposits of some 0.50m of light brown and grey clay. These deposits were observed in two narrow sections across the site and appear to relate to two separate phases of flooding in the area.

a) Earliest in this sequence was a thick layer of greyish-brown clay (6) in the south-west corner of the trench. This was not a homogeneous deposit and contained at least six visible soil horizons with signs of weathering. The surface of the deposit lay at +6.10m OD and had been eroded away on its northern edge by the action of the creek.

The deposits suggest a number of years of flooding, difficult to estimate but maybe as few as 3-6 years. This phase of flooding appears to relate to the channel and may have been relatively localised. The stream was still flowing at least intermittently, because it was eroding rather than depositing.

b) The creek then began to be filled with a deposit of silt (7), sand (8) and blue-grey sandy clay (9). These deposits are likely to have been laid during a natural silting up of the stream bed, caused by a gradual stagnation of the water. Although the dark colour of the fill suggested a high organic content, the examination of soil samples proved negative apart from one fragment of oak charcoal (p. 250).

The 0.44m depth of silting shows the stream to have narrowed to a width of *c.* 3.20m. The lack of distinct layering in the fill suggests that the silting up may have occurred quite rapidly.

During this period a gravel surface (10) was laid to the north of the creek, spreading from the stream bank over the entire northern part of the site to a depth of *c.* 0.10m. The gravel contained much sand and was light grey-green in colour. The part lying closest to the river bank was heavily stained with iron pan, and concreted (11). This gravel is almost certainly a deliberately laid surface possibly a track running north-east-south-west, of which only the southern edge was found. The surface of the gravel was remarkably clean and unworn, implying very little use before the surface was flooded over.

c) Sealing the fill of the creek (9) and the gravel surface (10) and (11) was a deposit of clay *c.* 0.50m deep. This contained various layers; *c.* 0.13m of yellow-brown sandy clay at the base (12); then *c.* 0.18m of grey clay (13) covered by a layer of brown clay (14) *c.* 0.20m deep. The clay thickened towards the south in the direction of the River Thames and was probably laid down by a flooding of the river. The cessation of the flow of the stream could have caused problems with drainage and this may have allowed the area to have become waterlogged.

Although these three events occurred in a sequence, rather than contemporaneously, the small quantity of the finds and the difficulty of closely dating the pottery of this period makes it difficult to date them more closely than 14th-15th century.

DISCUSSION OF PHASE II

While numerous records survive of incursions by the river east of the City, there is no known record of a flood at Ratcliff. Indeed the settlement developed here precisely because of

its natural defences against the river and by the 14th-15th century Ratcliff was the only area on this part of the river not to be artificially embanked.

It is therefore likely that the first flood deposit (Phase IIa) is a purely local occurrence, emanating from the brook and affecting only the area in its immediate vicinity. The presence of various weathered horizons in this deposit suggests that the flooding was seasonal and perhaps caused or abetted by the stream bed beginning to silt up.

The second flooding, however, occurred after the stream bed had totally silted up, and must therefore originate from the Thames. The most likely derivation for this is a flood described by H. Llewellyn Smith² and Dr. K. McDonnell.³ It occurred on Lady Day 1448 and at the resulting inquisition it was suggested that much of the embankment around Stebenhith marsh (the Isle of Dogs) had been broken down through the neglect of the landholders, in particular John Harpour, who had not repaired his bank opposite Dartford Strand.

The lands remained under water for at least sixteen years as attested by an entry in the receipts of Stepney Manor of 46s. 8d. received from "fishing and fowling in the marsh of Stebenhith now under water by reason of the overflow of the Thames".⁴

Some 1,000 acres were affected by the flooding, an area greater than the Isle of Dogs (some 600 acres), and the inundation may have encroached on Ratcliff from the low land on the east rather than from the river itself.

Although on pottery evidence the flooding at Butcher Row can be dated no more closely than 14th-15th century, the residual nature of many of the finds would suggest a 15th century date, rather than earlier.

The interpretation of the gravel surface is more problematical. It probably represents the southern edge of the road on the present line of Cable Street and White Horse Road. The latter, which is called White Horse Street by Gascoyne (Plate 2), was first mentioned in 1371 as Clyvestre (Cliff Street)⁵ and was the main route north from Ratcliff Cross to Stepney. Although, in general, medieval roads were unmetalled, in this case it may have been necessitated by the heavy carriage trade resulting from the shipbuilding business at Ratcliff.

PHASE III

(Section 1 Fig. 4; Section 2 Fig. 5)

Once the stream had begun to stagnate, a large amount of clay was dumped both into the channel and on the surrounding land, raising the land level to *c.* +6.35m OD. It is likely that until this period the area was still very marginal and before it could be used a certain amount of reclamation was necessary.

Apart from a layer of sand (15) in the northern part of the site, this dumping consisted of various layers of clay.

The earliest layer of dumping consisted of brown clay, flecked with iron stains (16). This was directly over the natural silting of the creek and its northern bank. Above this and still inside the creek was a layer of light brown clay (17), which was overlain by a layer of green-brown clay (18). Sealing the creek and the gravel spread on the north side was a thick layer of dark green clay (19) and sealing the fill of the creek on the south side was a layer of light green clay (20). The light green clay (20) contained a patch of yellow sand and gravel (21) and a patch of greenish 'pea' gravel (22). The top layer of dumping at the north end was a green sandy clay (23) which contained flecks of chalk and charcoal.

The dumping contained much abraded pottery with a wide date range, from the Roman period to the 14th or 15th century.

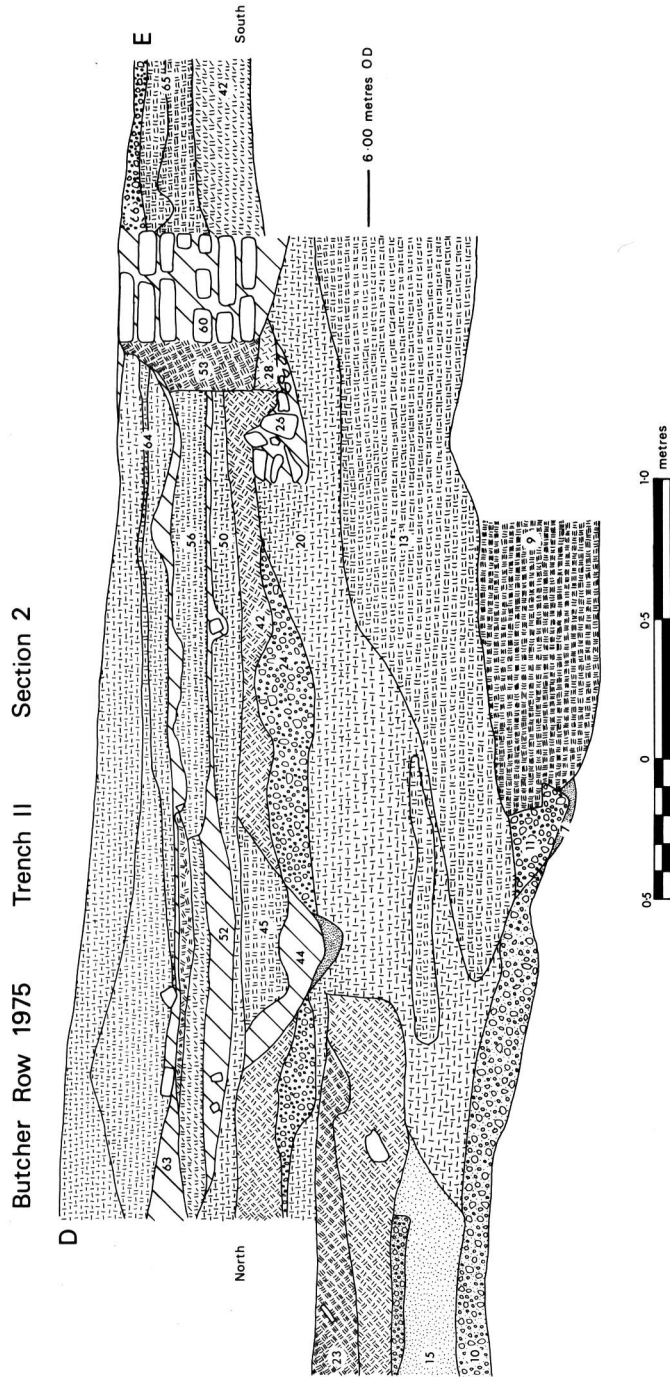


Fig. 5. Butcher Row: Trench II section 2 (key as for section 1, Fig. 4)

PHASE IV

(Plan 3 Fig. 6; Section 1 Fig. 4; Section 2 Fig. 5; Section 3 Fig. 8)

After consolidation, a gravel spread (24) was laid across the northern part of the site extending beyond the eastern, western and northern sections. It had been cut away in the north-west by the foundations for the later building and on the east by the foundation trench for wall (68). In the centre it had been cut by Ditch II, by the drain cut (72) and by the cut for the pillar base (73) but it retained dimensions of at least 3.20m north-south and 6.40m east-west. The gravel spread consisted of fairly loose gravel mixed with soft clay. West of the drain cut (72), the gravel appeared to be cut into the dumped clays of (19) below, but east of (72) whilst possibly filling a natural hollow, there were no signs of a definite cut.

The gravel varied in thickness from 0.10m in the west to 0.55m in the north-east, and although over most of the area no surfaces could be detected within the fill, at one point in the north-east a patchy layer of brown soil 0.08m thick (25) may represent a build-up of soil before a resurfacing. Whilst generally lying at *c.* +6.15—6.30m OD, the surface in the north-east, at +6.52m OD, showed a difference of at least 0.20m over 2 or 3 metres. A scatter of tile and pottery on the surface in the north suggests that this is the original surface of the gravel which has been lost elsewhere.

The gravel spread was a yard or more probably a road surface aligned north-east-south-west.

Associated with this possible road and running parallel to it, were the foundations of a narrow wall (26) surviving to a height of 0.30m. The wall lay *c.* 0.60m from the edge of the gravel and 4.45m of its length remained. It had been robbed out (27) at the eastern end of the trench for a length of 1.20m. The wall was *c.* 0.34m wide and was constructed of chalk, flint and greensand rubble, bonded with an off-white mortar. The foundation trench for the wall (28) was observable on the south side. It varied in width from 0.40m wider than the wall to only marginally wider than the wall itself. The foundation trench was lined with a thin layer of chalk, and then filled back with yellow clay. There was no dating evidence from either the wall or the foundation trench.

An ovoid post hole within the wall (29) measuring 0.30m north-south x 0.25m east-west retained a depth of *c.* 0.26m below the surviving top of the wall. The post was probably associated with a gate or stile in the wall, further evidence for which is detailed below.

Although parallel to each other, the road and the wall were only connected at one point by a narrow laid path. This had been cut on the north-west by the pillar base (73) and on the east by the wall (59) and the foundation trench for wall (68). Only a small portion measuring 1.32m north-south x 0.83m east-west remained. A thin layer of green sandy clay (30) overlaid the gravel (24) at this point and ran down to the wall. This was overlain between the gravel and the wall by yellow clay and daub (31) to bring it up to the same level as the gravel surface. The layer contained a little charcoal and a quantity of tile. A flat surface of daub, pebble and tile (32) was then laid joining (24) to (26). The pebbles and tile were set into clay and presented a solid, well laid surface. The tiles used were fragmentary and undecorated. This surface lay at +6.425m OD, only 0.02m below the surviving top of the wall. A shallow gully (33) 0.13m wide and 0.07m deep marked the western edge of the path.

Also associated with this phase were 7 stake holes and 1 post hole on the south side of the wall (26) and at the west of the trench.

The largest of these (34) contained a square post 0.14m x 0.14m, which was 0.19m deep and had been sharpened at the base. The post hole, which had a rounded shape, measured 0.30m x 0.30m, and was packed with yellow clay.

Three of the stake holes (35) (36) and (37) were sub-rectangular in shape:

(35) measured 0.14m north-south x 0.13m east-west and retained a depth of 0.08m.

(36) measured 0.17m north-south x 0.21m east-west and retained a depth of 0.15m.

(37) measured 0.18m north-south x 0.17m east-west and retained a depth of 0.18m.

No wood survived in the holes, which were filled with black silty soil. They did not form a regular pattern, but were grouped around the wall and may have been the support for a flimsy lean-to structure against the wall.

Other possible stake holes in the area south of the wall were:

(38) which measured 0.07m north-south x 0.08m east-west and had a depth of 0.09m. It had a brown woody fill and a near circular shape;

(39) which had a diameter of 0.10m, a depth of 0.17m and a brown soil fill;

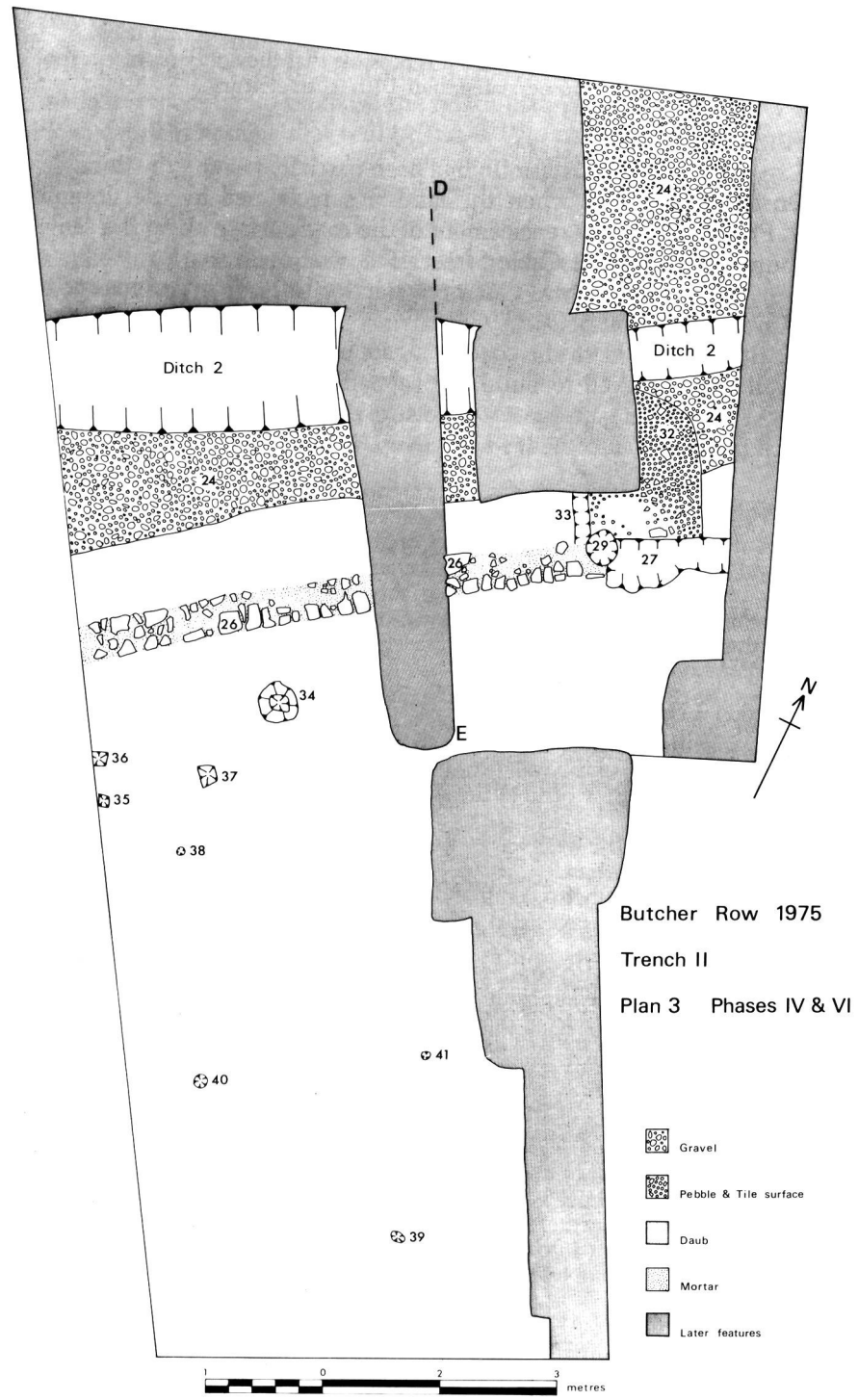


Fig. 6. Butcher Row: Trench II plan 3

(40) which had a diameter of 0.13m and a depth of 0.12m. It had a loose woody fill;

(41) which had a diameter of 0.08m and a depth of 0.16m. It had a brown soil fill.

These stake holes formed no logical pattern and it is possible that they only represent root holes.

This phase, again, cannot be more closely dated than 14th-15th century.

DISCUSSION OF PHASE IV

The probable road described in Phase IIb had been partially covered by flood deposits. The surface was then completely lost when the land was reclaimed by the dumping of large amounts of clay. Phase IV sees the replacement of the road surface along the same line, some 6.00m to the south of the present Cable Street. The wall must mark the edge of a field or estate to the south of the road. It was common practice to leave a grass verge between the edge of the road and the adjacent fields.⁶

It is likely that the path led from the road to a gate or stile in the wall. It is possible that a portion of the wall was removed to build the gate/stile and this would explain the robber trench and the post hole for a gate post or stile support. The surface of (32) adjacent to the wall was worn as if it had sustained heavy use.

PHASE V

(Section I Fig. 4; Section 2 Fig. 5)

Sealing the wall and the gravel surface was a layer of grey, brown and yellow-brown clays *c.* 0.10m-0.35m thick (42) and containing flecks of chalk and charcoal. The clay appears to have been dumped and used as make-up for the subsequent building. At the southern end of the trench, the layer contained less inclusions and had a more greyish-brown colour (43).

The pottery from these layers suggests a late 15th-early 16th century date.

PHASE VI

(Section I Fig. 4; Section 2 Fig. 5; Plan 3 Fig. 6)

A ditch (Ditch 2) was then dug, cutting through the dumping (42). It ran north-east-south-west across the site parallel to the line of the wall (26) but *c.* 1.40m north of it. The ditch was considerably narrower and shallower at the eastern end of the site. It was cut by the drain (72), the pillar base and foundation trench for wall (68).

The deeper part of the ditch in the west was *c.* 1.00m wide, this narrowed to 0.80m, east of the drain cut, and to 0.50m east of the pillar base.

At its western end the ditch retained a depth of 0.56m. It was lined with tile and contained *c.* 0.40m of mortar at the bottom (44). The layer also contained a quantity of tile. Above it was *c.* 0.20m of brown clay containing mortar (45).

East of the pillar base the ditch also contained a large amount of building rubble, but it lacked the mortar layer and appears to have filled up with a grey silt (46).

The ditch cannot be more closely dated than late 15th-early 16th century. It was probably dug for drainage and the mortar and rubble fill may well have aided this function. It is not known for how long the ditch remained in use.

PHASE VIIa

(Plan 4 Fig. 7; Section 3 Fig. 8)

The foundations for a brick chimney were then cut into these levels. The foundation trench was filled with dark grey clay, which contained a large amount of shell (47). The trench had been cut on its western edge by wall (71) and its northern edge lay beyond the north section of the site. The bottom of the trench had subsided somewhat into the drain (72) below. In this trench the chimney (48) was constructed. The foundations were of bricks, randomly laid and set in a solid off-white mortar.

DISCUSSION OF PHASE VIIa

The chimney is associated with a building, of which only a fragment of walling remains (49). It is likely that the walls of this building were removed by the insertion of new walls in

phase VIIe. If wall (49) is indeed part of the original building, these walls would have been constructed, at least in part, of brick. Unfortunately the intrusion of a 19th century brick pillar base made it impossible to establish the relationship between this wall (49) and the later wall (61). However, it is notable that wall (49) is 0.15m narrower than wall (61) and lies on a marginally different alignment.

PHASE VIIb

(Section 2 Fig. 5)

Overlying layer (42) and sealing ditch 2 was a layer of green clay, containing flecks of charcoal, chalk, mortar and brick (50) *c.* 0.10m thick. This appears to be a further layer of make-up for a floor. It contained pottery dating to the late 15th-early 16th century.

PHASE VIIc

(Section 2 Fig. 5; Plan 4 Fig. 7; Section 3 Fig. 8)

Resting on this layer of make-up was a brick wall (51), running north-south, but cut at its southern end by the pillar base (73). The wall retained a length of 1.63m and was 0.21m wide (the width of two bricks). Only one course of bricks remained and the narrowness of the wall suggests that it was not load-bearing and that part of the superstructure was possibly built of timber.

A mortar floor (52) was then laid over the clay make-up. This was a thin layer 0.02m thick, except where it filled a hollow in the make-up (50) and was *c.* 0.10m thick. The floor was associated with a brick built hearth (53) at the northern end of the trench. A second contemporary hearth (54) was associated with another room or building, lying mostly to the north of the trench. The fireplaces had obviously received heavy use as the bricks were very worn and burnt.

This floor still related to walls in a similar position to those of Phase VIIe. It was not found further south than wall (60). East of wall (59) this level had been cut out by the foundation trench for wall (68). A small patch of mortar (55) existed west of wall (61).

PHASE VIId

(Section 2 Fig. 5)

A layer of dumping or make-up overlaid the floor. This consisted of dark green-brown clay (56); and yellow-brown clay (57) to a depth of *c.* 0.10m.

The pottery from these layers dates this make-up to early-mid 16th century.

PHASE VIIe

(Section 1 Fig. 4; Section 2 Fig. 5; Plan 4 Fig. 7)

A major reconstruction then occurred in the building. New walls were put in to form a square room, apparently along the lines of the former walls. The foundation trench for these walls (58) cut through layers (42), (50), (52), (56). It contained a green clayey earth with a large amount of tile and pebbles. The walls (59), (60), (61), (62) were built of brick and survived in places up to a height of seven courses (60). Walls (59), (60) and (61) were bonded into each other but wall (62) abutted walls (60) and (61). The pottery from the foundation trenches was mainly residual material of late 15th-early 16th century date.

PHASE VIIf

(Section 2 Fig. 5)

A second floor of mortar (63) was then laid, sealing the foundation trench (58) for the walls. The mortar contained a large amount of building rubble and shell and varied in thickness from 0.02m to 0.14m. There was no dating evidence from this layer.

PHASE VIIg

(Section 2 Fig. 5)

Sealing the second floor was a thick layer of green clay (64), up to 0.35m deep, which contained patches of grey and light brown clay and scraps of mortar. This layer appears to be make-up for a later floor which no longer survived. The pottery suggests a date of late 16th century for this deposit.

To the south of the building, and contemporary with this later floor level, was a gravel yard (66), about 0.05m thick and containing fragments of building material — chalk, brick, tiles. The gravel was

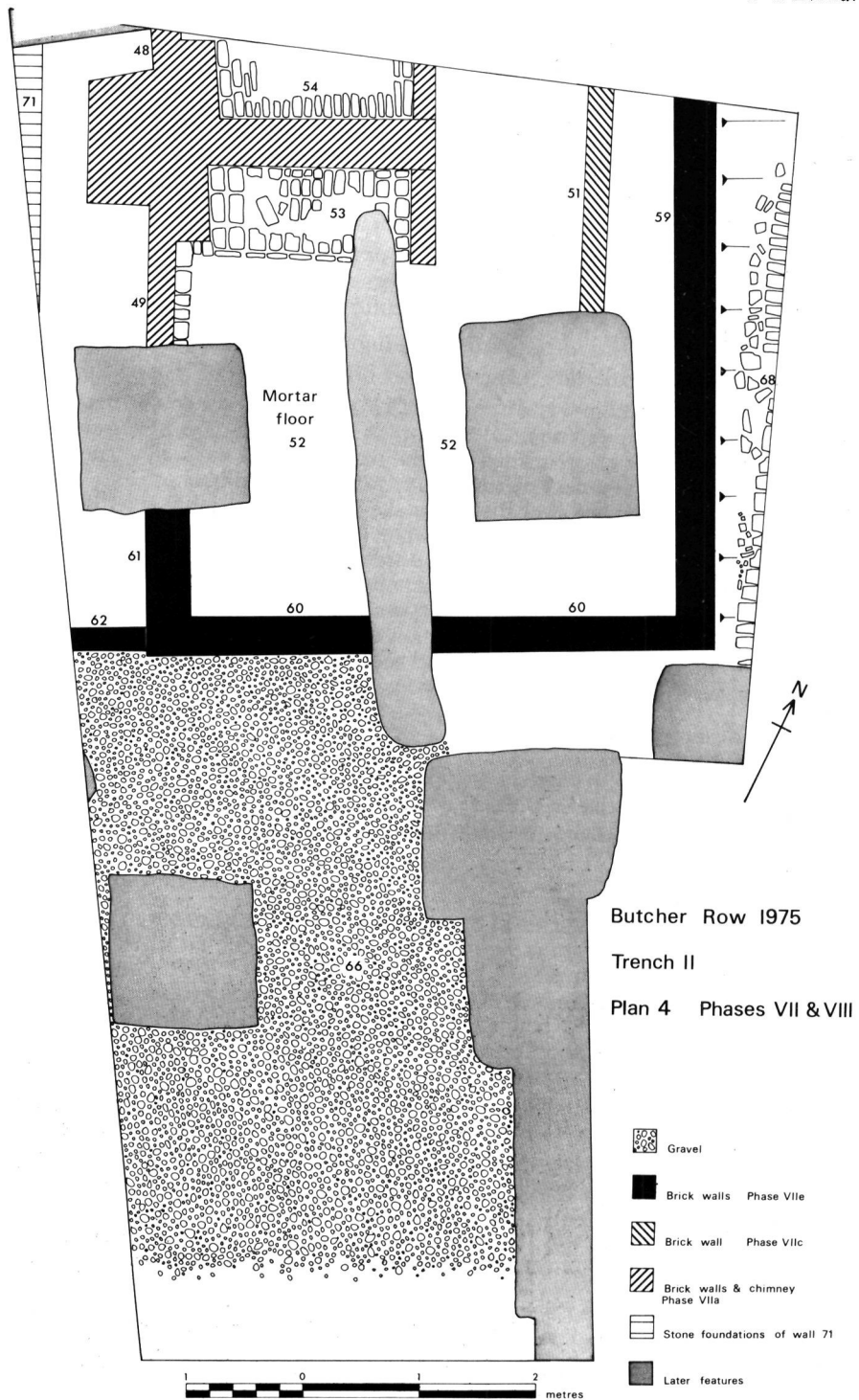


Fig. 7. Butcher Row: Trench II plan 4

set onto a layer of green-brown clay (65) 0.20m thick, which lay to the south of wall (60). The yard measured some 5.00m north-south, and stretched east-west across the excavated area.

A large group of pottery in the yard and its make-up dates to the 16th or early 17th century. It is not possible stratigraphically to link the yard with the floor levels inside the building but from the dating of the finds, it appears to tie in with a later floor level, for which the clay (64) is perhaps the make-up.

A layer of grey clay (67) containing a large amount of mortar, brick and rubble overlaid the gravel surface, south of the building. This dates to the 17th century and may be associated with the demolition of the building.

DISCUSSION OF PHASE VII

The building is the first evidence of occupation on the site. It appears to have been in use from the late 15th-early 16th century until the 17th century, during which time the floor was renewed at least twice. It is possible that some of the clay layers, interpreted as make-up, may also have been floor levels. It is not known whether the superstructure would have been of timber or of brick, but perhaps the former is more likely.

If the building was still standing at the beginning of the 18th century it may be that depicted on Gascoyne's map on the north side of Sugar House Yard (Plate 2). The gravelled yard lying to the south of the building is almost certainly Sugar House Yard itself.

Although late 15th-early 16th century is early for the construction of a brick building, it is not so surprising in view of the cosmopolitan nature of society in Ratcliff and of the hamlet's proximity to Essex where scarcity of natural building materials caused brick to be in use from the 12th century.⁷

PHASE VIII

Traces of two other north-south walls were found at the edges of the trench, along the east and west sections.

a) Wall (68) (Plan 4 Fig. 7; Section 3 Fig. 8)

The wall ran along the east section and only survived to a height of 0.20m. The foundation trench cut through any floor layers to the east of wall (59) and had been filled back with layers of light brown clay (69) and yellow clay (70). A layer of tile at the bottom of the foundation trench extended slightly to the west of the wall and formed the base of the foundations. The pottery from the foundation trench dates to the 16th century, but the construction of this building must postdate the building in the trench.

b) Wall (71) (Section 1 Fig. 4; Plan 4 Fig. 7; Section 3 Fig. 8)

This wall lay along the western section on a slightly different alignment from the other walls. The method of construction was also dissimilar.

The total depth of the foundations of this wall was 0.84m. It had been truncated in the north-west corner by a brick-lined pit (74) and along the western boundary to the trench by a 19th century brick cellar wall.

The foundations entirely filled the construction trench and consisted of four different layers. At the base was 0.20-0.25m of large blocks of greensand, chalk and flint. Some of these blocks had been faced, but they were used randomly. Above this was a layer of crushed bricks and mortar *c.* 0.10m thick.

The third layer consisted of chunks of flint, greensand and chalk set in a hard yellow sandy mortar containing fragments of chalk; this layer was *c.* 0.35m thick.

The highest surviving layer consisted of broken bricks set at random in mortar; this layer was truncated by the cellar wall and only 0.20m survived. This wall cut through the foundation trench (47) for the chimney and is therefore later than the construction of that building. No dating evidence was retrieved from the wall (71).

The layers above those described were removed by the machine and were not recorded except in section. They appeared to consist mainly of rubble.

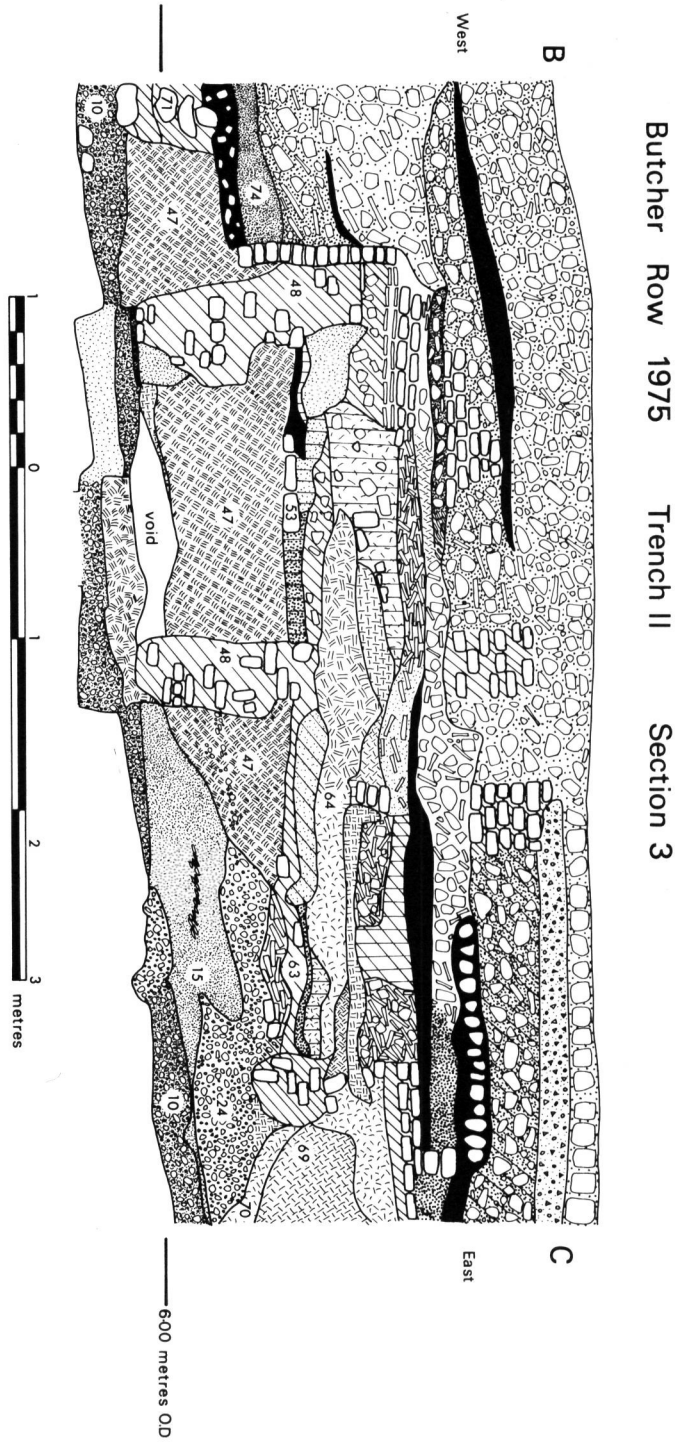


Fig. 8. Butcher Row: Trench II section 3 (key as for section 1. Fig. 4)

DISCUSSION OF PHASE VIII

Little was found of these walls and it is not possible to relate them with any certainty to any shown on early maps of the area. Wall (71) however, appears to be the foundation of a substantial wall and it is notable that the stone blocks used in layers 1 and 3 appear to have been reused from an earlier construction.

NOTES

1. English Place Name Society 18 *The Place Names of Middlesex* (Cambridge 1942) 155.
2. H. Llewellyn Smith *History of East London* (London 1939) 202-205.
3. K. G. T. McDonnell *The Economic and Social Structure of the Parishes of Bromley, Hackney, Stepney and Whitechapel from the 13th to the 16th century*. Ph.D. thesis University of London (1958).
4. Llewellyn Smith *op.cit.* (in Note 2); quoting Ministers' Accounts Bundle 1140 No. 24 Stepney.
5. English Place Name Society *op.cit.* (in Note 1) 158.
6. O. G. S. Crawford *Archaeology in the Field* (London 1960) 61.
7. M. Beresford and J. G. Hurst *Deserted Medieval Villages* (Guildford & London 1971) 94.

THE ROYAL FOUNDATION OF ST. KATHARINE, BUTCHER ROW, E.14

Notes on the history of the site

BERNARD NURSE

SUMMARY

The archaeological excavations in Butcher Row, reported in this paper, and the restoration of some of the 19th century murals within the Master's House have occasioned an examination of documentary evidence relating to the area (Fig. 1). Particular attention has been paid to the period before 1837 when the house and gardens were purchased for ecclesiastical use from the Corporation of the City of London. Prior to this date, evidence suggests the existence of a sixteenth century "sugar house" nearby; the hall of the Shipwrights' Company in the early 18th century is believed to have belonged to the Corporation of Shipwrights of Rotherhithe, rather than the City Guild as previously thought; the house which is now occupied by the Royal Foundation of St. Katharine was built 1794-5, possibly by Thomas Leverton, and it has been discovered that two of the restored murals were copied from engravings of paintings by Claude Lorrain.

EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF RATCLIFF¹

Ratcliff ('red cliff') was a natural landing place amongst the marshes on the north bank of the Thames. The point on the eastern side of the City of London where the gravel terrace comes nearest to the river is by the present Glasshouse Fields, or Cock Hill on Gascoyne's *Map of Stepney*, 1703 (Plate 2).² In 1635 it was claimed that there was no Thames wall in Ratcliff because the land was higher than the river; there were only three encroachments on the foreshore in west Ratcliff where a natural high bank existed but twenty eight in east Ratcliff.³ However, the discovery of medieval flood deposits from the Thames in the north-east corner of Butcher Row suggests that even this natural defence was inadequate on one occasion at least.⁴

The earliest reference to a wharf in Ratcliff is in a will of 1348, but during the next fifty years many ships were constructed there for the French wars. By the mid-15th century

Ratcliff had developed into a riverside village devoted increasingly to the fitting out of ships and their repair rather than shipbuilding. The stream recently excavated in Butcher Row was most probably filled in and the adjacent land reclaimed during this period of early growth.⁵ Communications to the north and east would have been via Butcher Row. The surface of part of the road appears to have been metalled,⁶ an unusual feature in the medieval period, and building along its side had begun by the late 15th century.⁷ The earliest known map of the area to the north (1615) shows an intermittent ribbon development along White Horse Street, the road to Stepney Church.⁸

In the 16th century many voyages of discovery began at Ratcliff, notably those by Sir Hugh Willoughby in 1553 and by Martin Frobisher in the 1570s. John Stow at the end of Elizabeth I's reign provides the earliest description of Ratcliff's rapid growth.

Radcliffe itself hath been also increased in building eastward (in place whereof I have known a large highway with fair elm trees on both sides). But of late years shipwrights, and (for the most part) other marine men, have built many large and strong houses for themselves, and smaller for sailors, from thence almost to Poplar.⁹

At the beginning of the 17th century, it has been estimated that about 50% of the male population were mariners or boatmen, 11% were engaged in shipbuilding, 20% in land crafts (e.g. building, metal or clothing trades) and 12% in supplying provisions.¹⁰ The victualling of ships therefore was an important feature of Ratcliff's economy. The rich pasture lands of Stepney and Poplar marshes had traditionally been used primarily for the fattening of cattle before slaughter for the London market; and accounts exist of the provision of oxen for expeditions abroad by the King's ships. According to one of 1549-50, hundreds of oxen were pastured in the neighbourhood and then slain, their meat salted and barrelled for an expedition; between a dozen and twenty butchers with labourers were employed for several days on the task. It is reasonable to suppose that Butcher Row was originally the centre for the supplying of meat for these ships; however, the first building on the eastern side of Butcher Row discovered in documentary sources is the "sugar house".¹¹

THE SUGAR HOUSE

The "sugar house" belonged to John Gardiner who was described as "gent, of the Sugar House" on the burial register of St. Dunstan's Stepney (22 December 1599). Sugar refining was first introduced to England about 1544 and John Gardiner was one of the first dealers. He gave evidence in August 1595 "as a former dealer in refined-sugar, that when it was first made in London, they profited little by it as much better and cheaper came from Antwerp". However, the same enquiry also heard that since the troubles in the Spanish Netherlands, especially over the previous eight years, the sugar refiners, Gardiner and Co. included, had made great profits by it. Of the seven sugar refiners in England at this time, three had "sugar houses" in Ratcliff.¹² The prosperity of the refining industry in England was short lived and only recovered after the establishment of the sugar industry in the West Indies in the middle of the 17th century.

Sugar House Yard is shown on Gascoyne's *Map of Stepney* (1703) (Plate 2) as situated at the north-east corner of Butcher Row. The land to the east of Butcher Row was purchased from John (or George) Gardiner on 2 September 1616 by the Corporation of the City of London.¹³ Despite the growth of building elsewhere in Ratcliff, little effort was devoted to developing the estate; and in the early 19th century London Field provided the open land on which the Regent's Canal Dock was excavated. By 1647 "the great messuage formerly called the Sugar House" had been leased to Thomas Tickner, Citizen and Grocer, and



Plate 1. Butcher Row: Trench II, Phase VII brick building. (Scale 1m)

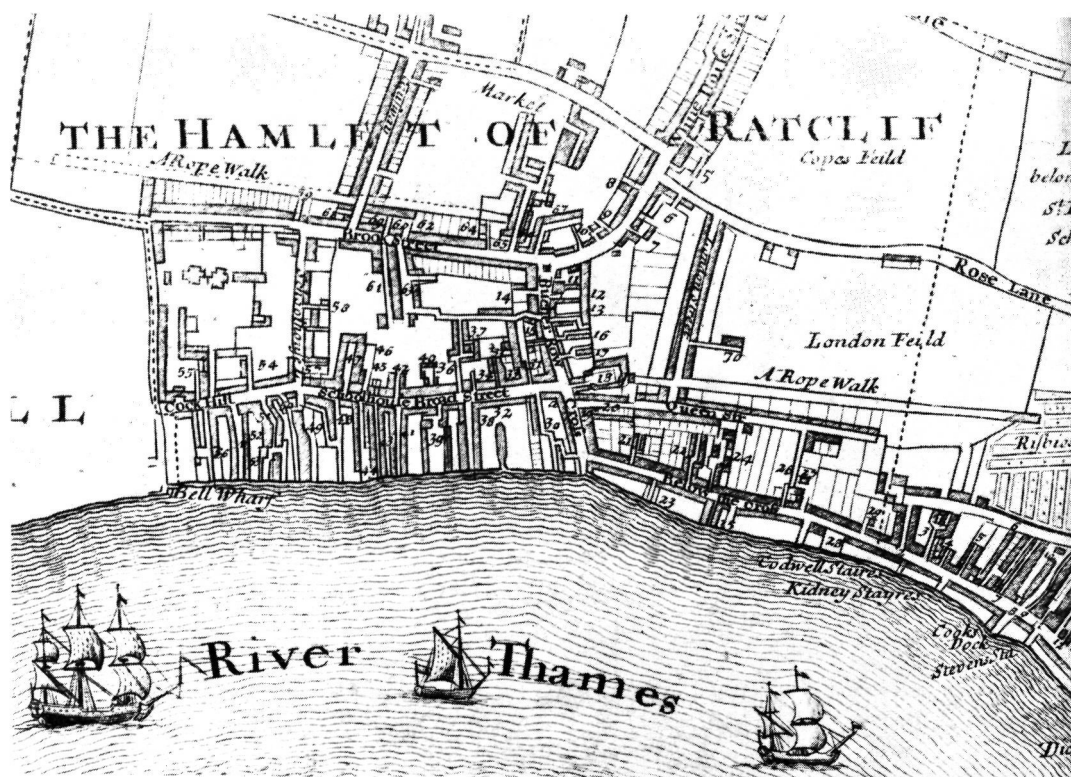


Plate 2. Butcher Row: Gascoyne's *Map of Stepney*, 1703 — "Hamlet of Ratcliff". 11 — Sugar House Yard; 12 — Dolphin Yard; 13 — Shipwrights Hall; 16 — Little Pump Yard; 17 — George Yard; 18 — Brewhouse

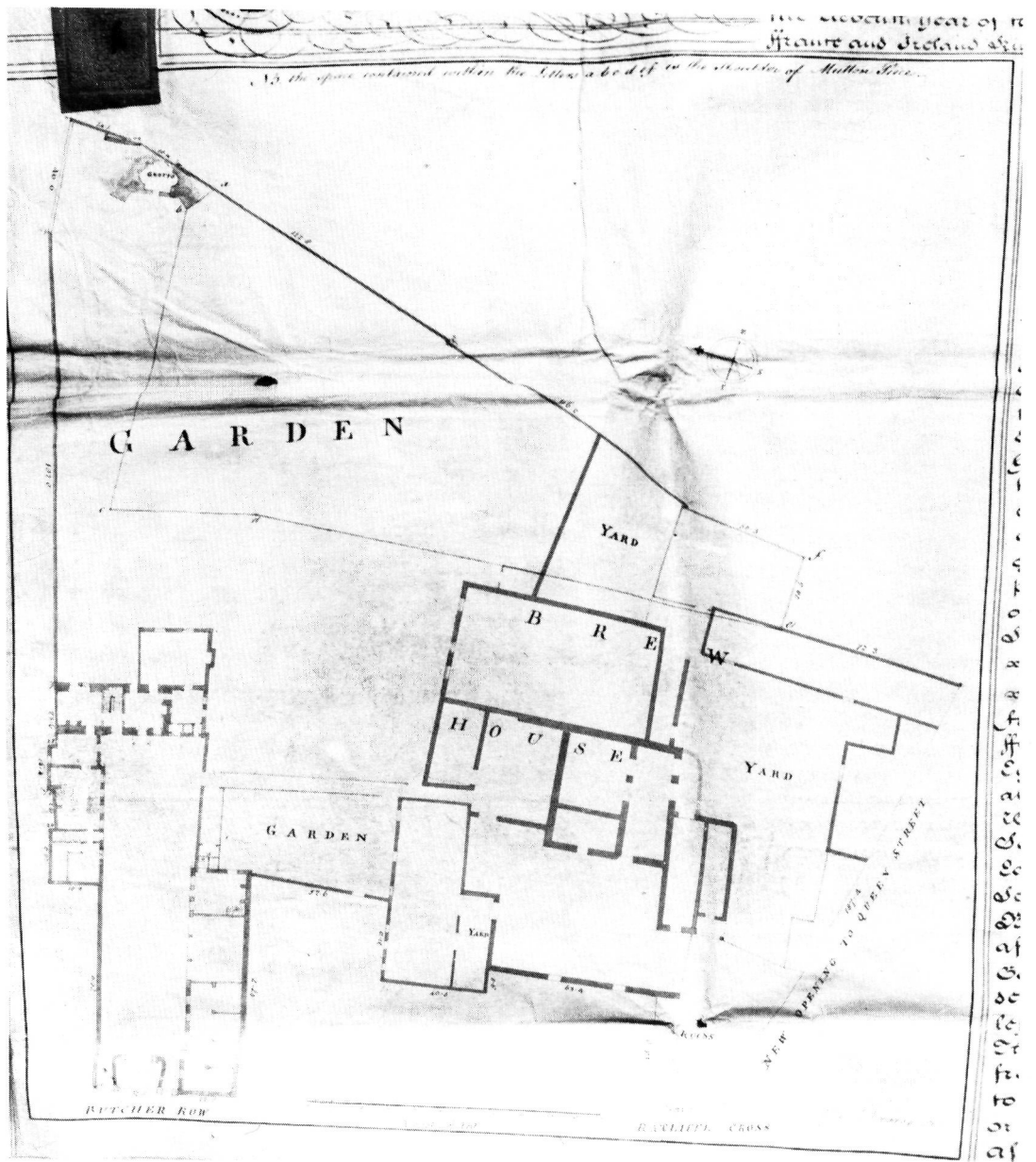


Plate 3. Butcher Row: Plan of house and brewhouse, 1771

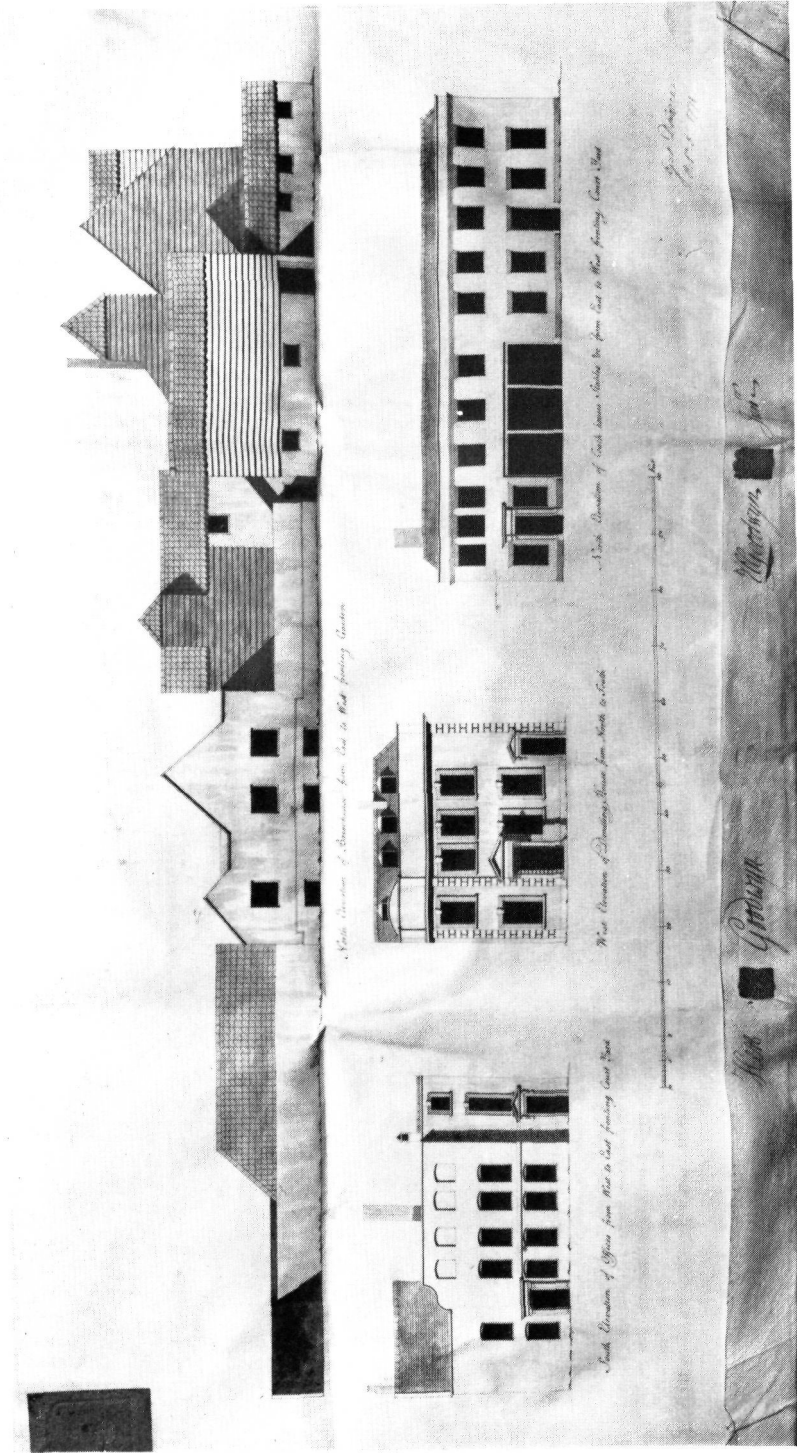


Plate 4. Butcher Row: Elevation of house and north elevation of the brewhouse, 1771

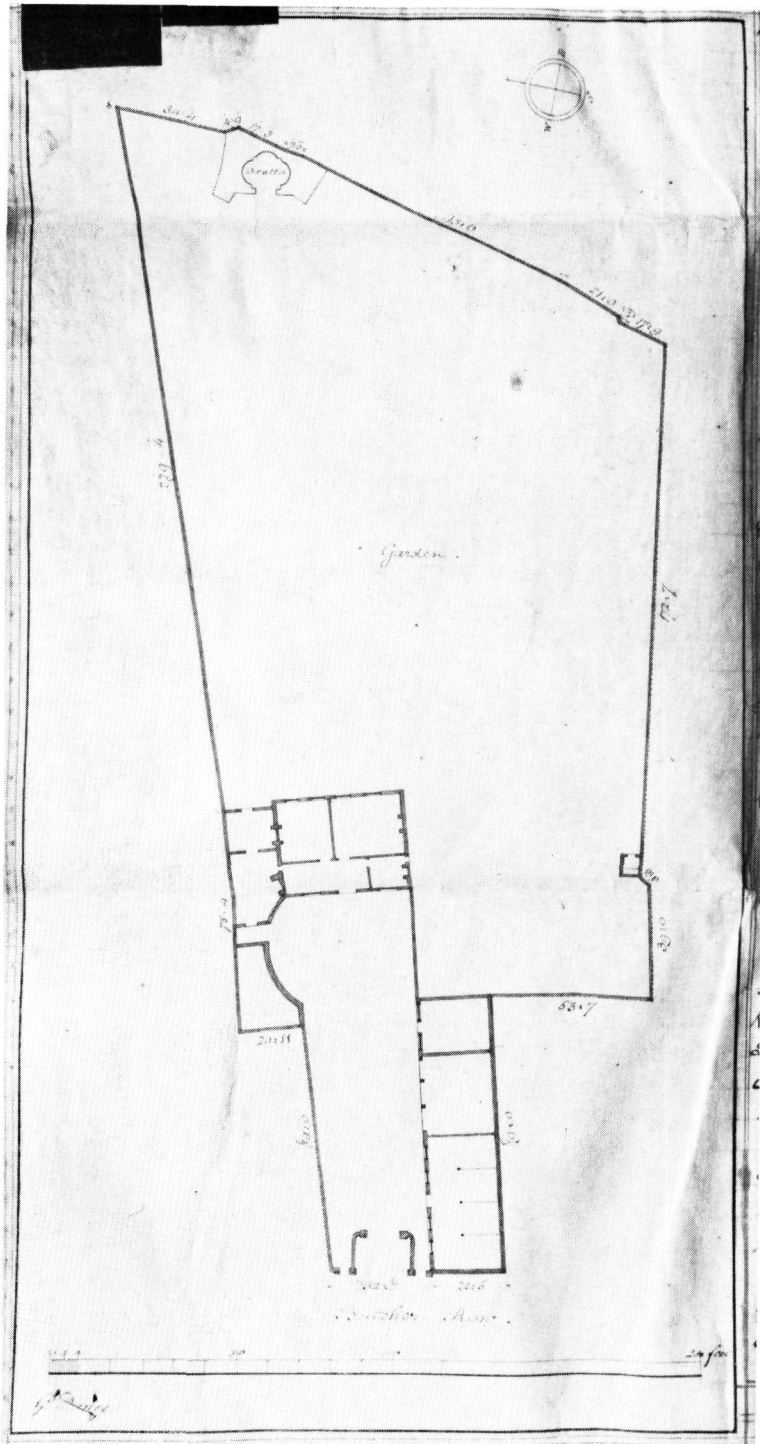


Plate 5. Butcher Row: Plan of the present Master's House, Royal Foundation of St. Katharine



Plate 6. Burcher Row: Master's House, Royal Foundation of St. Katharine — mural in the Chapter Room *Landing of Aeneas in Italy*

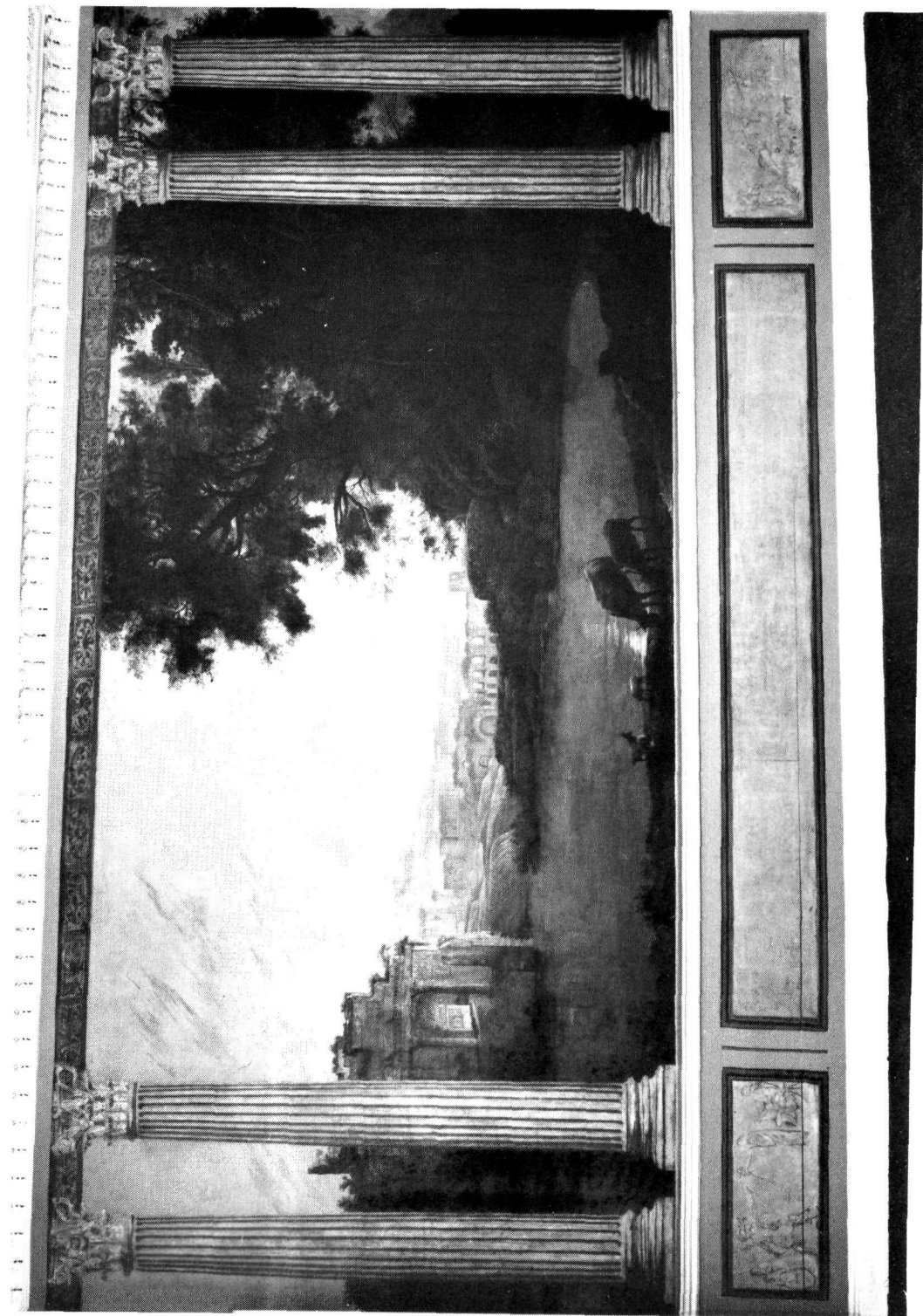


Plate 7. Butcher Row: Master's House, Royal Foundation of St. Katharine — mural in the Chapter Room *Roman Edifices in Ruins*

divided into four dwellings. A garden, orchard and twelve acres of land were attached; the valuation, at £40, was higher than any other nearby properties.¹⁴ Gascoyne shows a haphazard maze of courts, yards and buildings leading eastwards from Butcher Row in 1703; one long building behind Sugar House Yard and Dolphin Yard is named as Shipwrights Hall.

SHIPWRIGHTS HALL

The Shipwrights may have occupied one or more of the dwellings into which the former "sugar house" had been divided. By 1704 the head lease had been granted by the City to William Wakelyn, ropemaker, in succession to Thomas Tickner.¹⁵ Previously, it has been assumed that the Hall belonged to the Company of Free Shipwrights, one of the smallest of the City guilds.¹⁶ However, in the 17th and early 18th centuries, the Company met at the Guildhall, paying the Hallkeeper 2/6d rising to 5/- every quarter for the use of a room. Even hiring a room must have been difficult in some years, for in 1661 they complained to the Court of Aldermen that "of late years they are greatly decreased in their number and decayed in their substance and become unable to subsist as a Company without some assistance".¹⁷

Another company of shipwrights had been incorporated by royal charter in 1605 as the Corporation of the "Shipwrights of England", re-established by a second charter in 1612 as the Corporation of the "Shipwrights of Redrith" (Rotherhithe), and described as the "foreign" shipwrights by the City or "free" shipwrights. Rivalry between the two companies had impoverished them both, but the support of the City proved stronger and more enduring than that of the Crown, and the Corporation of "foreign" shipwrights never recovered its charter after being forced to surrender it in 1684. During its brief existence the Corporation of "foreign" shipwrights had a great influence on the trade, and devised the method for determining the tonnage of ships known as the "Shipwrights Hall Rule". The latest known reference to this measure dates from 1711.

"Some say the general method which has been pitched upon by the greatest number of shipwrights and others and may be termed Shipwrights Hall Rule is to take the length of the keel . . .".¹⁸

The first hall of the "foreign" shipwrights was in Rotherhithe but Edward Hatton, writing in 1708 makes it clear that they must have moved later to Ratcliff, as his description could not be applied to the City Guild.

"Shipwrights Hall is situate at Ratcliffe Cross. This Company or Corporation were constituted in the reign of James I and a Master, two Wardens and sixteen Assistants; they have discontinued their meetings for some time upon the surrender of their Charter, pursuant to the Quo Warranto in the reign of Charles II, but their Charter being judged by learned Counsel to be yet of full force, they now begin their meeting again in January 1706".¹⁹

A year earlier the Master Shipwrights had presented a petition to Parliament claiming that their predecessors had been impowered by their Charter of 1605 "to rectify the Disorders and Abuses of the Shipwright's Trade . . . but the breed of able Workmen is almost lost, and . . . the Petitioners have not been in a regular Method many years past".²⁰ Despite the support of the Admiralty, Navy Board and Trinity House, the petition failed. In 1739, Maitland reported that their hall "anciently stood at Ratcliffe Cross, being gone, they occasionally meet at different places to treat of their affairs". Their presence at Ratcliff therefore, may have been limited to the brief period around 1700 when attempts were made to revive the Corporation.²¹

RATCLIFF CROSS BREWERY

At the southern end of Butcher Row, nearest Ratcliff Cross, was the brewery belonging to the Raymond family and shown on Gascoyne's map of 1703 as a "brewhouse". (Plate 2). The first Raymond recorded as living at Ratcliff Cross was John Raymond, a man of considerable property, who was Constable of Ratcliff in 1657 and died in 1670. His brother Jonathan was elected Master of the Brewers' Company and knighted in 1679; he was also an alderman of the City of London and a member of Parliament.²²

Most of the premises from the brewery northwards to White Horse Street were held by members of the family on City lease from 1715. This included the site of the former "sugar house" and the Shipwrights Hall. Other property was added gradually over the succeeding thirty years. Samuel Raymond purchased the land to the east in 1729 to make a garden, and John Raymond bought most of the land to the north-west fronting Butcher Row in 1744. The fifteen tenements in Sugar House Yard and Dolphin Court "being in a very ruinous condition were pulled down by the Mobb and the materials carried away".²³

Thus, on the east side of Butcher Row, the groups of tenements in narrow courts most of which were probably erected in Ratcliff's period of most rapid growth in the 16th and 17th centuries, were replaced towards the middle of the 18th century by fewer but more substantial brick built houses, shops and warehouses fronting directly on to the road. Behind these buildings were the brewery premises and, on the site of the Shipwrights Hall, the house and gardens occupied first by the owners of the brewery.

John Raymond was the last member of the family to own the brewery. His connection ceased in 1758 when he was appointed brewer to the Board of Victualling, which supplied the Navy with provisions.²⁴ He was succeeded by Peter Greene who had already occupied the house from 1747; and in 1771 the lease of both house and brewery was granted to Henry Goodwyn. The City Surveyor, George Dance the Younger, surveyed the property; his plans and elevations show with great precision the extent and complexity of this group of buildings when the business was at the height of its prosperity.²⁵ (Plates 3 and 4). By 1779 Henry Goodwyn and Son were able to take a partnership in the larger and longer established Red Lion Brewery at Lower East Smithfield, St. Katharine's by the Tower; and five years later the firm was the first in London to order one of Watt's new rotative engines.²⁶ The Ratcliff Cross Brewery had lost some of its premises in the 1770s for the extension of Queen Street to Ratcliff Cross (now that part of The Highway east of Butcher Row); the remainder was used as a store and malthouse.

In July 1794 the worst of many fires that constantly swept through the riverside hamlets consumed much of Ratcliff, destroying more houses than any fire since the Great Fire of London. It started when a kettle of pitch boiled over in the warehouse of a barge builder in Cock Hill, spread to a barge laden with saltpetre and was carried by a strong wind as far as Butcher Row to the east and Stepney Causeway to the north. A survey by the officers of the hamlet reported "that out of twelve hundred houses, of which the hamlet consisted, not more than five hundred and seventy were preserved from the general conflagration".²⁷

Most of the buildings on the east side of Butcher Row were destroyed. The City Lands Committee negotiated with builders to rebuild on the land; and apart from some minor alterations to frontages and boundaries, many premises were built on the former foundations. Goodwyn's "store and malthouse" appears to have been divided into several properties, but a small cooperage remained on part of the site, owned by Cracherode Whiffing, brewer of

Queen Street.²⁸ Most of this area was cleared at the beginning of this century for the construction of the Rotherhithe Tunnel.

8 BUTCHER ROW

Among the properties rebuilt 1794-5 was the house numbered 8 Butcher Row on Frazer's map of the extent of the Ratcliff fire, 1794. This is now the Master's House, Royal Foundation of St. Katharine and stands on the site of the previous house (shown on Plates 3 and 4). The plan of 1771 (Plate 3) shows a house with walls almost a metre thick in places; the large room on the garden side and the smaller room with doorway on the south side appear to be later additions. The elevation (Plate 4) presents an eighteenth century classical facade added to an older fabric. If this interpretation is correct, the basic plan suggests a 16th or 17th century property; this could have formed a part of the long building shown on Gascoyne's *Map of Stepney*, (1703) (Plate 2) and may possibly date back to the "sugar house" which was divided into tenements in the 17th century. The house would then have been enlarged by the owners of the Ratcliff Cross Brewery, who occupied it — the Raymonds until *c.* 1745 and Peter Greene until *c.* 1771 followed by Henry Goodwyn. From *c.* 1780 until 1808 the house was occupied by members of the Whiting family, who had considerable business interests in Ratcliff.

Matthew Whiting, who lived there from about 1780 until his death in 1798, lost sugar valued at £40,000 that had been stored in his warehouse in Broad Street and destroyed in the fire of 1794; but he was still able to loan £10,000 (jointly with F. Kemble) to the Phoenix Assurance Company two months later. The Phoenix was closely linked to the sugar trade and sustained a massive loss in the fire. Matthew Whiting was a director of the company from 1785 to 1798, his brother John Scott Whiting a director from 1797 to 1814, and his nephew Matthew Whiting a director from 1819 to 1871.²⁹ Thomas Leverton was surveyor to the Phoenix at the time and it has been suggested that Matthew Whiting could have commissioned him to design the present house.³⁰ The builder was William Mason.

In July 1795 Goodwyn's City lease was assigned to Matthew Whiting and the ground plan by Dance that accompanies the lease³¹ (Plate 5) shows marked differences from his survey of 1771 (Plate 3). The only remnant of the earlier building to be retained was the cellar; the present cellar is on two levels with the eastern, higher part being the older. The pre-existing basement may have helped to govern the form of the new building. The two present garden rooms are on the site of those that previously faced the courtyard. The large room on the east side in 1771 was not replaced but an entrance hall was added on the west. The columns which support the stairway in the entrance hall have capitals decorated with what appear to be leaves of the sugar cane plant, an appropriate detail for Matthew Whiting, a sugar merchant, to add. The courtyard immediately in front of the house was enlarged by rebuilding the offices on the north side. This block and the stables have since been demolished and Butcher Row was widened in 1976 so that the road now comes to within thirty metres of the house.

THE WALL PAINTINGS

The most significant additions to the 1795 house have been the large bow window in the north-east room and the murals in both rooms which face the garden. The murals are oil on plaster and could not predate the 1794 fire because comparison of the two plans (Plates 3 and 5) shows that the walls on which the murals were painted only appear on the 1795 plan. Decorating rooms in this way was common in the early 19th century but few examples have

survived. The murals were restored after the Second World War although those in the north-east room (sometimes called the dining room) had been badly damaged by fire and water. Those in the south-east room (sometimes called the drawing room and now the Chapter Room) were restored again in 1976 as these paintings are particularly fine and the colours had darkened considerably over the last thirty years.

The two principal scenes depicted in the Chapter Room are both copies of paintings by Claude Lorrain — *Coast Scene with the Landing of Aeneas in Latium* (Plate 6) and *Pastoral Landscape with the Arch of Titus* (Plate 7).³² Claude painted them in 1650 and 1644 respectively, but they have always been considered a pair, having the same measurements (4'6" x 3'5") and the same horizons. They were purchased by the Earl of Radnor in 1754 in the same sale and have hung in Longford Castle, Wiltshire ever since.

Claude was extremely popular in England in the 18th century and these paintings were well known after they had been engraved for Boydell in 1772. The *Landing of Aeneas* was engraved by James Mason with the title *Landing of Aeneas in Italy, the allegorical Morning of the Roman Empire*, and the pastoral landscape, which was originally untitled, was engraved by W. Woollett as *Roman Edifices in Ruins*. Richard Earlom, the engraver of Claude's *Liber Veritatis* stated that the pictures were "intended, as has been supposed, to denote allegorically, the Fall of the Roman Empire" and its "allegorical Morning". His edition of the *Liber Veritatis* was published in 1777, the year after the first volume of Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*; from the 1770s onwards the two paintings were called the "Rise" and the "Decline" of the Roman Empire, and their atmosphere wrongly characterised as morning and evening. This reflected 18th and 19th century taste rather than Claude's intentions.

The "Roman edifices" shown in Claude's painting are thought to have been the Arch of Titus in its 17th century state and an imaginary combination of the top of the Colosseum and the arches of an aqueduct. The copies of both paintings in the Chapter Room are in reverse as are the engravings from which they are probably derived. They have been skilfully made to fit the walls by excluding the lower sixth portion of Claude's original pictures to reduce the height and extending the length by the addition of classical columns and suitable scenery on the other side of the columns. In *Roman Edifices in Ruins* (Plate 7) the artist has not included the figures of shepherdesses in the foreground of Claude's original and Woollett's engraving. These are also excluded from an early 19th century engraving by N. Naudet, so it is likely that the artist at Butcher Row used this later copy for his source.

Although the paintings have been likened to work by Agostino Aglio (1777-1857)³³ it is not known who was the artist. Sir Walter Besant records the local tradition that the house belonged to a City merchant who rode to London every day leaving his only daughter behind. He engaged a young Italian to stay in the house and decorate it with wall paintings. When the merchant discovered that the artist and his daughter had fallen in love, the Italian was ordered to leave but went upstairs to his room, hung himself and haunted the house thereafter.³⁴ Much of this ghost story is plausible. The house was occupied by City merchants between 1795 and 1837, and Italians were the most proficient at this sort of work. Some of the decoration appears to be unfinished.

It is also uncertain when, within the period 1795 to 1837, the murals were painted. The paintings in the north-east room originally continued along the wall of the bow window, which was added after the plan of 1795 was made. The painting here however, could have

been carried out to match the existing painted walls. Thus the murals could have been commissioned by either Matthew Whiting who lived there until 1798, his brother John Scott Whiting, a wharfinger (1798 to *c.* 1808) or George Brown, a sailmaker (*c.* 1808 to mid-1830s).³⁵

ST. JAMES, BUTCHER ROW

The house and its extensive grounds formed the most substantial residential property in Ratcliff in the early 19th century but the influx of sailors and unskilled labour working at the nearby newly built docks rapidly made the area less attractive for the wealthy to live in. The garden however, attracted the attention of those searching for sites in East London that would be suitable for new churches and burial grounds; and in 1836 the Corporation of the City of London received a petition to purchase the freehold of the land for the erection of a church.

‘the building of a Church on this site . . . will confer an important benefit on the Inhabitants of this poor and populous district, that from the contiguity of the river many of the sailors will thereby be enabled on the Sunday to attend public worship, and that on account of the especial advantage which will thus arise to the tenants of the City of London who surround the site, the value of the houses which they occupy will consequently be improved’.³⁶

The Corporation sold the property for £1,012 10s in the following year and the church of St. James Butcher Row was consecrated on 13th August 1838. It was the first church to be built in Stepney by Bishop Blomfield’s Metropolis Churches Fund and cost £9,033 10s 10d in all. The architect, Edward Lapidge, designed it in the Early English style using grey Suffolk bricks in the construction and providing seating accommodation for 1200. The parish was formed from that part of the hamlet of Ratcliff that had previously been in the parish of St. Anne Limehouse. A major restoration was undertaken by R. P. Day in 1899-1901 and further restoration was needed in 1932. On 7 September 1940 the church was gutted by incendiary bombs and the parish was united to that of St. Paul Shadwell in 1951. The graveyard is now a public garden.³⁷

The house became the vicarage. The ghost of the Italian artist said to have been responsible for the murals was driven away by the wife of one of the vicars in what must rank as one of the most successful examples of exorcism. According to Sir Walter Besant, she ‘‘sat up all night by herself in the haunted chamber and testified that she had neither seen nor heard anything and was quite willing to sleep in the room. That disgusted the ghost who went away of his own accord’’.

Whilst laying drains in the summer of 1895, builders discovered a cesspit immediately outside the west wall of the house between the porch and the kitchen.³⁸ It was said to be large enough to turn a horse and cart in, and may have originally been supplied from the tunnel (now bricked up) that leads from the west side of the cellar.

THE ROYAL FOUNDATION OF ST. KATHARINE

The Royal Hospital of St. Katharine had moved to Regent’s Park after the eviction from its precinct in 1825 to make way for the St. Katharine Docks. An attempt was made in 1914 to reverse the inevitable decline of the foundation and restore its links with East London by re-organising the Royal Hospital as the Royal College of St. Katharine, basing it in Bromley Hall, Poplar but retaining the chapel in Regent’s Park. The College trained students and provided qualified health visitors for the people of Bromley. Its maternity and child welfare work came to an end with the establishment of the National Health Service and after the war

the Royal College was reconstituted on a religious basis as the Royal Foundation of St. Katharine.

Bromley Hall and the chapel in Regent's Park were vacated and the Royal Foundation under its new Master, the Reverend St. John Groser, purchased the bomb damaged vicarage of St. James Ratcliff, the land immediately adjacent, and additional land acquired from the Corporation of the City of London. This was the nearest suitable site to that of the original Hospital, and the Chapter occupied the house in 1949. The Royal Foundation restored the vicarage for use as the Master's House and added new wings to accommodate conference guests and retreatants. The murals were also restored but those around the bow window were too badly damaged and were painted over. A new Royal Chapel was built in 1951 on the site of St. James's Church as part of the Festival of Britain celebrations. Most of the furnishings that had been taken to Regent's Park in 1825 were installed in the new chapel. These included the 14th century misericordes and statues of Edward III and Philippa of Hainault, a 16th century marble relief depicting the Adoration of the Magi and a fine early 17th century hexagonal pulpit with carved panels.³⁹

The patronage of successive Queens of England has continued since the original foundation by Queen Matilda in 1148. In 1968, the present Patron — Queen Elizabeth the Queen Mother — entrusted the Royal Foundation to the care of the Community of the Resurrection (Mirfield) and the Deaconess Community of St. Andrew. Thus, one of the most notable features of the medieval foundation, the equality of Brothers and Sisters within the Chapter, is perpetuated still.

NOTES

1. K. G. T. McDonnell *The Economic and Social Structure of the Parishes of Bromley, Hackney, Stepney and Whitechapel from the 13th to the 16th century* Ph.D. thesis University of London (1958) provides the evidence for this section unless stated otherwise.
2. Geological Survey of England and Wales. *Edition of 1919*. London Sheet NV. S.E.
3. M. J. Power *The Urban Development of East London* Ph.D. thesis University of London (1971) 145.
4. Inner London Archaeological Unit. Butcher Row excavations, 1975. Trench II, Phase IIc.
5. *ibid*, Phase III.
6. *ibid*, Phase IV.
7. *ibid*, Phase VII.
8. Mercers' Company. Manuscript survey of the Stepney estate (1615).
9. John Stow (b.1525) *Survey of London* (1603). Kingsford edition vol. 2 (Oxford 1908) 71-2.
10. M. J. Power *op.cit.* 177. An analysis of the baptismal registers of St. Dunstan's Stepney from 1606 to 1610 by members of the East London History Group provided evidence for the occupation statistics.
11. The name "Butcher Row" first appears on Gascoyne's *Map of Stepney* (1703) spelt "Bucher Row". (Plate 2). There may be a link with the "sugar house" if, as has been suggested, bull's blood was originally used in the refining process.
12. John Stow *Survey of London* edited by John Strype vol. 2 (London 1720) 244; Calendar of State Papers *Domestic* (1595-7) 97 also refers to Massan and Co. and Alden and Co. — the other Ratcliff sugar refiners; G. W. Hill and W. H. Frere *Memorials of Stepney Parish* (Guildford 1890) contains references to John Gardiner d.1599, another John Gardiner, vestryman in 1606 and the earliest reference to a "sugar house" in Ratcliff — "William Stubbes by the Sugar House at Ratcliffe" (1584).
13. Corporation of London Record Office (CLRO). Rental of the City's Estate at Ratcliffe (1744) claims that the land was purchased from George Gardiner and gives the date of purchase. The rental for 1655 gives John Gardiner as the vendor, and the 1615 manuscript survey in the possession of the Mercers' Company showing their Stepney estate marks the land concerned as "Mr. John Gardiner's". G. H. Ridge *Records of the Worshipful Company of Shipwrights* 1 (London 1939) XII, amongst the many errors in his Introduction, says the City purchased this land from John Philpot in the 14th century, confusing this estate with other lands bequeathed by John Philpot to the City.
14. CLRO. City Rental (1667) Ratcliffe Estate.
15. CLRO. City Rental (1704) Ratcliffe Estate.
16. C. H. Ridge *op.cit.*; M. J. Power *op.cit.* 219; H. L. Smith *History of East London* (London 1939) 220-223.

17. The records of the Worshipful Company of Shipwrights deposited in the Guildhall Library include the *Wardens Accounts* (1621-1726) Ms. 4597/1 which record regular payments to the Hallkeeper of the Guildhall, and the Ordinance Book (1428-1782) Ms.4600 which includes the complaint of 1661 (f99) and refers to a meeting of the Court at Guildhall in 1704 (f2).
18. W. Sutherland *The Shipbuilders Assistant* (1711) 76 quoted in *Mariners Mirror* 52 (1966); also quoted is the reference by Henry Johnson of Blackwall in 1677 to the measure "according to Shipwright's Hall".
19. E. Hatton *New View of London* vol. 2 (1708) 619.
20. House of Commons *Journal* 14 (16 Jan 1704/5) 482.
21. W. Maitland *History of London* (1739). A general account of the Corporation of Shipwrights of Rotherhithe is given by W. G. Perrin in his introduction to *The Autobiography of Phineas Pett* Navy Record Society vol. 51 (1918) and by E. A. Ebbelwhite in Brassey's *Naval Annual* (1925).
22. G. W. Hill and W. H. Frere — *op.cit.*; A. B. Beaven *Aldermen of the City of London* 2 (London 1913).
23. CLRO. Ratcliffe Estate Rental (1744).
24. *Gentleman's Magazine*. Obituary notice for 21 Jan 1782.
25. CLRO. Comptroller's Deeds Box 18 no. 29.
26. Kent's *London directory* (1779); P. Matthias *The Brewing Industry in England 1700-1830* (Cambridge 1959).
27. *Gentleman's Magazine* (July 1794); M. Rose *The East End of London* (Bath 1973) 80-1.
28. The occupiers are listed in the land tax books for Ratcliff; 1730-1843 in Guildhall Library Ms 6014, and 1780-1832 in Greater London Record Office (Middlesex Section) MR/PLT/5939 ff. Details of rebuilding after the fire are given in CLRO City Lands Committee *Minutes* 27 Sept. 1794, 7 Oct. 1794, 18 Mar. 1795 and 3 June 1795. The most accurate maps for this period are J. Rocque *Map of London* (1746), W. Frazer *A Correct Ground Plan of the dreadful Fire at Ratcliffe* (1794), and Horwood *Plan of London* (1799, 1807, 1813, 1819).
29. Phoenix Assurance Company. *Directors' Minutes*.
30. I owe this suggestion to Mr. Frank Kelsall of the GLC Historic Buildings Division. Thomas Leverton had an extensive urban and suburban practice and would have known Matthew Whiting.
31. CLRO. Comptroller's Deeds Box 89 no. 35.
32. M. Röthlisberger *Claude Lorrain: The Paintings* (London 1961). *The Arch of Titus is Liber Veritatis* (LV) 82 and the *Landing of Aeneas* is LV 122. Röthlisberger lists a number of other copies of these paintings but was not aware of those in Butcher Row.
33. Edward Croft-Murray *Decorative Painting in England, 1537-1837* 2 (London 1970) 308.
34. Sir Walter Besant *East London* (London 1899) 87.
35. CLRO. City Lands Committee *Journal* 3 (1819-20) f. 193-4; 124 (1832) 1040; 128 (1836-7) 668. GLRO (London Section). Tower Hamlets Sewer Rate for 1831 (THCS/435 f.15) lists George Brown as occupier, and for 1836 (THCS/453 f.14) lists David Nunez, late G. Brown Esq., John Scott Whiting and George Brown were neighbours in business, both possessing premises in Broad Street, Ratcliff according to the London commercial directories.
36. CLRO. City Lands Committee *Journal* 128 (1 Dec. 1836) 668.
37. G. Barnes *Stepney Churches* (London 1967).
38. Guildhall Library, Church Commissioners Parish files *St. James Ratcliffe*.
39. C. Jamison *The History of the Royal Hospital of St. Katharine* (Oxford 1952); St. John B. Groser *The Royal Foundation of St. Katharine* (London n.d.); London County Council *Survey of London* 19 (London 1938) contains a list and many illustrations of the monuments and furnishings in the chapel at Regent's Park.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS I should like to acknowledge the Phoenix Assurance Company for permission to quote from the *Directors' Minutes*, help given by the staff of the Corporation of London Record Office and the Master and Brothers of the Community of the Resurrection, and the particular assistance of Mr. Frank Kelsall, GLC Historic Buildings Division in researching the occupiers and building history of the present Master's House.

Plate 2 is reproduced by permission of the Guildhall Library; plates 3, 4 and Fig. 9 are reproduced by permission of the Corporation of London Records Office; the photographs of the murals, plates 5, 6, were taken by Tony Othen.

The house and chapel of the Royal Foundation of St. Katharine may be visited by appointment.

THE POTTERY FROM THE EXCAVATION

BY ELIZABETH PLATTS

Trench I

A large amount of 19th century pottery was recovered from the dumping into the cellars of the warehouses and from the modern service trenches. The pottery, which covers the whole range of Victorian wares, is not dealt with here as the deposits were not sealed, but the sherds may be examined at the Unit's offices, Imex House, 42 Theobalds Road, London W.C.1.

The relevant archaeological features from Trench I (five pits Nos 1-5 and gully 1) contained material from the 16th and possibly very early 17th centuries. The number of sherds found totalled 529 and in contrast to the other part of the site the average size of sherd was large (approx. 20 sq. mm), and comparatively few vessels were represented. There was little residual material. The character of the fill of the individual pits suggests that they were filled at approximately the same date, but there is no conclusive evidence from the pottery itself that there is any connection between any of the pits.

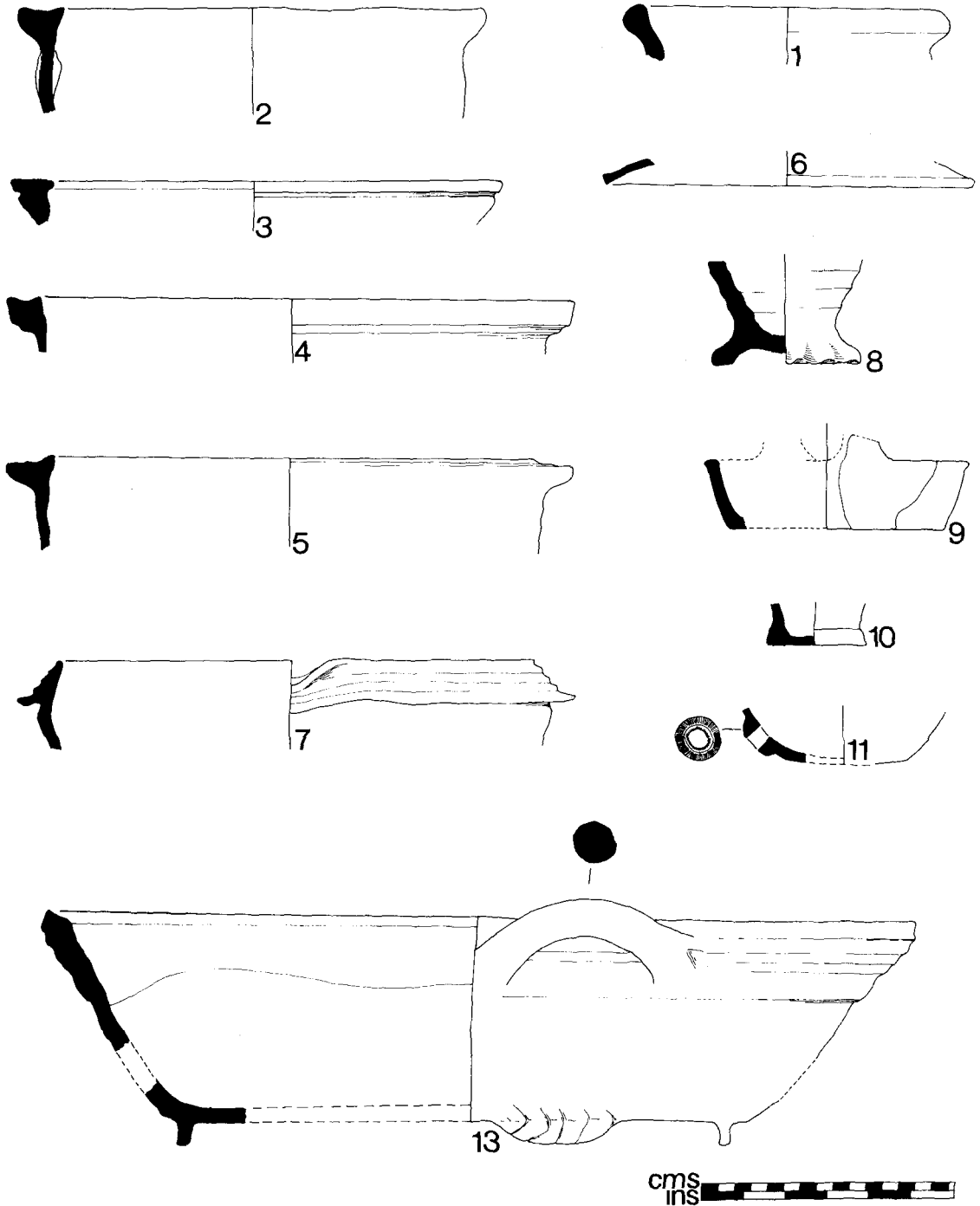


Fig. 9. Butcher Row: Medieval and post-medieval pottery. (Trench I Nos. 1 to 8, Trench II Nos. 9 to 11, 13) (1/4)

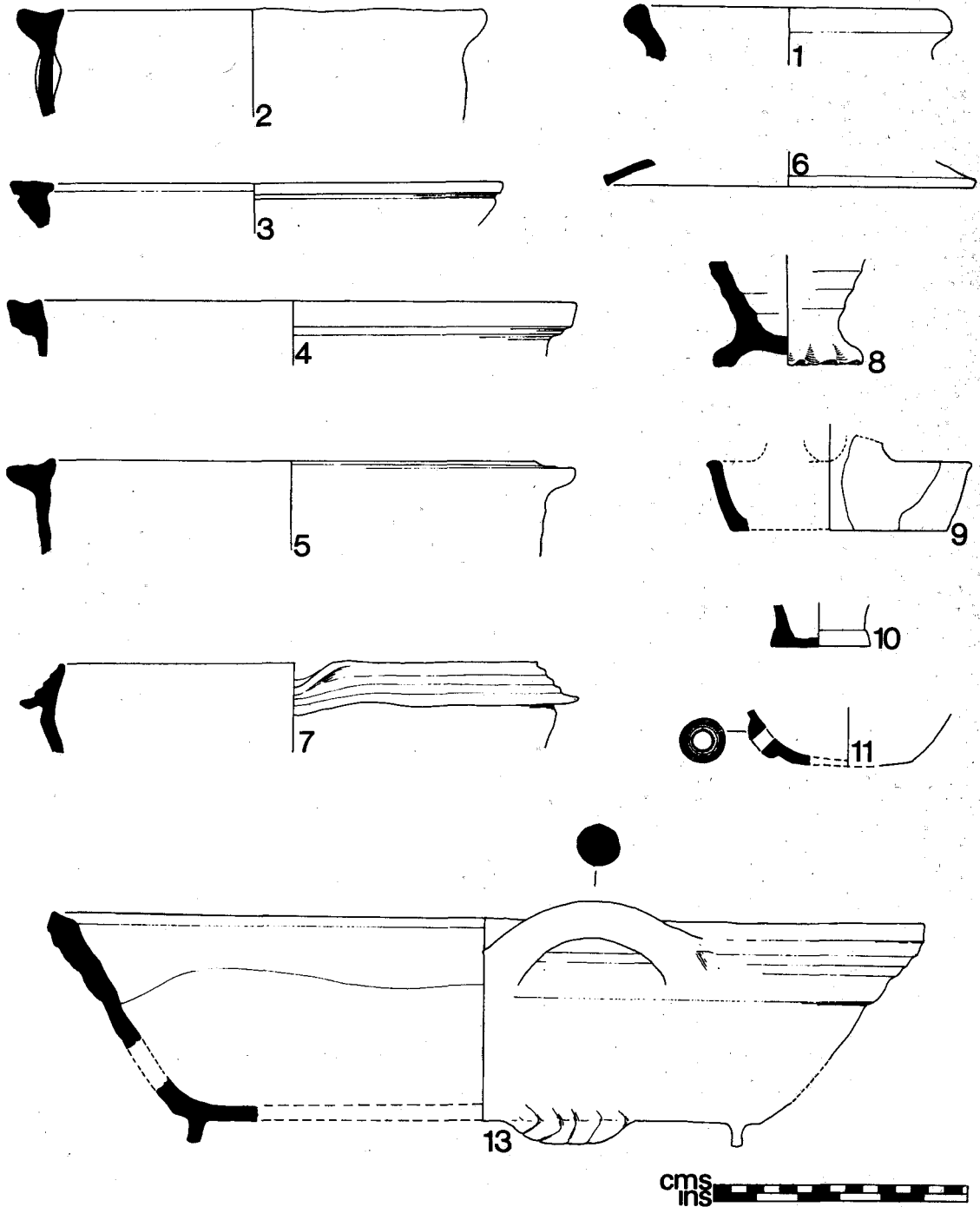


Fig. 9. Butcher Row: Medieval and post-medieval pottery. (Trench I Nos. 1 to 8, Trench II Nos. 9 to 11, 13) (¼)

However, the fact that the top of the pits had been removed indicated that the fill was not completely present and the possibility that they were all filled at the same time from the same source cannot be ruled out.

The almost complete absence of clay tobacco pipes in the fill of most of the pits — only two pipe stems were found — might imply a date before the general introduction of smoking, but the truncation of the pits could have affected the range of their fill.

Pit 1

Layer 1

Twenty sherds were recovered from this layer. The pottery includes a small tin-glazed rim with blue stripes running round the neck, probably from a small drug jar, of late 16th century date and probably from Holland. The remaining sherds are of red earthenware and include a sherd in a slightly micaceous fabric with a brown lead glaze on the interior surface. The majority are sherds in a light red sandy earthenware, unglazed or with spots of glaze only. Although all the sherds show some sign of general abrasion, none show any signs of ordinary wear, for example smoothing on the feet, base or rim, and the clay of one rim has been particularly badly wedged. The sherds might be interpreted as kiln waste but there is no further evidence of pottery manufacture on the site — the group was perhaps dumped from another source. The fabric and shapes are very like the material produced at the potteries in Woolwich at the end of the 16th and beginning of the 17th centuries, though it is very probable that other potters around London were producing similar wares.

Layer 2

The group contained 241 sherds almost all of which were the same type and fabric as Layer 1, although the sherds were, on the whole, larger. They included fragments of sugar load moulds, heavy applied handles, and the base of a jar with a dark brown glaze on the interior surface. There was one small residual sherd in a West Kent type fabric, cream slipped and mottled green glazed. The group also contained six thick coarse unglazed sherds in a light orange fabric with some grog tempering.

Layer 3

183 sherds were found in this group and they included small sherds from the Surrey–Hampshire potteries dating from the mid 16th century, and one sherd from a Spanish oil jar of the type imported into this country from the 16th century onwards. The remainder of the material was similar to that from Layers 1 and 2 and most pieces were unglazed but a few sherds had a yellow-brown glaze on the interior surface.

The dating of the pit as a whole would appear to be late 16th century.

Pit 2

Layer 1

Thirty seven sherds were found in this layer. The pottery included four sherds from the Surrey–Hampshire potteries, three green glazed and one yellow which also had burn marks on the outside; the sherds date from the mid 16th to 17th centuries. A large bowl with a pouring lip in a sandy red earthenware, yellow lead glazed inside and burnt outside, might be an import from the Low Countries but by the later 16th century there were a number of potters in this country making Aardenburg type wares. The rest of the red earthenware was similar to that found in Pit 1. There were four sherds of stoneware, two from Ræren, drinking mugs with frilled bases and two which had been thoroughly burnt, both of which were also probably Ræren and therefore of 16th century date. A single painted slip sherd was found, dating from the end of the 15th or beginning of the 16th century (more sherds probably from the same vessel were found in Layer 3). Two sherds, possibly from a lid, in a coarse dark red micaceous fabric, were recovered and in another London context these have been dated to the middle of the 16th century, Black (1976, 169).

Two clay pipe stems appeared in this group. It is difficult to date a small number of stems on their own accurately but these seem to be 17th and probably early 17th century in date.

There was one very small fragment of a yellow glazed cream slipped tile of the type produced in the late 15th and 16th centuries.

Layer 3

Twenty-nine sherds came from this layer. Eight of these sherds came from at least two Ræren stoneware mugs. Sixteen, possibly burnt after fracture, came from a painted slip pot of late 15th-early 16th century date. A small red earthenware pot represented by four sherds (two rim sherds) was of similar date and had an interior yellow-brown lead glaze. There was one other red earthenware sherd, yellow-brown lead glazed outside.

Pit 3

Layer 1

This group includes two sherds of Surrey–Hampshire pottery with a mottled green and yellow glaze, one probably from a small bowl and the other probably part of a platter. They would appear to be 16th century/early 17th century in date. A rim probably from a tyg has a darker red fabric than usual for London finds of black glazed ware. This vessel might be from one of the Midlands potteries or an overfired example from the Kent and Essex kilns. The pimply coarse pink/grey slightly micaceous fabric of the fourth sherd suggests that it came from an olive or an oil jar (though more likely the former as the sherd is not particularly thick) imported from Spain from the 16th century onwards. The fifth sherd is an unglazed fairly fine red earthenware with a reduced core. The finds also include a flattened knob immediately above the foot of a clear wine glass. A late 16th or 17th century date seems likely for the glass. There are no pipes in this group, but it is too small for that to be entirely valid evidence. However, the other finds would suggest a late 16th or early 17th century date.

Layer 3

Only one sherd came from this layer, the rim of a small bowl or cup: a fine red fabric covered with cream slip and decorative pellets, and glazed with a clear yellowish lead glaze streaked with green. It could possibly be an unusual form from Wanfried. It dates from the mid 16th century.

Pit 5

The finds from this feature are two fragments of flat roof tile; two unglazed sherds of an orange-red sandy fabric which could have come from a sugar loaf mould; a thick sherd from an ordinary earthenware bowl with a brown lead glaze on the interior and a grey exterior surface into which have been incised curving lines; and an abraded sherd of partially green glazed Surrey–Hampshire ware. The sugar loaf mould fragments are difficult to date closely but the glazed sherd is typical of wares produced in the second half of the 16th and early 17th century. The Surrey–Hampshire sherd is of 16th century date. The date of the pit's fill as a whole is suggested as being late 16th or early 17th century.

Gully 1

Layer 1

There were nine sherds of pottery found in this layer, three from a little jug of Surrey–Hampshire border ware of mid 16th century date. The other six sherds had all been burnt, probably after fracture. They were originally red earthenware and consisted of two glazed rims, one from a plate and one flanged, two glazed and two unglazed body sherds, of 16th century date.

Layer 2

This layer contained a fragment of a burnt curved roof tile.

Trench II

Considering the size of the area uncovered in this part of the excavation (75 sq. m) a comparatively small amount of pottery was recovered — just over 600 sherds — and not only was the average size of each sherd very small (approx. 6 sq. mm) but also few of them had any distinguishing features. There were very few rims or bases. This factor, at a period in the development of medieval pottery when change took place particularly slowly, makes the close dating of the individual phases extremely difficult. In addition the high proportion of residual material in all but the latest phases (Phase VIIg and VIII) should be emphasised. In fact, it might be suggested that almost all the material could be residual and all dating has been placed too early because there are no specific dumps or pits for rubbish on the site and the pottery distribution across the site shows a random pattern. Although none of the groups is large enough to make it a reasonably certain proposition, it is possible to suggest that all the material comes from one source.

There is a high proportion of imported sherds among the group as a whole and this is perhaps to be expected from a site so close to a very important waterway (the Thames) and at a place which was involved in shipping in the medieval period.

A large number of the sherds came from the potteries on the Surrey–Hampshire borders. These white wares, often partially green glazed, are produced from the end of the 13th century (often at the same time as red wares) and apparently found a ready market in and around London during the 14th and 15th centuries, evolving at the end of the 15th century into the better quality mass produced wares sometimes known as Tudor Green. The high proportion of Surrey–Hampshire pottery compared to examples of West Kent types, East Anglian and London sandy red earthenware is interesting, but on so small a sample and probably a mainly redeposited one, it is clearly not useful to draw any hard and fast conclusions. The wares represented appear to be from kilns known to be supplying London, although, of course, only in a few cases are the actual kiln sites known, and more often only the general area from which they are thought to have emanated can be recognised.

It is difficult from such small and indeterminately shaped sherds to be certain from what vessels they come, but in general the range is the expected one for the 14th and 15th and early 16th centuries — a large number of jugs including three small red earthenware jugs, cooking pots, at least one bung-holed pot, and the somewhat unusual bucket-handled small bowl in a West Kent fabric, in addition to the imported drinking mugs in stoneware. However, the group is obviously not large enough to ensure a comprehensive range, nor can any specialised use for this part of the site be suggested from the range of wares.

Phase Ia (2, 3)

Only two sherds of pottery were found in this phase, a samian rim (3) which Joanna Bird has described as follows: “much abraded, Dragendorff 36, South Gaulish, Flavian (that is, *c.* AD 70–100)”; and a body sherd of a cooking pot (3) (showing burning on the outside surface) a coarse vesicular fabric, oxydised surfaces with a reduced core and mixed tempering for which a 12th century date is suggested. The other finds included fragments of Roman tile and a very abraded piece of roof tile with a reduced core.

The Roman material is obviously residual, and the suggested 12th century sherd could also be residual.

Phase Ib (4)

This phase yielded a single residual fragment of Roman tile.

Phase IIa (6)

The finds include twenty-one sherds of pottery and eight fragments of roof tile.

The pottery ranges in date from Roman to the 14th and possibly early 15th century. The residual Roman sherd is of the London ware type of *c.* AD 90 to AD 130, *cf.* Marsh and Tyers (1976, 234, nos. 96 to 117). There are three small abraded sherds of fine cooking pot type fabrics of 12th and 13th century date, a much abraded yellow lead glazed sherd from a jug similar to that from the Westminster Abbey Misericorde excavation, Black (1976, 161 no. 31) and an abraded sherd from a Rouen copy jug, *cf.* Tatton-Brown (1975, 134, nos. 211 to 214). Nine 14th century sherds of green and mottled yellow and green lead glazed coarse cream fabric pottery from the kilns of the Surrey–Hampshire border were found. They were all body sherds except for one base angle sherd and one fragment of a plain strap handle. The group also included a sherd possibly from a ribbed neck jug in a West Kent type fabric, dating from the end of the 14th or beginning of the 15th century and apparently the latest pottery sherd in Phase IIa.

Phase IIb (7, 8, 9, 10, 11)

The pottery from this phase consisted of twenty-five sherds. Thirteen of the sherds come from the Surrey–Hampshire kilns and date from the 14th and 15th centuries: two of the sherds show bases of handles and wood seem to have been burnt thoroughly, and a third (9, Fig. 10, 25) showing soot marks outside could perhaps have come from a skillet or a dripping pan, Holling (1971, 78, G2). While these and seven of the body sherds all have a coarse off-white and cream fabric, three of the body sherds (10) are distinctly finer in fabric and the quality of throwing, and suggest a 15th century date.

The group also contained a much abraded jug handle of the 13th century, a vesicular sherd in a cooking pot type fabric of a similar date, four sherds in a coarse pinkish fabric for which an Essex source

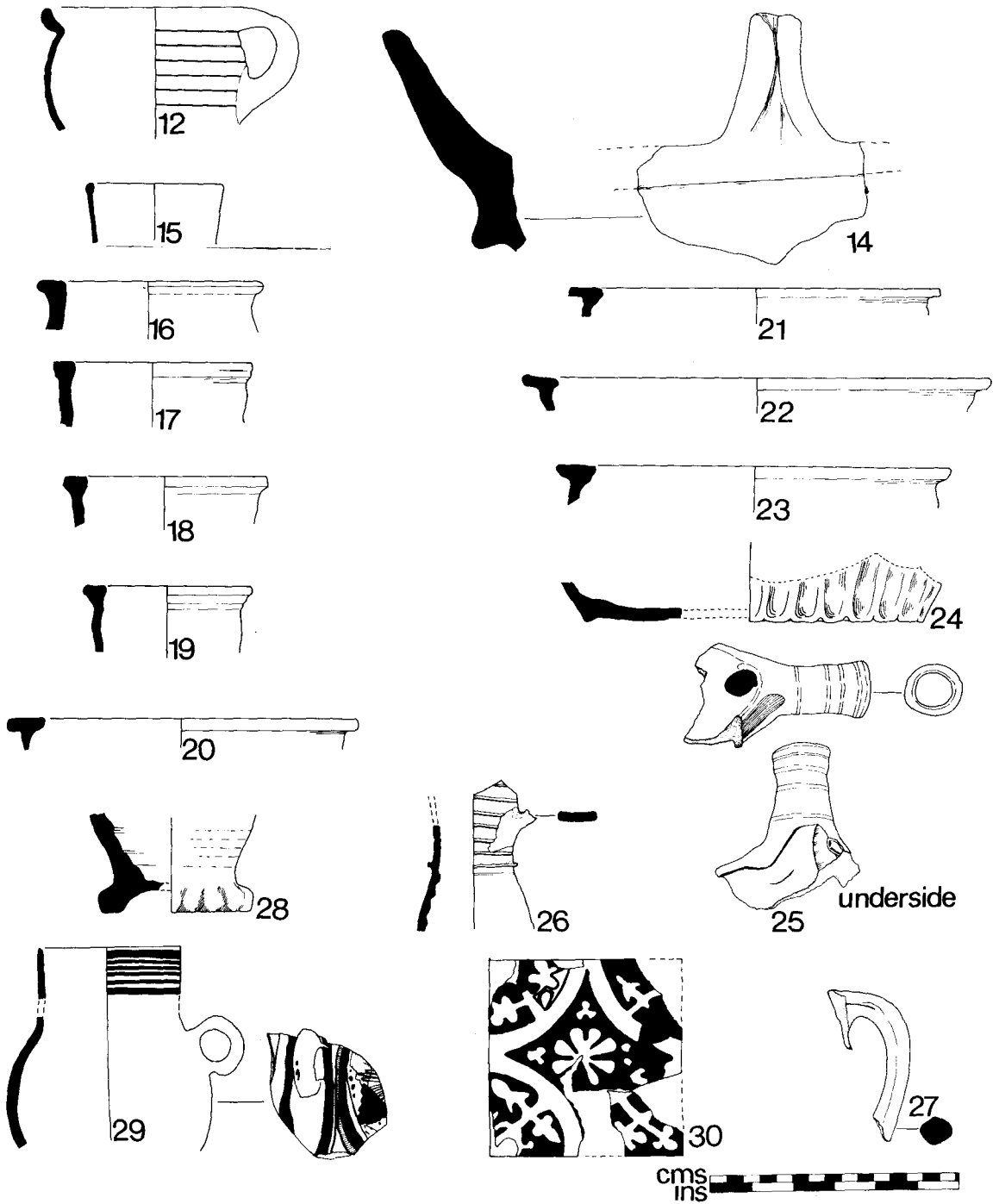


Fig. 10. Butcher Row: Medieval and post-medieval pottery and medieval tile. (Trench II Nos. 12, 14 to 30) (1/4)

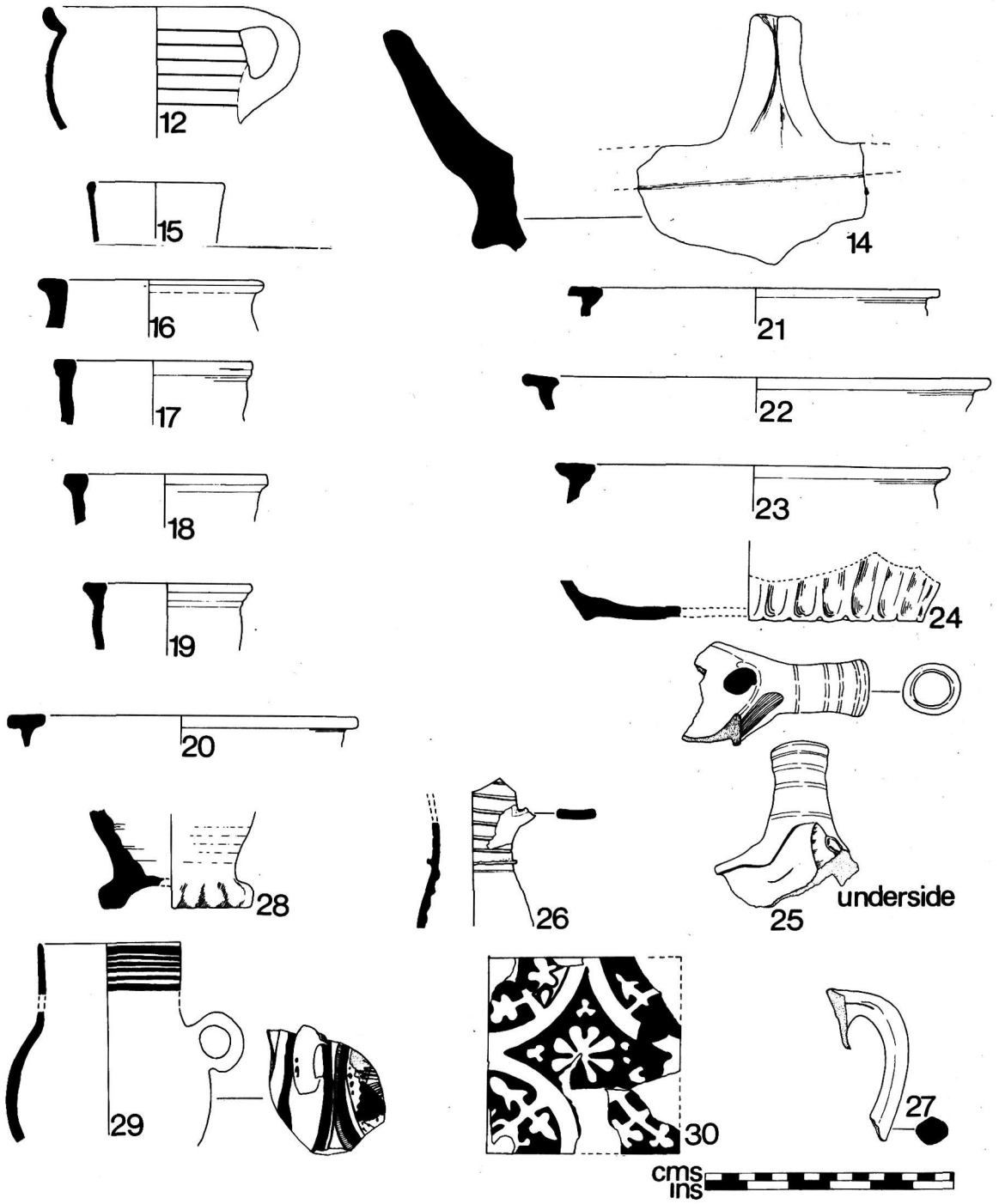


Fig. 10. Butcher Row: Medieval and post-medieval pottery and medieval tile. (Trench II Nos. 12, 14 to 30) (1/4)

is likely, of 13th-14th century date, and a small jug or bottle base (9, Fig. 9, 10) in a fine sandy fabric, light red surfaces and a reduced core with a streak of brown lead glaze down the outside *c.f.* Acc. No. 5717 in the Museum of London collection. There is one Siegburg stoneware rim sherd (10) of late 14th or 15th century date.

Phase IIc (12, 13, 14)

The twenty two sherds representing eighteen vessels and eight fragments of tile range in date from residual Roman to the 14th and 15th centuries. The Roman sherd (14), much abraded, is from the rim of a late Roman jar. The group also contained residual sherds of 12th and 13th century cooking pots. There were seven sherds of Surrey-Hampshire ware of 14th and 15th century date, four green lead glazed body sherds and three unglazed body sherds, one from a cooking pot showing signs of burning (13). There were also four sherds of West Kent type ware, one of which was sgraffito decorated (13).

Phase III (15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22)

Although this phase contained a large amount of pottery, ninety five sherds in all, a high proportion of them are small body sherds, heavily abraded and residual. The group includes Roman material, 13th century jug sherds decorated with slip, and 12th and 13th century cooking pot sherds. From the 14th and 15th centuries there are examples of Surrey-Hampshire wares including two flanged rims (19, 20 Fig. 10, 20, 21) and a jug handle (20), sherds of slipped West Kent types including a ribbed strap-handle base (17), and the bung hole from a pitcher in a coarse sandy oxydised fabric with a reduced core (20 Fig. 9, 10). There were only four imported sherds in the group, also of 14th and 15th century date: two stoneware sherds including a Siegburg handle (15) and a Langerwehe sherd (15) and a green glazed centre-base sherd from Saintonge (19).

Phase IV (24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 30, 31, 32, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41)

In addition to a number of fragments of roof tile there were sixty sherds of pottery. There was a smaller than usual proportion of residual sherds, dating from the 12th and 13th centuries, but the dating of the phase as a whole is 14th to 15th century.

The pottery ranges from a number of sherds of Surrey-Hampshire ware with various green glazes, of 14th and 15th century date including a flanged rim from a cooking pot (25, Fig. 10, 22), examples of West Kent type wares, sherds probably from Writtle, Essex, and East Anglian wares. Again, very few of the sherds join or are other than body sherds, but there is a group of four forming part of a small bucket-handled pot (24 and 25, Fig. 9, 9). The shape is generally thought to originate in France, but the fabric and decoration of this example is of the West Kent type.

The imported sherds include two small body sherds of Langerwehe stoneware (25) and the neck and body sherds of a Jacobakanne from Siegburg (31, Fig. 10, 26) *c.f.* Steinzeug (1971, no. 159).

Phase V (42, 43)

The group contained fifty sherds of pottery. Although there were a large number of residual sherds in the group, there were also later sherds from the Surrey-Hampshire kilns including a small jug rim (43, Fig. 10, 17) dating from the later 15th and early 16th centuries, a sherd of the ordinary brown lead glazed red earthenware sometimes known as Tudor Brown (43), and a sherd of the black glazed ware (43) produced from the end of the 15th century at various centres, chiefly in the Midlands but also in Kent and Essex.

Phase VI (44, 45, 46)

This phase produced thirteen sherds and one fragment of curved roof tile apparently burnt.

The sherds of pottery mostly date from the 15th and early 16th century. There are two residual sherds, one a 13th-14th century mottled green glazed jug sherd possibly from Oxford, and the other a 14th century green glazed Surrey-Hampshire sherd. The remainder of the material includes three imported stoneware sherds, one very small one from the filled base of a Siegburg jug (46), the other two a handle (45, Fig. 10, 27) and a body sherd from a Ræren drinking mug (45). A white slip painted red earthenware sherd (46) suggests a date at the turn of the 15th and 16th centuries, and three sherds of Tudor Brown type earthenware (44) would also support that date.

Phase VIIa (47)

In addition to some fragments of roof tile twenty one sherds were recovered from this phase, of which sixteen came from the kilns of the Surrey-Hampshire borders, possibly representing thirteen different

vessels. The shapes include a jug with a thumbled foot to the base (Fig. 10, 24) and two rims (Fig. 10, 18, 19). The glazes range from green and yellow mottled to green, and almost all the sherds date from the 14th century.

The other sherds include one 13th century reduced cooking pot type, one West Kent, one sandy oxydised fabric base sherd, glazed with a brown and green glaze, and two body sherds of similar fabric, one with spots of glaze on the outside surface. The latter sherds are all of 14th century date and as stratigraphically the phase must be later, all the material found in this group is residual.

Phase VIIb (50, 55)

There were forty eight sherds of pottery in this phase, as well as fragments of roof tile.

From the Surrey–Hampshire potteries there were two residual sherds dating from the 14th and 15th and early 16th centuries. There was also a residual Roman mica dusted sherd (50). The imported wares consisted of five sherds of Ræren stoneware, of which two at least represented vessels with frilled bases (50, Fig. 10, 28), and a single sherd of Spanish tinglaze (50) decorated with blue and dating from the late 15th century. The red earthenware included examples of yellow and mottled green glazes, a yellow glaze over a cream slip, a pipkin foot, and a lid (50). The phase also produced part of a large jug neck and handle (55) in a coarse oxydised fabric with a reduced core, unglazed and with traces of cream slip at the base of the handle.

The pottery suggests a date of late 15th and early 16th century for this phase.

Phase VIIc (51, 52, 53)

There were only seven sherds found in features within this phase. Any conclusions drawn from so small a sample are unlikely to be valid, particularly in view of the fact that at least two of the seven sherds are obviously residual. The sherds include a Surrey–Hampshire ware sherd (52) whose fabric and quality of glaze suggests a late 15th century date, two very small sherds of fine sandy red earthenware (52), and the base (52) of a small jug or bottle, which may have been burnt (see Phase IIb and VIIe for similar small jug bases). The group also contains two small sherds of stoneware (52), one from Langerwehe and the other perhaps from the early Cologne potteries, probably datable to the late 15th-early 16th century.

Phase VIId (56, 57)

The finds from this phase consisted of twenty three sherds of pottery and small fragments of tile.

From the Surrey–Hampshire kilns there were three sherds (57) dating from the late 15th-early 16th centuries and one residual sherd, apparently of Surrey–Hampshire fabric with a mottled green glaze forming a scale like pattern (57). Other residual material includes a small sherd (57) from a sandy medieval London ware jug with an olive green glaze, and a much abraded green glazed sherd. The stoneware consisted of a rim and four sherds (57) from a Ræren drinking mug of the type imported from the late 15th century. The other imported sherd (57) is of Spanish origin, a tinglazed ware produced from at least the end of the 15th century and into the 16th century.

There is also a single sherd of brown glazed red earthenware of the Tudor Brown type (57) dating from the end of the 15th century, and a rim sherd in a sandy pink-light orange fabric (57) which is possibly from an Essex source.

The dating for the phase is, therefore, late 15th or 16th century.

Phase VIIe (49, 58, 59, 60, 61)

Only six sherds of pottery came from this phase. Three were sherds from the Surrey–Hampshire potteries, one unglazed, one yellow glazed and one green (58), ranging in date from the late 14th to, possibly, the late 15th century. A base sherd (58) of red earthenware in a fine sandy fabric with a reduced core and brown glazed inside, also dates from the late 15th century. A large handle (58) from a jug in a partially reduced sandy fabric, somewhat abraded and with only three spots of glaze, dates from the 13th century. Another small jug or bottle base (58), of the type found in Phase IIb and VIIc, occurs in this phase. It is in a fine sandy red fabric with a partially reduced core, and some spots of a yellow-brown lead glaze on the inside and outside surfaces.

Phase VIIg (64, 65, 66)

This phase, unlike the others in Trench II, contained a large amount of pottery, 214 sherds in all, and while many sherds were small and residual, a number of large sherds could be joined and formed almost complete vessels.

Nineteen sherds could be identified as coming from the potteries of the Surrey–Hampshire border and although this included some residual material, most could be dated to the 16th century. There was one residual sherd from a cooking pot, probably of 13th century date. The imported pottery consisted of seven sherds from Ræren drinking mugs (66), two from Spanish oil jars (66), and seven from a single late 15th or 16th century vessel (66, Fig. 10, 29) a polychrome tinglaze jug from Italy, probably Faenza, *c.f.* Platt and Coleman-Smith (1975, 1348). The group included one painted slip earthenware sherd (65) of the type produced at the turn of the 15th and 16th centuries.

The majority of the sherds come from a large shallow handled dish with small thumb feet in an oxidised sandy earthenware with a reduced core (66, Fig. 9, 13). The vessel has a partially cream slipped interior over which there is a yellow lead glaze and the exterior has burn marks. This type of vessel was originally produced by the Aardenburg and Low Countries potters from at least the 15th century, but a number of the potters came to this country and the wares were imitated in England. It is not possible to be certain of the origin of this piece. The remaining sherds include a straight handle of the type found on dripping pans (66, Fig. 10, 14), characteristically burnt on one side only, and a small jug (64, Fig. 10, 12). There are also sherds from a small black glazed pot of Cistercian ware type (66).

It is suggested that this pottery was dumped probably in the late 16th century; the absence of clay tobacco pipes make it unlikely to be later.

Phase VIIIa (68, 69, 70)

Fourteen sherds were found in this phase, seven of Surrey–Hampshire ware ranging in date from the 14th century to the 16th. There were two residual sherds of cooking pots (70), while the imported sherds consisted of one North Italian sgraffito sherd (69) of the 16th century, which had a cream slip over a fine red fabric scored through and originally covered with a yellow and green lead glaze, and a small stoneware sherd (69). There were three sandy red earthenware sherds, two unglazed and one with a trace of glaze on it.

A date in the 16th century is suggested for the phase.

SMALL FINDS

(Fig. 11)

1. A flint of an unusual colour, red and brown, though this could be due to patination. It is damaged on one side which might be the result of use, and the side shows invasive retouching and damage, which also might be a consequence of use. It is not possible to attribute with certainty the flint to any particular period. Trench II (1).
2. Hone of quartz micaceous schist. The stone occurs in north eastern Scotland and in Scandinavia. It cannot be dated accurately; similar hones were imported from the Viking period onward (not illustrated). Trench II (9), Phase IIb (14th–15th century).
3. Bronze buckle. The pin appears to be secondary, *i.e.* a repair and not the original one. It is very similar to an example in the British Museum (No. 70, 4-2, 817) from Bury St. Edmunds, Suffolk, dated to the second half of the 14th century, *c.f.* Fingerlin (1971, 384 and Fig. 202). Trench II (19) Phase III (14th–15th century).
4. A curved length of bronze (not illustrated). Trench II (20) Phase III (14th–15th century).
5. Bronze ring found attached to an iron ?hook. There is no real reason to believe that the ring is necessarily associated with the iron object (not illustrated). Trench II (19) Phase III (14th–15th century).
6. Undecorated bronze ring (not illustrated). Trench II (47) Phase VIIa (late 15th–early 16th century).
7. Decorated bronze hook. The open work pattern suggests a date in the 15th century. Trench II (36) Phase VIId (late 15th–early 16th century).
8. Lead hook, cast in a mould. It is not possible to tell whether it was originally curved or not. The curve starts at the point where the square section becomes round. It is perhaps part of a set of small tools hung on a ring. Trench II (63) Phase VIIf (?late 15th–early 16th century).
9. Iron buckle, probably from a harness or large belt. Trench II (66) Phase VIIg (late 16th–early 17th century).
10. Complete bronze thimble and fragments of a second, both with typical “dimpling” on the surface. Similar examples are known in the 14th and 15th century but these could be as late as the phase date (not illustrated). Trench II (64, 65), Phase VIIg (late 16th–early 17th century).

THE TOKENS

BY PETER MORLEY

Three tokens found in Trench 1 are worthy of record. They all come from the fill of the 18th or early 19th century cellars.

1. Seventeenth century farthing token issued by Samuel Keinton, baker in Limehouse (Boyne-Williamson (1891) Middlesex No. 142). The style of the token suggests the work of David Ramage (*d.* 1662) and in particular the period 1650–1660 (prior to the Restoration).
2. Eighteenth century halfpenny token issued by Daniel Eaton, printer, (Dalton and Hamer (1910) Middlesex 301, edge milled). Dated 1795.
3. Farthing-sized brass check issued by Tower Hamlets Industrial Co-op Society Ltd.

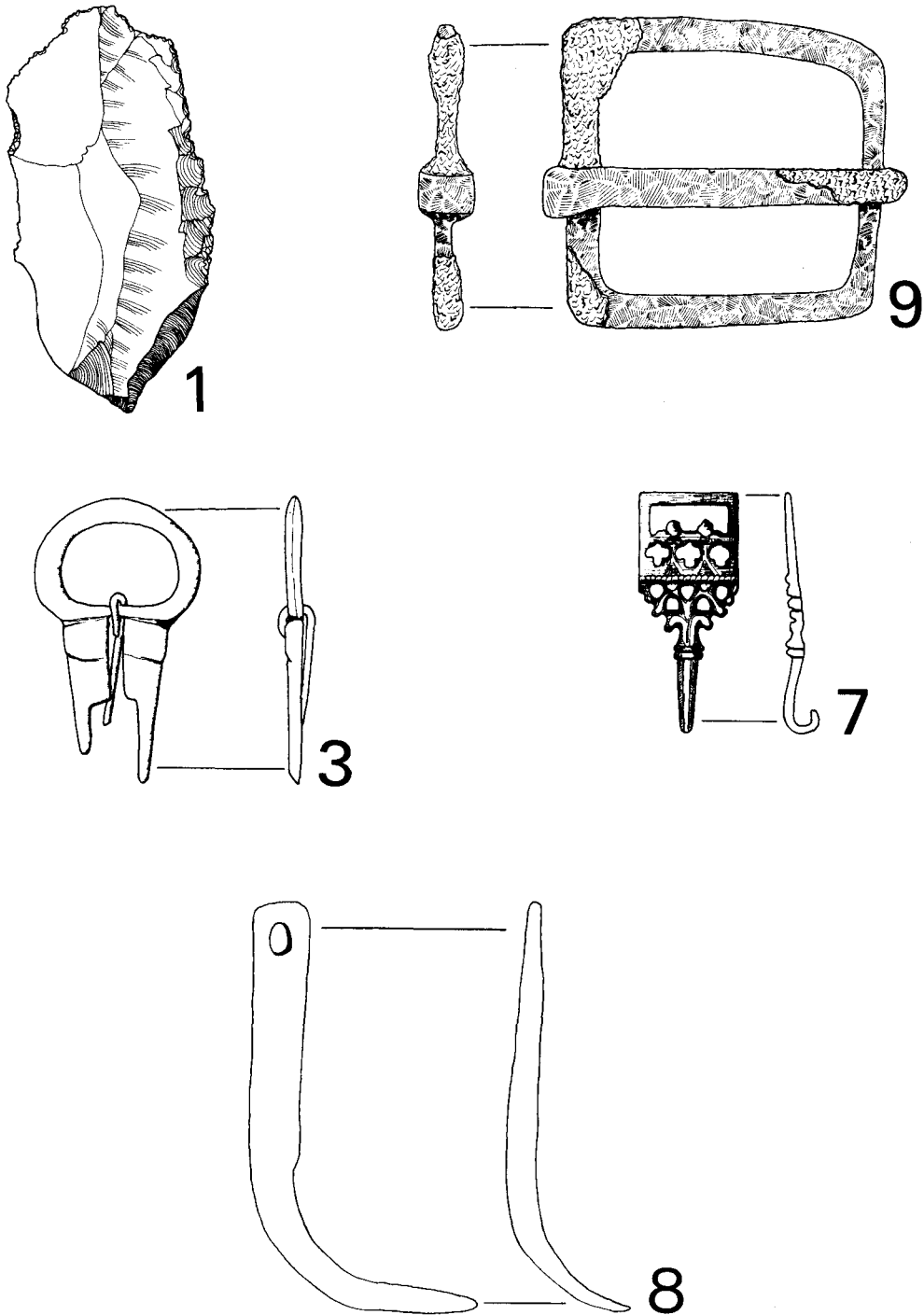


Fig. 11. Butcher Row: Small finds (Trench II Nos. 1, 3, 7, 8, 9)(1/1)

THE TILES

The decorated tile from Trench II (65) (Phase VIIg) (Fig. 10, 30) was made at the tiliary at Penn, Buckingham, and dates to the middle of the 14th century. It is quite well worn and is clearly residual (the phase is dated late 16th-early 17th century). It does not have a published design, but is related to the designs P66 and P73 in Hohler's Buckinghamshire catalogue, Hohler (1942).

The plain tiles from Trench II (66) (Phase VIIg) are Flemish and 15th or early 16th century in date. A second group came from Trench II (65) (Phase VIIg) and are products of the Netherlands and probably date from the 14th and 15th centuries, although they could be as late as early 16th century.

ANIMAL BONE

BY ALISON LOCKER

Trench I

The quantity of bone from both Trenches I and II was small and probably represents food debris of local consumption.

The number of fragments noted after each species refers to the number of individual bones recovered. A full list of identifications and measurements is available on request.

The following species were present: cattle (*Bos sp.*), sheep (*Ovis sp.*), pig (*Sus sp.*), Fallow deer (*Capreolus capreolus*), rabbit (*Oryctolagus cuniculus*). Bird species include: duck (*Anas sp.*), domestic fowl (*Gallus sp.*), swan (*Cygnus sp.*), Red Grouse (*Lagopus lagopus*). Shellfish were also present: oyster (*Ostrea edulis* L.), mussel (*Mytilus edulis* L.), cockle (*Cardium edule* L.), whelk (*Buccinum undatum* L.).

Pit 1 Layers I, II and III

The following were present: cattle (17 fragments), sheep (3), pig (3), Fallow deer (1), duck (1), goose (1), swan (1), domestic fowl (1) and 7 oysters.

Pit 2 Layers I and III

The following were present: cattle (20 fragments), sheep (11), pig (3), rabbit (7 — more than one individual was present), domestic fowl (12), goose (1), Red grouse (12), swan (1), and the ulna of a wader. Shellfish include mussel (4), oyster (16) and whelk (7).

Pit 3 Layers I, II and III

A very small amount of bone was recovered from this feature and also Pit 5. The following were present: cattle (2 fragments), sheep (1) and oyster (3).

Pit 5

Cattle (1 fragment)

Gully 1 Layers I and II

The following were present: cattle (2 fragments), sheep (9 and one piece of burnt bone), domestic fowl (1), oyster (2).

Cattle and to a lesser extent sheep are the main meat species represented, birds and shellfish are consistently present and also form an important part of the diet. Pig is only represented by maxillae and mandibles, which might indicate export of the carcass from the site, though this is really an assumption as only 6 fragments were recovered. Butchery was consistently noted on the meat producing species, but no particular selection of bones was observed.

Cattle, sheep and pig were mostly mature individuals, *i.e.* they had achieved full epiphyseal fusion and complete tooth eruption; there were no very young animals and neither were there any individuals showing excessive tooth wear which might indicate an animal past its prime as a meat producer.

Trench II

The bone recovered from many of the features was small in quantity, though this is not surprising as there are no pits in this area or other features which produce food debris in quantity.

The bone is discussed by archaeological phase. (An omission of a phase indicates that no bone was recovered).

The following species were present: cattle (*Bos sp.*), sheep (*Ovis sp.*), pig (*Sus sp.*), dog (*Canis sp.*), horse (*Equus sp.*), rabbit (*Oryctolagus cuniculus*). Birds include: domestic fowl (*Gallus sp.*), duck (*Anas sp.*). Shellfish: oyster (*Ostrea edulis* L.), mussel (*Mytilus edulis* L.) and cockle (*Cardium edule* L.).

Phase Ib (4)

Cattle (1 fragment)

Phase IIb (9)

Cattle (8 fragments), sheep (1), pig (1), oysters (3)

(10)

Oyster (1 valve)

Phase III (15)

Cattle (1 fragment)

(17) (19) (20) (22) (23)

Cattle (9 fragments), sheep (7), dog (1), mussel (1), oyster

(9), cockle (2)

Phase IV (24)

Cattle (3 fragments), sheep (4), pig (1), oyster (6)

(25)

Cattle (1 fragment)

(27)

Cattle? (1 skull fragment), duck (1)

Phase V (42)

Cattle (2 fragments, including the mandible of a calf),

sheep (4), pig (3), oyster (2)

(43)

Cattle (7 fragments), sheep (4), pig (3), rabbit (1),

domestic fowl (2), oyster (7)
 Phase VI Ditch 2, (44)
 Cattle (4 fragments), sheep (8)
 Ditch 2, (45)
 Cattle (8 fragments), sheep (2)
 Ditch 2, (46)
 Bird (1 immature tibia which was unidentifiable)
 Phase VIIa (47)
 Cattle (3 fragments), sheep (6), horse (1), mussel (1)
 Phase VIIb (50)
 Cattle (5 fragments), sheep (6), oyster (10)
 Phase VIIc (52)

Cattle (1 fragment)
 Phase VIId (56)
 Cattle (5 fragments), sheep (5), oyster (4)
 Phase VIIE (58)
 Cattle (2 fragments), sheep (5), domestic fowl (1),
 oyster (1)
 Phase VIIf (63)
 Cattle (3 fragments), oyster (2)
 Phase VIIg (66)
 Cattle (7 fragments)
 Phase VIIa (69)
 Cattle (2 fragments)

Conclusions

The variety of species from Trench II is broadly similar to those of Trench I, but there are fewer occurrences of birds and shellfish. Pig again appears in small quantities but some long bones are present suggesting consumption rather than export.

The inclusion of horse and dog is probably incidental as they are not part of the food refuse and did not show signs of butchery.

The amount of bone from both Trenches I and II was insufficient to suggest whether this site was part of the victualling station as suggested by documentary records (see p. 232).

THE ENVIRONMENTAL EVIDENCE

BY ALISON LOCKER

A number of soil samples was examined, especially from the area of the stream, to see if they contained any macroscopic remains, *i.e.* seeds that might indicate the vegetation in and around the stream. However, despite the acid nature of the soil which should aid preservation, no seeds were recovered. A few pieces of poorly preserved charcoal were all that remained.

All the samples were wet sieved down to 300.

Trench I. Pit 2, Layer I
 Charcoal; 1 piece of Oak (*Quercus sp.*)

Trench II. Phase Ia (2)
 This sand contained no macroscopic remains.

Trench II. Phase Ib (4)
 No macroscopic remains were recovered.

Trench II. Phase Ib (8)
 P.h. 4.2. No identifiable remains were recovered.

Trench II. Phase IIb (9)
 P.h. at the top and bottom 5.5. 1 piece of charcoal, Oak (*Quercus sp.*)

Trench II. Phase III (20)
 No macroscopic remains were recovered.

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