REVIEWS

London: the Illustrated History. Edited by Cathy Ross and John Clark. Allen Lane, 2008. Pp 352, numerous illus. ISBN 978 1 846141 25 6. Price: £30.00 hb.

The subtitle of this book immediately draws attention to its distinguishing feature. This book produced by the Museum of London is indeed designed around its visual content, with an imaginative variety of maps, reconstructions, reproductions and photographs, one or two to every page. The format is familiar from *The Times London History Atlas*, which first appeared in 1991: each self-contained double spread is devoted to a specific subject, with text and illustrations tailored to fit, arranged in chronological order. The 145 topics (each worthy of a book on its own) are arranged in 16 sections which march from prehistory to the present day, covering much the same ground as the atlas, but often in more detail, and more spaciously arranged (although the type size of the text is irritatingly small). The brief is not just the City, but Greater London, sometimes set in an even wider context: prehistoric Britain as part of the European landmass, London within the Roman Empire, Tudor and Stuart global trade. As is popular nowadays there is much emphasis on people: near the start one's eye is caught by Roman portraits constructed from burial remains, near the end by a Japanese girl on the cover of a magazine for London's Japanese community. There is a strong emphasis on multiculturalism and immigration at all periods, with interesting detail on where people lived. Recent archaeological discoveries are brought into play, for example a reference to a late Roman burial and Saxon pottery at St Martin in the Fields, suggesting possible continuity of settlement, and an illustration of the excavation of the Mikveh (Jewish ritual bath) discovered in Milk Street in the City demonstrates the shift of early medieval Jewry westward in the 12th century. More extensive excavation evidence lies behind the fascinating late medieval section on 'Poverty, Sickness and Death' (drawing on the work at St Mary Spital), and on the development of the medieval port. In the latter account, a photo of the battered timbers of the riverside revetment is effectively teamed with a map naming all the wharves and quays, and a detailed list of luxuries brought by Italian merchants (a great sack of sponges, 4 pomanders, 1 barrel frankincense, *etc*). Such combinations of different types of historical evidence are apparent throughout, and testify to the expert research of the many contributors from the Museum staff.

In the later chapters, for which so much more graphic evidence is available, much use is made of contemporary maps, prints and paintings, largely from the Museum of London's rich collection. Many are familiar but the focus is sometimes unusual: the pages on Charles Booth's poverty survey include the predictable Doré view of backyards and railway viaduct, but the detail from the Booth map does not show the much reproduced East End streets, but the extreme contrasts of wealth in Westminster, with its slum areas south of Victoria Street. Historical research is condensed into many specially drawn maps, which are fascinating for both topographer and social historian: the medieval City's conduits and wells; Georgian London's gay areas; 'creative hotspots and inspiring locations for Victorian artists'; the distribution of schools in Finsbury in the 1890s; terrorist attacks from the 1970s, to name only a few. Such wealth of information requires a good index and some lateral thinking if one is to rediscover details glimpsed while browsing.

The index has nothing under conduits or wells, but one can locate this map (which is in a section called 'Wealth and Civic Pride') by looking up water supply. A more fundamental difficulty exists should the curious reader wish to establish the origins of the information presented here. Each of the major sections has a general bibliography (mostly confined to books) but there are no footnotes pinning down precise sources.

When offered such ingenious compression of riches it may seem unfair to cavil, but there are some curious gaps. In general there is a perhaps deliberate avoidance of what one can see in London today, so the opportunity of relating tangible fabric to historical context is lost. Museum objects are included (the most curious being the leather briefs of a Roman acrobat), but photos of buildings are confined to a few apologetic pages entitled 'Survivals', grouped together rather meaninglessly. Other survivals are redrawn, thereby removing any sense of their present existence (or of their architectural value; there is a particularly ugly drawing of Soane's Bank of England). The only photos of City churches are of the medieval St Helen's Bishopsgate and the rebuilt St Ethelburga, despite the description of post-Fire City churches as 'buildings of historical importance on a European scale'. This is not a book designed for the specialist scholar, and for standing architecture one should look elsewhere, but there is much here to enjoy, and to stimulate interest in the multifarious character of London's history.

Bridget Cherry

Roman Southwark Settlement and Economy: Excavations in Southwark 1973–91. By Carrie Cowan, Fiona Seeley, Angela Wardle, Andrew Westman and Lucy Wheeler. Museum of London Archaeology Monograph 42, 2009. Pp xvi +280, 162 illus, 68 tables in text and 42 tables on CD. ISBN 978 1 901992 78 6. Price: £27.95 hb.

This ambitious publication presents the results of 41 excavations carried out in north Southwark before the changes to planning policy brought about by the introduction of PPG16. The provision of funding by English Heritage has enabled these subject sites, previously only known through short descriptions in *London Archaeologist*'s 'Excavation Round Up' and *Britannia*'s 'Roman Britain', to be set against a background of previous excavation and research. The result is a long-awaited overview of our current state of knowledge of the area.

The layout of the monograph is straightforward: following the usual preliminaries, introductory and background chapters are followed by a series of themed essays on aspects of the settlement. Conclusions, specialist appendices and a gazetteer follow, with bibliography and a thorough index. Supplementary information in the form of land-use diagrams, dating tables, and plant remains data is provided on a CD-ROM.

The introduction sets out the parameters of the study and presents the variability and limitations of the dataset. It presents the 41 subject sites and maps these along with 59 other sites, some already published, others in preparation. A single system of chronological periods has been developed and applied to all of the sites considered, including those published elsewhere, which represents no mean feat in itself. The individual sites have been numbered 1–100. Initially, for a reader familiar with previous work in the area, this seemed somewhat cumbersome, necessitating constant cross-referencing to the location maps and a list of the 41 subject sites provided at the beginning of the volume in conjunction with the very useful gazetteer of all 100 sites provided in Chapter 6. However, this system does avoid the confusions and awkwardness that would arise if full addresses or site codes were used and is no doubt more user-friendly for many readers.

Chapter 2, which provides a background to the broad developments that occurred in Roman Southwark, presents a series of chronologically arranged maps as large, coloured, double page spreads. These chart the locations of the interventions, show building outlines and note other major features, as well as allowing an appreciation of the considerable alterations in topography caused by drainage, land reclamation and changes to the river regime.

Chapter 3 forms the main focus of the report and presents the evidence through the exploration of eight themes. The approach is synthetic and draws on relevant

structural evidence, artefactual analyses and environmental data to illuminate the chosen topics. Beginning with a consideration of early Roman Southwark, this moves through such aspects as infrastructure, buildings, economy, rubbish disposal, ritual and religion and burials, concluding with the contraction and decline of the settlement. Though written by various authors, this has a consistent presentation throughout and is well illustrated with detailed site plans, finds illustrations and excellent on-site and finds photography. Cross-referencing back to the overall figures in Chapter 2 is essential from this point on and this section could perhaps have benefited from more thematic plans, broadly charting the changing fortunes and extent of the Southwark community, as it does so successfully for many of the finds assemblages.

The conclusions in Chapter 4 summarise the findings presented above, include sections on the artefactual and environmental data, present potential areas for future research, and finish with a consideration of the all too familiar question of the merits of preservation *in situ* versus excavation. Inevitably the discussion touches on comparisons and contrasts between the Southwark settlement and *Londinium* north of the Thames, in spite of a caveat that this is beyond the remit of this publication, presumably due to the funding available for the project. Nevertheless such comparisons are both unavoidable and totally necessary in order to understand the nature of Roman settlement south of the Thames. The authors further stress that any understanding of Roman London, both north and south of the river, requires consideration of other towns in the Western Empire as much as those in Roman Britain. Presentation of the sites in a wider setting might have gained a broader potential audience for this publication. Yet, beyond a couple of attractive and evocative reconstruction paintings included in Chapter 2, nowhere is there any graphic indication of how the study area relates to the settlement north of the river, or the wider Roman world, with the effect of limiting the potential readership to those of us living and working in London.

The appendices that form Chapter 5 principally contain specialist data, including methodologies, land-use evidence and finds catalogues that did not fit comfortably elsewhere in the publication. As is made clear throughout, individual site reports are not the intention of this publication and, in order to access the detailed information for any individual site, the reader is directed to the thematic discussions and tables on the accompanying CD-ROM, which form a pathway to the archive held in the LAARC. The quality of the various datasets presented here is variable, as will their usefulness be to other specialists in the relevant fields. However, elements of this are excellent and do highlight the benefits of approaching the study of Southwark through examination of the data from many sites, which taken together can provide information on characteristics of the landscape and population of the area as a whole.

In conclusion, this is a lavishly presented publication, which provides a timely synthesis of excavations in Roman Southwark to date and will no doubt become a valuable source of reference for anyone with an interest in Roman London. The volume presents a wealth of well-researched data in an accessible, attractive and authoritative way and complements a series of recent monographs on aspects of Roman Southwark, which themselves build on the pioneering publications of SLAEC, LAMAS and SAS in the 1980s.

Victoria Ridgeway

The White Tower. Edited by Edward Impey. Yale University Press in association with Historic Royal Palaces, 2008. Pp xvi + 406, 241 figs. ISBN 978 0 300 11293 1. Price: £45.00 hb.

The Tower of London is unquestionably one of our most important historic sites. The castle is a Scheduled Monument, and most of its buildings are listed. By definition, therefore, it is deemed to be of national significance for its archaeology, architecture and history. The site is also a central element of the Tower Conservation Area, which recognises its landmark quality within London's townscape. Above all, the Tower is a World Heritage Site. There is little wonder, therefore, in its status as the country's most visited heritage attraction.

The White Tower is central to the castle, both literally and metaphorically. This after all was London's dominant building for centuries, deliberately so. The intention to both protect and dominate was fundamental to virtually every aspect of the design, construction and use of the White Tower, and indeed to the subsequent development of the castle. The latter has been the subject of extensive research and publications. It is perhaps surprising that the Great Keep has not received its fair share of this, as Edward Impey makes clear in his introduction. Possibly the building's successful adaptation to a bewildering variety of uses from the 11th century down to the present day has militated against this. The opportunity to examine the building in detail internally and externally has rarely been available — especially in the last 150 years or so when it has been a major factor in the Tower's growing importance as a visitor attraction.

The removal of the greater part of the Royal Armouries' collections to its new headquarters in Leeds offered what Impey describes as a 'once-in-a-generation opportunity for study' of the White Tower in the mid to late 1990s. Not only was the interior emptied of its contents, but also the exterior was to receive much-needed conservation work. While archaeological recording and analysis were inevitably a prime focus of the project, it was designed from the beginning as a multi-disciplinary study. History, architecture, carpentry, dendrochronology, and stone petrography all had major parts to play. These are dealt with in subject-specific chapters, which sometimes works against integration of and between subject areas. There is also an occasional unwillingness to interpret beyond the bounds of a particular chapter's remit. Meticulous archaeological description and analysis by Roland Harris in Chapter 2 (on the White Tower as a whole) and John Crook in Chapter 3 (on St John's Chapel) is rarely allowed to stray into interpretation of how the building was used. That is dealt with in subsequent chapters, especially by Jeremy Ashbee. This is a deliberate emphasis, and entirely justifiable, but I for one found it frustrating at times, especially as there are relatively few cross-references between chapters in the main text.

This subject separation also creates a problem with some of the illustrations. The White Tower is well served by a massive documentary archive (see chs 5–8 in particular), among which plans, sections, elevations and photographs are a major feature. Many of these contain vital archaeological evidence for architectural features and details that have since been lost. It is unfortunate, therefore, that the structure of the book inevitably places them in the chapters on the history and use of the White Tower, even though they are often referred to much earlier in the text. Thus we find a reference to fig 104 (on p 140) on p 53, or to fig 147 (on p 194) on pp 95 and 96. Given the potential vulnerability of a book like this to wear and tear it might have been better to reproduce the illustrations in both locations (fig 104 reappears on the rear of the dust-jacket).

Impey's short introduction sets the scene for the book's contents, and is followed by his summary history of the castle. He also contributes an important description of the pre-Tower history of the site, the circumstances of its construction, and thus the setting of the White Tower itself. The subject of the extent of the earliest castle's defences is a vital one, because the primary enclosure around the (slightly later) Keep has always seemed implausibly small for a castle with such big ambitions. Impey makes a strong case for a larger outer 'bailey' on the basis of historical and topographic evidence. It may well be a difficult thesis to prove through archaeology, but it seems compelling enough in its own terms.

Chapters 2 and 3 form the first section of Part II, on the Structure and Function of the White Tower. Harris's chapter on the building as a whole challenges many previously accepted ideas about the development of the Keep, not least that it had its genesis in a single building campaign. Crook's chapter on the Chapel extends and refines this analysis. The opportunity to carry out a stone by stone analysis of the south elevation (since followed on the other three) and of the interior lends considerable weight to arguably the most important discovery of the project — that the White Tower was not built in one continuous campaign, but was carried through in two stages with a substantial break in construction between them. The evidence of mortar and petrographic analysis is cruc-

ial, providing compelling evidence for the break at just above the level of the first floor. A shelly mortar dominates below this, with a chalky one being prevalent above. The use of Caen, Quarr, Reigate, Bembridge and other stones is also diagnostic.

Harris clearly demonstrates the single-phase unity of its entire form, contrary to past suggestions that (for instance) the apse of St John's Chapel was an added afterthought. The garderobes, for instance, are located predominantly in the least important northern elevation of the building, but also take maximum advantage of the north–south spine wall's position (and the passage through its north end). Harris also gives a convincing account of the evidence for the original configuration of the White Tower, *ie* a basement level with only two floors above, with the first (Chapel) floor having pitched roofs protected from the start by walls rising to the full current height of the building. This refutes a number of alternative hypotheses that have been put forward for the generally accepted evidence of the pitched roofs (*eg* that the Keep was gabled as first built). The second floor only seems to have been added towards the end of the medieval period.

The following chapter by John Crook takes much of what Harris has said on the 'macro' level down to the 'micro' level of its single most important space — St John's Chapel. Crook conducts a careful analysis of the interior — virtually stone by stone — to show that it also demonstrates clear evidence for the break in construction. Remarkably, this seems to have occurred when the bases and piers of the aisle had been built but before the capitals had been put up — or in some cases before they had even been carved. Crook is particularly good here on the detail of the stone supply to the building site, and its use once it was here. The bases and capitals of the western responds and piers were carved from limestone quarried at Taynton, near Burford in Oxfordshire. Crook suggests that the relatively small quantity involved represented a single order and delivery. The bases and perhaps nine of the fourteen capitals (twelve for the piers and two for the responds) were complete before the building break. The other capitals were completed after it, in an architecturally more sophisticated form than the earlier ones. Harris and Crook therefore consider that building work on the White Tower 'began around 1075–9, was completed by 1100, with a break probably beginning circa 1079–83 (and most probably circa 1080), and ending circa 1090–3' (Harris, 43).

The remainder of Part II deals with the historical evidence for the White Tower's use. Jeremy Ashbee's chapters deal with the Norman (ch 4) and later medieval usage to 1485 (ch 5). The first chapter is necessarily reliant on the building itself as evidence, since there are few direct documentary references to it. He emphasises how little we know (perhaps will ever know) of how the Normans really did use the Keep, even after such an exhaustive study as this one. The available evidence can reasonably be used to suggest that the White Tower's main role was as a symbol of power, directed at least as much towards London as against any hostile force on the eastern approaches. The west elevation, significantly, is the only symmetrical one, and arguably the most elaborate. This emphasis on the western outlook continued in subsequent centuries.

Ashbee has the benefit of an increasingly extensive documentary resource to call on in Chapter 5, though even here it is often difficult to distinguish the White Tower from the generality of references to the castle. The Keep would often be treated as a synonym for the site as a whole, but equally a reference to the Tower of London could relate to the whole or the great tower specifically. Despite such problems this chapter is an absorbing depiction of medieval life at the castle. It is followed by three chapters (6–8) by Anna Keay and Roland Harris which bring the history of the building through from 1485 to 2000. These demonstrate the startling variety of uses to which the building was put, especially after the Tower finally relinquished any realistic claim to a role as royal residence in the early 17th century. Chapter 7 (1642–1855) is especially valuable for reproducing numerous drawings produced by the Board of Ordnance in the early 18th century. As suggested above, these are almost archaeological in their coverage and accuracy, and they are an invaluable resource for any student of the White Tower (or indeed keeps more generally). Chapter 8 looks at the 19th- and 20th-century changes

that have happened to and around the White Tower. While this was an era when the idea and methodologies of conservation became increasingly important, it was also a time when the need to cater for visitors became a substantial pressure. Many buildings were demolished during the second half of the 19th century, even though some of them were of medieval origin with extensive fabric of that period. The Wardrobe Tower, which stands just to the east of the apse of St John's Chapel, barely survived this era, but other structures such as the Lion Tower now only remain below ground. The White Tower was also affected by changes during the 19th century, with many of the windows being altered or refaced, especially externally. These latter chapters are therefore very useful in documenting those processes.

Part III looks at the context and significance of the White Tower. Impey looks at the background for and antecedents of the great tower in Chapter 9, with reference to Northern French examples and the question of the White Tower's relationship to Colchester Castle's keep. Some of this has been rehearsed before in shorter papers, but it is invaluable to have the material brought together here. Philip Dixon then takes a similar idea in the other direction temporally in Chapter 10, looking at the White Tower as an influence on the similar buildings that came after it. He looks at access, use (in its many aspects), and the historical context behind what he identifies as three 'waves' of great tower building. In doing so he suggests that these reflect the early periods of uncertainty in the reigns of William I, Henry I and Henry II. In all of these, the great tower as symbol looms large in all senses. Abigail Wheatley provides a fascinating chapter (11) on the role of the White Tower in medieval myth and legend.

In conclusion, this is an extremely important book, excellently written and illustrated. It triumphantly justifies Historic Royal Palaces' decision to carry out the White Tower Recording and Research Project. This book stands as a testament to the enduring power and position of the White Tower in our national history, and indeed on the global stage.

Graham Keevill

Great Houses, Moats and Mills on the South Bank of the Thames: Medieval and Tudor Southwark and Rotherhithe. By Simon Blatherwick and Richard Bluer. Museum of London Archaeology Monograph 47, 2009. Pp xvii + 246, 191 figs, 16 tables. ISBN 978 1 901882 83 0. Price: £22.95 hb.

This monograph groups a series of excavations of important buildings along the Surrey bank of the Thames with key phases in the 14th and 15th centuries. Earlier and later material and features found on all sites are also well reported.

Extensive traces of The Rosary, Dunley's Place and Fastolf Place were found on the London Bridge City Phase 2 sites between Tooley Street and the river, and are closely linked together spatially and chronologically. Edward III's great house at Platform Wharf, Rotherhithe, stood roughly a mile away, albeit still on the Surrey bank and within the overall time-span of the others. All the houses were moated and the Tooley Street site produced important mill remains. Edward III's house at Rotherhithe is given its own sequence of four chapters and the interlocking excavations on Tooley Street are treated as a single site with its separate four-chapter sequence. There is a brave, if only partly successful attempt to draw the two sites together, but the mildly uncomfortable conclusions chapter remains partly divided between the two sites and some of its individual sections might have been better left alongside the relevant reportage. As it is, embedded and potentially valuable essays on Thames mills and Dutch immigrants are likely to remain hidden from topic research. Substantial appendices deal with finds and a viable publication package has resulted.

It is all too clear from this volume that frustrating archaeological constraints made life difficult throughout this largely pre-PPG16 work and prevented even more information from being recovered. But it was probably inevitable, given the amount of overbuilding close to the river, that the deep features such as moats, waterfronts, mill bases *etc* would be revealed while the layout of buildings within the moats would remain obscure. More evidence may survive in the parts of the Rotherhithe site preserved *in situ*, but we shouldn't hold our collective breath. The miracle is that so much has been achieved: a

great deal of painstaking 'post-ex' has clearly been involved in squeezing the story from the data.

Also involved, to great effect, has been the equally painstaking work of the documentary historians Tony Dyson and Christopher Phillpotts in the footsteps of Martha Carlin. The rich cache of Fastolf documents preserved by Magdalen College was quarried by Dr Phillpotts to great effect and he has shown that Fastolf Place must have a serious claim to be the best documented moated site in historic Surrey.

Although only two authors are named on the cover, a number of substantial contributions by others, in addition to Dyson and Phillpotts, become visible on reading the text — indeed, the acknowledgements run to a whole page. This leads to the odd uncomfortable passage and it is an indication of the honesty of this publication that there is little attempt to hide the cracks.

The most controversial parts of the whole monograph are perhaps those concerned with the interpretation of the excavated remains of Edward III's house at Rotherhithe. Dr Schofield (author of several works on London's medieval buildings) provides a measured discussion of the riddles (pp 150–8), and Faith Vardy offers an attractive coloured reconstruction (fig 27) — greatly influenced, I am sure, by the well-known standing buildings at Ightham Mote in Kent. But the principal authors in their conclusions feel free to compete.

A short review is not the place to continue the argument. It is all too easy to point out that the inadequacy of the north-west tower at Rotherhithe as reconstructed as an entrance (figs 19, 20, 27) is not fully acknowledged, and the parallel with the Cradle Tower (p 154) is unconvincing. Equally it is easy to complain at the use of distinctly distant parallels in reconstructing the adjacent north range. But it is far harder to propose convincing alternatives.

The essay on mills contains the cautiously worded but eye-catching statement that floating mills do not seem to have existed in England in the medieval period. This is something worth researching. Why should this have been so when they were well-known in Paris and many points south? What evidence would they have left?

The monograph does not follow the integrated style used in the volumes of the MoLAS Medieval Monasteries Series and, consequently, there are lengthy separate sections on pottery, building materials and small finds. The more important groups are presented with supporting narrative that helpfully reduces the need to refer to the deeper recesses of the volume to appreciate the contexts. Over time, they will surely prove invaluable.

The series of six site plans of the Fastolf Place site suffers greatly from being bled through the gutter: such plans should always be fold-outs, the advantages of which are obvious to all but the meanest bean-counter (see, for example, the report published by English Heritage on Acton Court: K Rodwell and R Bell, *Acton Court: the Evolution of an Early Tudor Courtier's House* (2004)). Such seriously ill-directed parsimony is an all too frequent occurrence, not just in MoLAS monographs (*eg* Monograph 34, *The Augustinian Priory of St Mary Merton: Excavations 1976–90*), but also in major excavation reports of other independents.

The volume is excellently referenced and indexed and one can only welcome the new robust hardback format adopted by MoLAS (now MoLA). Criticism of the previous soft cover format was made by the present reviewer a long time ago — round about Monograph No. 1, if I remember rightly! The pricing of this volume (unlike, unfortunately, some of its recent companions) is commendably modest and should aid sales and the distribution of the information it contains.

Dennis Turner

A New Millennium at Southwark Cathedral: Investigations into the First Two Thousand Years. By D Divers, C Mayo, N Cohen and C Jarrett. Pre-Construct Archaeology, Monograph 8, 2009. Pp xii + 152, 126 figs. ISBN 0 9542938 7 8. Price: £19.95 pb.

The early historical and architectural development of Southwark Priory (now Cathedral) seems neither very unusual nor very complicated: a late Anglo-Saxon minster mentioned in Domesday Book, possibly reconstituted as a secular college soon after 1100 by members of Henry I's circle,

reformed as an Augustinian priory shortly after that, and rebuilt with a Romanesque church and cloister. The developments are, however, poorly recorded and understood. This volume contributes to the story by reporting small-scale excavations and fabric analysis occasioned by landscaping and conservation to celebrate the Millennium, and it does this well. But it also sets out to reassess the whole development of the medieval Priory, which unfortunately it does rather badly.

For pre-Priory phases, the project has added some small but useful pieces to the jigsaw. Where the southwards crossing over the Roman bridge from London met the island that is now Southwark, it forked into two roads running in a south-westerly direction. The more northerly of these roads (passing under the nave of the Priory church) was sectioned and examined, together with quarry pits and ditches associated with its construction and maintenance, and some 2nd-century clay-and-timber buildings. Anglo-Saxon finds, which might have been expected to throw light on the minster, were confined to a group of 10th- to 12th-century pits and some very exiguous structural remains. This result is disappointing, but the small scale of the trenches means that it can neither support nor disprove a monastic presence on the site.

The interventions reported here, the latest in a long series since the 19th century, add fragments of evidence for the Romanesque buildings: a slice through the chapter house, its junction with the north transept, the south end of the west claustral range. An important contribution is a careful stone by stone record of the inner choir walls at triforium level, which shows that only the westernmost bay is of the original Romanesque phase, the others representing a late 12th-century rebuild. The second of these phases was clearly an eastwards extension as an aisled rectangle, which is standard. The remains of the first phase might imply (though not conclusively, since they could be simply the residue left by demolition) a short apsidal choir with an ambulatory. Taken together with the small apse already known to underlie the north transept chapel, this suggests a church not unlike the historically analogous Augustinian foundation of St Bartholomew's Smithfield, or indeed the Romanesque St Paul's Cathedral as reconstructed by Richard Gem. Something along these lines is indeed proposed, but over-reliance on Simon Roffey's analysis published in 1998 in *London Archaeologist* leads to a treatment of the Romanesque phase(s) that is muddled and unnecessarily complicated. For instance, the assertion that 'the masonry remains found in excavations in Trench 4 attest to the westerly extension of the church in the 12th century following the regularisation of the priory and the generous benefaction of, for example, King Stephen' (p 74) goes wildly beyond anything indicated by either the archaeology or the documents. It actually seems very unclear whether the known fragments from before *c.*1180 represent anything more than a fairly predictable Priory church from the beginning of the century, of a single, if protracted building phase.

One confusion is so bizarre and misleading that it must be highlighted here. Whereas the north transept apse is fully recorded and covers only two thirds of the transept's east wall, a plan in Roffey's paper shows instead a larger apse — marked in broken line and seemingly sketched from memory — which extends the full width of the transept. The present phase-plan (fig 74) adopts Roffey's error in preference to the actual evidence published a few pages earlier (in figs 32 and 47) and combines it with an unaisled choir apse; the odd-looking plan thus created is in turn reproduced in a banner heading at the start of each chapter. Does Pre-Construct Archaeology impose any editorial control?

There are some useful additions to the later medieval story, including excavation of the 14th-century Lady Chapel to the east, and of fragments of the St Mary Magdalene chapel to the south. Some of this is not new, however, and again one senses an unsure touch: it is staggering to find on p 68 that there are still people who imagine cross-legged effigies to represent crusaders!

The post-Dissolution sections are more substantial in content and are handled better. A proficient report on the Delftware kilns excavated at Montague Close, on the site of the cloister, is an important contribution to knowledge of Southwark pottery production in the late 17th and 18th centuries. There is also much of interest in the account of how

the church and its precinct were adapted to new uses through the 16th to 19th centuries. This makes good use of watercolours in the Guildhall Library, but not, unfortunately, of the less well-known ones in the British Library (hidden in printed books, shelfmark Crack.1.Tab.1.b.1) and the Minet Library.

It is a pity that a straightforward piece of contract archaeology has been so dressed up to look like something more. If it had been published as an article in a suitable journal (most obviously this one), it would have been simpler bibliographically and less confusing intellectually. We need a major new study of the Priory, drawing of course on the data presented here, but *A New Millennium at Southwark Cathedral* is certainly not it.

John Blair

Treasures of Westminster Abbey. By Tony Trowles. Scala, 2008. Pp 176, numerous colour pls. ISBN 978 1 857594 54 6. Price: £16.95 pb.

Despite its title, this beautiful book is essentially a guide to the Abbey's monuments, compiled by its long-serving Librarian. After a short history of the Abbey building, we are given a tour, space by space, in 'the order in which the present church was built'. The principal architectural features of each space are briefly explained, and so are the stained glass windows and other 'items of historic or artistic interest', such as the Cosmati Pavement and the Coronation Chair. However pride of place is given to the catalogue of the monuments, both sculpture and floor slabs, starting with the Confessor's Shrine. Only gravestones without inscriptions are omitted.

The Abbey has long been a national mausoleum. Horatio Nelson commented wryly in 1798, the day before the Battle of the Nile, that 'before this time tomorrow, I shall have gained a peerage, or Westminster Abbey'. The number, range and quality of the monuments never fail to astonish, as does their crowded layout, and even amongst the throngs of tourists, it is still possible in odd corners to immerse oneself without disturbance in exquisite carving or metalwork of bygone centuries, often in pristine condition.

Tony Trowles, however, has no space for such daydreaming. He is throughout concise and even-handed. Most monuments receive but a few lines. Even the most important — and these include not just Henry VII and Elizabeth I, but also the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier, or 'Unknown Warrior' in Abbey parlance — have little more than this. For more detail, we must go and look for ourselves. Great care is taken to distinguish tombs from mere memorials of those buried elsewhere, but relatively few monuments are illustrated. Most of the photographs are superb. One of the best is of the 1797 monument by Henry Webber to David Garrick, who died in 1779, showing him making a dramatic entrance through a pair of curtains (p 89).

Such brevity was inevitable, given the range and quality of material. Trowles' scholarship is impeccable, and the layout is clear and easy to follow. The only problem is that one is left wanting more. There is no analysis of the monuments, against each other, against examples elsewhere, or through time. There is no discussion of changing attitudes to commemoration between the Middle Ages and the present day. There is no reference to the refusal of London's other great church, St Paul's Cathedral, to accept *any* monuments in the main body of the Cathedral until the 1790s; this must have impacted upon the Abbey. Artistic oddities are ignored, such as on the monument to Lt-Col Townshend, killed at Ticonderoga in 1759, where life-sized native Americans [*sic*], carefully portrayed, support a portrayal of the dying Townshend with brother officers, all in Roman dress (p 105). There are unexplained and frustrating allusions, such as the comment that the Shrewsbury tomb, 1618, is 'by William Wright (formerly attributed to Maximilian Colt)' (p 78). Nor is there any discussion of how monuments have been restored. A sweet illustration shows Princess Sophia, died 1606, aged three days, in her cradle (p 133); the same tomb in Mrs Esdaile's *English Church Monuments 1510–1840* (1946) is much damaged, as well as conveying a much more depressing message about infant mortality through its then dirty and drab condition.

The Abbey, of course, has greater concerns than art history and conservation. This book is intended not just to describe the monuments and other treasures, but to fit them into the

Abbey's overall life and purpose, so that 'those who arrive as tourists and visitors may leave, in some small way, as pilgrims' (Introduction, p 7). So the illustrations include a choir rehearsal, and a Eucharist at the High Altar (both on p 8) and a Royal visit (p 13), as well as magnificent illuminated MSS from the library and archives. We are also given a short section on the West Front (pp 122–3), which since 1998 has carried ten newly-commissioned statues of martyrs of the 20th century who died for their Christian faith, including Dietrich Bonhoeffer, Martin Luther King and Archbishops Luwum and Romero. These new treasures are an important part of the Abbey's continuing life as a Christian church. Other 'treasures' include the Chapter House, Library, Pyx Chamber and College Garden. An excellent series of coloured diagrams at the end gives the layout of the Abbey and its precincts, and the location of all of the monuments and most of the treasures described in the text.

Despite its austere format, the text is full of interesting detail, such as the murder of the shipwrecked Admiral Sir Clowdisley Shovell in 1707 on a beach in the Scillies by a local woman for his emerald ring (p 35); or the riot at the funeral of Lord Bath in 1764, during which individuals fought using wood wrenched from the canopy over the tomb of Edward I (p 59). Sadly there is no mention of Mrs Esdaile's story that the 1761 monument by Roubiliac showing a particularly grisly Death emerging from a vault to strike down the beautiful Lady Nightingale, only 27 years old, was intended to echo the suddenness of her youthful demise, struck by lightning on the terrace at Mamhead, Devon (p 56). According to Trowles, she died in childbirth.

There are a few unimportant errors. The photograph of Sir Clowdisley Shovell's monument on p 36 is reversed. The marble tablet of Capt Le Neve RN, who died in 1673, is said to be adorned with 'heraldry, canons and a post-horn' (p 39). Cannon (not clerics) make perfect sense, but a post-horn? The destroyed tomb of Abbot John Islip, d. 1532, as sketched on the early 16th-century Islip Roll (p 61), does not seem to contain the shrouded skeleton mentioned in the text, but a life-like effigy of a monk in a plain habit, holding an abbatial crozier. More generally, it would have been helpful to have some pointers to further reading, together with group entries in the Index bringing together all the 'sculptors', 'designers' and so on. But this remains an excellent introduction to the Abbey monuments and treasures, at a very reasonable price.

Stephen Freeth

The Medieval Account Books of the Mercers of London: an Edition and Translation. By Lisa Jefferson. Ashgate, 2009. 2 vols, pp 1159. ISBN 978 0 7546 8. Price: £200.00 hb.

All students of medieval London will welcome this excellent edition of the account books of the Mercers' Company covering the years 1344–47 and 1390–1464. Unfortunately in 1390 the Company decided that it would not be necessary to copy up the accounts covering the years 1347–90 because this information was 'engrossed in the old red paper register' which would always remain in the keeping of the wardens. But by the early 16th century the old red register had already disappeared. The accounts that have survived are extremely interesting and although they have never before been printed, they have been used by historians, most notably by the Mercers' archivists, Jean Imray and Anne Sutton whose many published works have alerted us to the richness of this material. It is worth noting that only three other London companies — the Grocers, Goldsmiths and Merchant Taylors — have accounts surviving from as far back as the 14th century.

In this edition Dr Jefferson has provided the Anglo-French text of the accounts together with a facing page English translation. She has also included the text of the Renter Wardens' accounts which begin in 1442 (prompted by the acquisition of the large estate of Richard Whittington) in order to provide as complete a picture as possible of the Company's activities in the years from 1442 to 1464. The two sets of accounts are, as it were, interleaved in this edition which can be rather confusing. The volume is also provided with a detailed name index (some 100 pages) and also a very useful subject index. The language of these accounts reflects the development of the use of the vernacular. At the beginning they are almost

entirely written in Anglo-French, although the account for 1391–92 (possibly the work of Adam Pinkhurst) is written in Latin. But English creeps in and in 1447–48 the scrivener, Robert Bale, wrote up the account entirely in English. The Renter Wardens' accounts, however, were kept in English from the beginning and by 1458–59 the Wardens' accounts followed suit.

There is much in these accounts which relates to the royal court: mummings for Richard II at Christmas, entertainment for the arrivals of new queens, such as Isabelle of France in 1397 and Margaret of Anjou in 1444. The Mercers' provided torch bearers (with rosaries) for the funeral of Henry V and attended his obit at Westminster every year until 1460. But it is clear that as the civil war became endemic, royal welcomes became politicised. In 1460 the wardens asked for allowance to be made for the supper that had to be cancelled because of the arrival of the Earls of March and Warwick from Calais, and two years later they were making many trips to Westminster to try to secure repayment of the 500 marks they had lent the Earl of Warwick in July 1460.

The accounts have much to tell us of the relations of the Company with the government of the City: important as the Mercers were, they had to play their part in civic government and make their contributions to civic enterprises such as the dispute with the City clergy in 1447–48 over the payment of tithes, or to the defence of the City when Jack Cade attacked in 1450. In 1447 the company contributed a total of £13 13s 4d for glazing one of the windows in the new chapel at the Guildhall. But, of course, the overriding concerns of the Mercers were with their overseas trade with the Low Countries, and their competition with the Italians which erupted into street fighting in the 1450s to which the accounts make fleeting references: in 1455–56, 'boat hire to Westminster for the case of the young men (of the craft) and the Lombards'.

Of course the accounts also tell us a great deal about the authority of the wardens and the ways in which the Company controlled the activities of its members who were forbidden to buy cloth abroad, or to travel to fairs in England to sell their goods. Heavy fines were imposed for transgressions for these and other offences, such as playing dice, improper attire at funerals, fighting, abusing the wardens or using bad language in court. The ordinances of 1376 laid down careful rules for the conduct of meetings: members were not to speak until given leave by the wardens and they were not to interrupt each other. The wardens could silence a disruptive speaker by striking a wooden mallet on the table and penny fines were imposed on those who ignored the mallet. There is strong evidence here also for the charitable and religious concerns of the craft. In 1406 the Company made a formal agreement with the Master of St Thomas of Acre to allow the Mercers to use the hospital chapel. This was followed by the appointment in 1415–16 of a chaplain for the mistery at a salary of £6 13s 8d, and the services became more elaborate with the introduction of singing clerks. In 1449 the Company laid out nearly £80 on two sets of altar cloths, vestments and elaborate furnishings for the chapel. Some of these vestments were made and paid for by Robert Baron who died that same year. Just ten years later the Company, rather meanly, paid to replace Baron's merchant's mark which had been embroidered on the vestments with the Company's own badge of the maiden head.

Women are surprisingly absent from these records, although we know from Anne Sutton's work how important women were on the 'shop-floor of the mercery trade'. Alice Corsmaker paid 6s 8d to enter the silkwomen's craft, but she is the only silkwoman whose entry is recorded. In 1415 the wardens paid two silkwomen for fringe for the chapel altar cloths and bequests from silkwomen are noted, including £5 from Isabelle Fleet for the new windows in the Company hall. Moreover a company ordinance in 1417 protected from eviction widows of the craft who wished to maintain their households and trade as *femmes soles*. There is a single reference to sisters of the fraternity in 1449 and to a payment made to the wife of one of the almsmen in 1452. The Company was not above 'sweetening' one of the gentlewomen of Isabella, Duchess of Burgundy, in 1452 with a gift of pears, followed by £10, to secure the favour of Duke Philip the Good. The absence of women in these accounts is in marked contrast with the records of some of the lesser companies, such as the Pinners,

where women are to be found in considerable numbers paying fees to work in the craft.

These accounts, of course, throw light on a range of interesting individuals. John Carpenter, the Common Clerk of the City and the most influential of Richard Whittington's executors, was paid the considerable sum of 33s 4d to write three letters for the Company to Ghent, Bruges and Ypres in 1421 and, not surprisingly, after he had secured the almshouses and a landed endowment from Whittington's estate for the Company, he was rewarded with an annual hood, although this practice had been forbidden by civic ordinance. In 1410 John Middleton paid 3s 4d to be exempt from wearing the Company livery because he wished to wear only black or grey following the death of his wife, and he paid a similar fine every year until he himself died in 1417. Elias Davy paid a fine in 1433 and subsequent years, to be excused from attending meetings, although in 1455 the Company found it expedient to spend money on Davy 'to see that he would be well-inclined towards the mistery' and the investment paid off for in his will drawn up that year Davy left property to the Company together with responsibility for the oversight of the almshouse he had established at Croyden. Individual careers can be traced in these accounts. John Abbot, who entered his apprenticeship in 1395, was fined 40s in 1420 for angry words spoken in 'immoderate and heinous reproach' to one of the wardens. But he went on to serve several times as warden and was a city sheriff in 1428–9, an MP in 1431, and died well respected in 1444 when he left considerable property to the Company. So it was possible to overcome youthful indiscretions.

During the course of the hundred years covered by these accounts the Mercers became the premier City company, with links throughout England and overseas to Italy and the Low Countries. These accounts reveal the increasing 'weightiness' of the Company as it became more global in its concerns, and more organised and professional in its accounting. Dr Jefferson and the Mercers' Company are to be congratulated for making these important records available to a wider public in an edition which is both scholarly and accessible but, alas, at a considerable price.

Caroline M Barron

The Farriers of London 1200–1674: the Lost Years. By Barbara E Megson. The Worshipful Company of Farriers, 2009. Pp 109, 8 colour pls, 11 figs. ISBN not stated. Price: £18.00 hb.

Histories of London's Worshipful Company of Farriers have been written before — the *Bibliography of London History* lists three. But faced with the problem that most of the Company's early records were destroyed in the Great Fire, they have naturally concentrated on the period after the Company received its Royal Charter from Charles II in 1674, for which its own records survive. As her title indicates, this author has tackled that problem squarely, considering the evidence to be found in national and City records for the activities of farriers (or *marescalli*, marshals, the more common medieval Latin term) in earlier times.

After stressing the importance of the horse in medieval society, she discusses the role of the marshals in the royal household, responsible not only for the purchase, care and maintenance of horses but for the provision of transport services, for whose activities royal wardrobe and household accounts provide plentiful evidence. She then turns to the very different environment of the London marshals/farriers — her earliest reference is in the 1230s — whose main task was the shoeing and doctoring of horses for the general public. For these she draws chiefly upon the City of London's Letter Books and other records, and also upon the enrolled wills of London farriers — one left his wife his stock of horse medicines, another left his wife 1,000 horseshoes! The evidence for women working as farriers, and the role of farriers as horse experts, for example in identifying a stolen horse, are particularly interesting features. The records shed light also upon farriers' extracurricular activities — Gilbert le Mareschal and his money-lending (p 33), or the two journeymen farriers caught shooting at pigeons to the public danger (p 45).

The intermingling of the trades of blacksmiths and farriers, about which the latter complained in 1356, leading to the drafting of their first Ordinances, is well evidenced — as in the case of John Neuby (p 44), recorded in August 1376 in a list of *fabri* (smiths) as a 'marshal', then a few days later

as a master 'blacksmith and bladesmith'. The terminology seems to have confused even medieval lawyers — Megson refers to a precept that in 1431 excused '*ferrones* (ironworkers) called *marescalli equorum*' from jury service (p 46).

This confusion may explain the survival among the records of the Blacksmiths' Company of the only extant copy, begun in 1534, of the Farriers' Company Memorandum Book, which Megson discusses. It is to the Blacksmiths' archives that we also owe our knowledge of the religious Guild of St Loy (the farriers' patron saint) founded at St Sepulchre's church jointly by blacksmiths, farriers and loriners (p 50). In an appendix, Megson prints a list of the farriers (38 men, with 29 wives) who were members of this guild in 1424.

The book follows the fortunes of London's farriers, and advances in the breeding and management of horses, through the 16th and 17th centuries, and ends with the granting in 1674 of the Company's Royal Charter, a transcript of which is printed in an appendix. Other appendices are devoted to the legend of St Eligius (St Loy), and to freemen's and apprentices' oaths set out in the 16th-century Memorandum Book. The book is well illustrated, including a number of colour illustrations from medieval manuscripts, and a page of illustrations of farriers' tools from Gervase Markham's 17th-century book on farriery, *Markham's Maister-Peece*. There is a glossary and a useful index.

Sadly one must also record a number of flaws. Several are no more than editorial or typographical: inconsistencies in the way works are referred to in the endnotes; references in the text to irrelevant illustrations; was the Statute of Artificers issued in 1352 or 1353? Is the Memorandum Book Guildhall MS 5535 or 5534? But there are others more significant. The City's Assize of Nuisance could certainly be used against farriers whose forges or travises (the wooden frame within which horses could be tethered) obstructed roadways, but the examples the author quotes from 1244 (p 30) are from a special inquiry made by the kings' justices, not the Assize of Nuisance itself. Megson (pp 54–5) also seems to have made a slip (one which many of us have surely made) in identifying the currency value of a 'mark' (properly 13s 4d), and thus assumes that the rates of fines imposed by the Farriers doubled between their first appearance in the Ordinances of 1356 and their repetition in the 16th-century Memorandum Book — evidence of inflation. In fact, the fines remained the same, even if expressed in different terms.

And two technical misunderstandings might upset an old-time farrier. The gouge-like tool known as a 'botar', 'butteris' or 'buttress' was *not* (p 32) 'used for removing horseshoes'. Gervase Markham wrote (as shown in fig 7) 'The Butter is that which pareth and openeth the hoof'. And the unexpected presence among the farriers in the Guild of St Loy of two wiredrawers (p 51, or is it one, p 76?) sadly cannot be explained by the suggestion that wiredrawers provided wire from which farriers made horseshoe nails. Medieval nails (including horseshoe nails) were forged, not made from iron wire; and wiredrawers made fine *brass* wire for pins and other similar uses.

Yet this is a worthwhile book. One assumes that it has been published privately by the Worshipful Company of Farriers chiefly (as the Preface indicates) to 'enable present members of the Company to gain some insight into the lives of their forebears'. The Company should be congratulated on making copies available for wider sale — even if a small print run has entailed a very high selling price. And, by the way, the book throws up an irritating (while totally irrelevant) question: Who on earth was the 'King of India' whose son John Baldok had an ongoing dispute with the farrier John de Sutton in 1366 (p 44)?

John Clark

Eltham Palace. By John Priestley. Phillimore, 2008. Pp xiii + 178, 67 figs. ISBN 978 1 86077 478 2. Price: £18.99 hb.

First mentioned in Domesday, the manor of Eltham came into royal possession in 1305, as a gift from the Bishop of Durham to Edward, Prince of Wales. The property was to become one of the major royal palaces, on a par with Windsor or Hampton Court, for the next three and a half centuries, with many additions and embellishments, but the place is now more well-known for its Art

Deco interior — with a medieval great hall attached. This book charts the progress of both the buildings and their use by various royal owners, as well as the logistics of such use in terms of staff and provisions. Whilst in residence, the usual royal issuing of writs, *etc* would continue, and the author has exploited thoroughly the wealth of documentary archive material which has survived, to give a picture through the centuries of both Eltham's place in national affairs and the effect of those affairs on Eltham.

As one of several palaces around London, but particularly one on the main route to the Channel, Eltham was popular with its royal owners for the regular ten- to fourteen-day festivities around Christmas and Easter, where visiting dignitaries could be entertained. A good example was at Christmas of 1400, when Henry IV, together with the royal family, entertained Manuel II Palaeologus, Emperor of Byzantium. Among the entertainments a great joust was organised: this was arranged around the conceit of various foreign rulers, mostly imaginary, sending their knights to Princess Blanche, the eight-year-old daughter of Henry IV, with suitably high-flown letters of introduction. One of these requested that 'you should be pleased to order the knight at this feast who has most often travelled into foreign lands between the ages of twenty and twenty-four to meet your supplicant in six jousts with the lance without unlawful lance heads, not being bound into the saddle, on New Year's Day in your hall'. Thirteen of these letters survive, and Priestley has included their full text as an appendix. A hundred years later the palace was to acquire a new great hall, built for Edward IV, and for which all the extant building records have also been appended.

The book is full of details of payments made and arrangements necessary for the various royal visits, which as well as festival entertainments would have included hunting in the large parkland around the palace. The establishment was divided into two portions: the royal accommodation, including chapels and the great hall, inside the moat and an even more expansive range of buildings adjoining for services and the rest of the court. Numbers of visits varied from monarch to monarch, but there was a distinct tailing off after the development of the palace at Greenwich, from which hunting parties would often come over for the sport and then return. By the time of Charles I, who granted the manor to his queen, Henrietta Maria, royal use was minimal. During the Civil Wars it was occupied at various times by both Parliamentarian and Royalist forces. The decline could be said to have truly set in with the slaughter of all the deer in the park by local people — and the soldiers sent to stop them — in 1649 after the execution of the king. Two surveys of 1605 and 1649 survive, and give an idea of what has been lost; John Evelyn, visiting the palace in 1656, reported it to be in ruins with the park trees all cut down.

The palace was never again used as a royal residence; various courtiers had the use of some of the remaining buildings, especially the park lodges, and were responsible for maintaining the property. Despite the demolition of a large part of the royal lodgings during the Commonwealth, the great hall survived, largely through its adoption as a barn. This involved destroying one oriel window to install barn doors, and the later preservation of the roof through installation of great struts. A new building within the moat became a farmhouse, and it was as a farm, although still royal property, that the palace survived until the 20th century. The hall had a narrow escape from demolition in 1828, when the Treasury sought to demolish it after storm damage, but its well-established role as a picturesque example of Gothic architecture ensured its survival and the ensuing publicity brought it into the ambit of the burgeoning archaeological and antiquarian societies. The author has found many examples of the views made of the barn at this time, not all of them accurate, as he points out.

After various tenants, who all maintained the buildings but did nothing new, things were to change drastically in 1933. Now in the charge of the Crown Lands Commissioners, a new 99-year lease was obtained by Stephen Courtauld, with permission to build a new house. He employed architects Seely and Paget, who created the buildings we now know, which cleverly were made to include the newly-restored great hall. Unfortunately the Courtaulds were only to enjoy the Palace for a few years; they moved out at the end of

the War and a new tenancy was negotiated for the remainder of the lease with the Army Educational Corps. The Army Education and Training section, in various forms, held the Palace until 1992, when the lease passed to English Heritage.

The author has managed to flesh out the bare bones of the history of Eltham Palace with a wealth of detail, culled from the existing archives and other sources. However, the book has several fairly major faults, which makes it difficult to enjoy as a complete record of the fortunes of the Palace. The book is based on an M Phil thesis, and the expansion of this material into book form does not go smoothly. The insertion of portions of national, or macro, history into the more nuanced, micro local history of the buildings and people has resulted in a very disjointed time-line, and some repetition. The discovery of several historical howlers early into the text gives the reader no confidence that other details, with which they are not familiar, might not also be incorrect. In particular, the description of Richard II and Henry IV as Edward III's sons (p 32), and the discrepancy in age of Richard II — 21 in 1389, and 33 in 1390 (pp 31–2) — give one cause for concern, and I am still puzzling over the 'kitchen with walls 321 feet in length and 12 feet high' (p 24). I understand that Phillimore do no editing of texts they agree to publish, but this one is in dire need of a proof-reader, at least. The illustrations are not referred to in the text, and are not always correctly labelled. The use of reference numbers for individual items in a sentence, rather than as one figure at the end is most distracting, but even more irritating is the absence of any general plan or map to illustrate the various buildings and their use (other than a couple of poor reproductions of existing plans, pp 86–7), or the layout of the various parks, or the position of the whole with reference to Eltham village.

Despite these faults, and the failure to provide any overall analysis of the data, especially comparison with the use and records of other royal palaces, this book provides an interesting window into the medieval world of a royal palace, and an account of the history of the buildings.

Ann Hignell

The Town House in Georgian London. By Rachel Stewart. Yale University Press, 2009. Pp xii + 272, 77 pls. ISBN 978 0 300152 77 7. Price: £35.00 hb.

London's Georgian architectural history is made of solid stuff. Its building blocks are the classic texts by Sir John Summerson and Hugh Phillips, to which in more recent years have been added fresh insights by authors such as Andrew Byrne, Dan Cruickshank, Neil Burton and Peter Guillery. New books on the subject must therefore have something important to say, some new construct to add to the established corpus.

From this perspective Rachel Stewart's book succeeds well, focusing as it does on a relatively under-explored aspect of Georgian town house history — the attitudes, opinions and aspirations of owners and occupiers, of the very people who commissioned, bought, sold, and lived in such houses. In this way the book acts as a call for a more multi-disciplinary approach to the subject from historians.

Its strength lies in Rachel Stewart's deft use of diaries, memoirs, letters, contemporary fiction and newspaper adverts to paint a vivid picture of how people went about the business of acquiring, decorating and disposing of London houses in the late 18th century. The documentary material is informative and lively, and not without humour. House-hunting in the mid-1780s, Miss Herbert alights upon a bargain in Edwards Street, off Portman Square, which her friend and correspondent Lady Louisa Stuart describes as 'very good … only the kitchen is as high as Westminster hall, and fit for any use but that of dressing her dinner, and the rooms have all run a race upstairs without any one being able to catch the other, for there are not two exactly upon a floor…'.

All the same, the richness and variety of the evidence leaves the reader struggling for a meaningful conclusion, other than a self-evident one: that expectations and experiences of town houses differed from person to person. Predictably, too, the age-old craving for 'location', for proximity to centres of power and fashion, looms large throughout. Miss Herbert, in the end, changes her mind about the house in Edwards Street 'because it is next door to a tallow chandler's'.

A stronger thread emerges with Rachel Stewart's clever exploration of the links between town house and personal identity. An elegantly fitted town mansion could provide a platform for a campaign to improve one's social or political profile. The author is especially good on women's role and increasing status in relation to London town houses and late 18th-century West End society — as house-owners in their own right; as consumers of luxury goods; and as important conduits in their letters and conversations of the latest news on metropolitan fashion, politics and social gossip. Many widows inherited town properties, and several dowager duchesses held sway as powerful political hostesses. Mistresses, too, might be ensconced in their own residences.

A fine house in town also gave the nation's élite a new sense of freedom and modernity, away from the dynastic responsibilities of their country estates. Unlike an entailed country estate, a London house could be regarded as disposable, rented for a few years — months even — or bought and sold in quick succession. As the author points out, this ephemerality was reflected in the leasehold town house's ambiguous legal status: for though immovable, it was likely to be regarded as personal property and not real estate, unlike a freehold country house.

This recurrent 'town v. country' theme hints at Rachel Stewart's true subject matter: for despite its generic title, the book is almost solely concerned with the very upper rungs of London society — the *beau monde*, who held country seats *and* could afford fashionable town houses in Mayfair or Marylebone — and also with a limited period, that of *c.*1760–*c.*1790. Anyone coming to the book in search of the middle classes, or houses beyond the West End, or from the earlier years of the Georgian era, will be sorely disappointed. Surely a more honest title would have helped.

Other aspects of the book are less convincing. The second half concentrates on architecture but does not hang together especially well. A discussion of architectural treatises centres on works by Robert Morris and Isaac Ware, men with ideas rooted in a previous generation (both were dead by the 1760s), and is therefore hard to reconcile with the preceding discussion of late Georgian social mores. Also, the case studies with which the book ends rely too heavily on the architecture of Robert Adam (about whom Rachel Stewart writes with insight), whose exceptional genius for planning and decoration was far from typical for the period. And even here the account is skewed too far in favour of Adam's glorious one-off masterpieces for rich aristocrats in St James's Square and Marylebone, which fit the book's thesis that innovation in town house architecture was stimulated principally by its clientele. Conversely, little space is given to the Adam brothers' ambitious speculative town house developments at the Adelphi and Portland Place, to which they themselves attached huge importance.

Much is made in the book of the late Georgian London town house's plain exterior, and thus its 'inconsequence' to Georgian owners and later architectural historians. Architects, we learn, were reluctant to take it seriously, so burdensome were the limitations placed on their art by its restricted site and standardised form. And yet when faced with the same standardised form, the Adams positively thrived, revelling in the test it made of their planning ingenuity, and, as the author admits, viewing such work as 'an opportunity to show off' — a tendency the Adams never fought shy of.

The book is full of such ambiguities and contradictions, and is not helped by the author's tendency to couch arguments in the often abstract and abstruse language of academia. Also there is much repetition. One final gripe. Given the subject matter and publishers, Yale University Press, masters of the finely illustrated architectural monograph, the text seems rather under-illustrated. Seventy-seven plates may sound fair, but too many come from old source-books, in black-and-white, and are generally reproduced too small, especially the floor-plans, leaving room names illegible. Overall, then, this is an interesting book and a valuable contribution to the subject, but a tighter focus, more direct prose style, stronger editing, and more and better illustrations could have made it a really good one.

Colin Thom

'In The Vaults Beneath': Archaeological Recording at St George's Bloomsbury. By Ceridwen Boston, Angela Boyle, John Gill and Annsofie Witkin. Oxford Archaeology Monograph 8, 2009. Pp xv + 234, 78 figs, 43 pls, 50 tables. ISBN 978 0 904220 53 7. Price: £12.99 pb.

The importance of early modern assemblages of human remains continues to be emphasised, with many post-medieval cemeteries now being excavated. More rarely one comes across a church with burial vaults as yet uncleared and the gains of any study will be great. Such a church was St George's, Bloomsbury.

Here, as with Christ Church Spitalfields in 1984, the project involved the clearance of coffined burials in the vaults beneath the church. The work uncovered 781 coffins yet, for reasons unexplained, only a rather small sample of 111 individuals was selected for demographic analysis. In 2003 the coffins were recorded *in situ*, then the empty vaults were surveyed. The development of the Bloomsbury area of London during the 18th and 19th centuries, chiefly on land belonging to the Dukes of Bedford, is described at length in a chapter by Ceri Boston and Ian Scott. The parish of St George's was created in 1711 by the Act of Parliament for Fifty New Churches (along with Christ Church Spitalfields). The Hawksmoor designed St George's church is a Grade I listed building.

Another chapter by Ceri Boston summarises the demography of the parish 1801–56, using a variety of sources. The population concerned could largely be characterised as upper middle class. Mortality curves plotted both from documentary sources and for the named sample from the crypt showed that only a very small proportion of the parishioners died in infancy. Socio-economic reasons for this are adduced. The status and occupation of named individuals were known and were divided into salient categories: the law, the church, the armed forces, politicians, bankers, tradesmen, physicians and surgeons, artists and — because of their location in Bloomsbury — principal librarians at the British Museum! Rich sources used included church memorials, parish records, wills, censuses, trade directories and death notices and obituaries. Sources for the cause of death in this population, perhaps surprisingly, show a minimum dying of tuberculosis, very few from smallpox and none from cholera (all of these against the trend for the period concerned).

In a parallel chapter, four osteologists describe their studies on human remains taken from the coffins. The triple-shelled coffins were very well preserved and 610 of them bore breastplates that gave the name and other details identifying the occupants. The authors boast that St George's is unparalleled in the proportion of named individuals in the total crypt population (in fact the named sample is as large as those of Christ Church Spitalfields and St Bride's Fleet Street, combined). Of this vast sample it is unfortunate that a mere 72 were chosen for full osteological analysis and a further 39 unidentified skeletons from the site were subjected to a form of analysis at lower resolution. No explanation is offered as to why this selection of only 111 to represent the site was made, except that all 111 came from damaged coffins. Were there unexpected financial constraints or did the team precipitately run out of post-excavation time? Neither, given the relatively large size of the bioarchaeological effort deployed, does the methodology described have any indication as to how the problem of inter-observer variation was tackled. The arbitrary nature of the sample studied, together with the relatively small sample size (considering what was potentially available), also risks the skewing of the quantitative results provided in the many tables, somewhat, so there is a need to treat them with caution. This consideration may provide an alternative explanation to those offered for the apparently anomalously high prevalences of dental caries and calculus. However, the dental studies are much advanced by the large number of dental prostheses encountered. The work of contemporary dentists and other practitioners complements the work done on the finds of denture and bridge work from Christ Church Spitalfields and Old St Pancras, London. A sub-sample of 52 named adults was used in the familiar task of evaluating methods for determining the sex and age of the deceased. Once again, sex estimation of the skeleton using pelvic morphology was found to be very reliable and also sexual dimorphic aspects of the skull were almost as useful as those of the

pelvis. Again it was found that the techniques available for ageing were responsible for under-ageing the deceased, compared with the documented age at death.

The volume ends with a chapter describing the coffin fittings and other finds. There is also a complete transcription of the coffin inscriptions. Surprisingly in a work of this sort the volume lacks an index.

The St George's project shares a disadvantage with other post-medieval excavation, namely that the skeletons were reburied rather than being retained for further study. In this case retention would have allowed the remedy of all the missing data to be retrieved. Also it would have reduced the pressure on the retained Christ Church and St Bride's samples for continuing research by providing a valid alternative. The quibbles apart, the St George's book is very attractively produced and at £12.99 is a bargain.

Bill White

Discovering London's Buildings, with Twelve Walks. By John Bold and Tanis Hinchcliffe. Frances Lincoln, 2009. Pp 248, 350 pls, 12 maps. ISBN 978 0 7112 2981 1. Price: £20.00 pb.

This is not a book for South Londoners. It is always amusing when reading a co-authored book to guess who wrote what, and here an added game is to suggest the areas in which Bold and Hinchcliffe live. I would suggest Finsbury Park for one and somewhere around Islington for the other, the point being that just as the most violent and miserable films about the capital are always set south of the river, this is a feel good exercise for North Londoners. The imbalance is less obvious in the twelve suggested walks — although ten of them are north of the river, Dr Bold has previously written on Greenwich and his commanding knowledge of that area shines through — than in the main text where detailed examples of Victorian and 20th-century suburban building are drawn consistently from Barnsbury and points north. A curious exception is the attention given to Bluewater, south of the river but not actually in London. Perhaps had Westfield been open when the book was written the balance might have shifted further.

This book is a visual delight and a thoroughly entertaining read. However, its audience must be limited. The essays that form its bulk, on specific London building types and open spaces, with introductory discussions on the history of conservation and on images of the capital in art, were clearly first intended for the authors' students. Lucky them, to be so expertly served! This is a work for those with a serious will to learn about London's history or architecture — but for the student; there is little that is new for those already in the know. That is, unless you want the assurance of a beautifully written and well designed compendium with many beautiful (and a few disappointing) photographs. I tested the Islington walk and found it very similar to those in the relevant Pevsner volume, but clearer to follow. The City-working chums who were my guinea pigs in this exercise were equally bemused by both tomes and had to be revived in the pub.

The chapter entitled 'Picturing London' in particular feels it was best suited to the lecture format, for even with the generous supply of illustrations, images discussed in some detail are not included here. Perhaps this was because so many would be needed but also, one suspects, due to copyright problems.

Detailed discussion of London's building stock begins with a survey of the leasehold house or, more usually, terrace, from the redevelopment of London after the Great Fire, cantering through John Nash and speculative development of the 1840s to discuss the Arts and Crafts Movement and Hampstead Garden Suburb. A surprisingly detailed coverage is given to public housing, the semi-detached suburban house and the Modern Movement, perhaps reflecting the enthusiasms of the authors' young regular audience as well as their own tastes. This is clearly evident in the chapter devoted to the London flat, which gives excellent overviews of philanthropic housing, private mansion flats and council dwellings. More succinct studies of the development of underground stations, shops, markets, pubs and board schools follow in the next chapter, grouped as 'Servicing London', where a surprising omission are the city's entertainment buildings. Sport is covered under 'Open Spaces', but theatres and cinemas are missing entirely.

Again, in 'Commercial London', the story of London's office buildings is charted

from the 17th century to the present day, concentrating on the development of the specialist building to serve insurance companies and banks from the early 19th century onwards and with an extended section on the post-War rebuilding of the City and on Canary Wharf. Greater grandeur appears belatedly in the chapter devoted to the buildings of the capital, not just the Houses of Parliament and Whitehall, but encompassing the National Gallery — given four whole pages — and British Museum, where discussion is concentrated on its modern extensions and the building of its offspring, the British Library. The balance of old and new, detail and overview, is particularly awkward in the coverage of these major buildings. The authors are on safer ground with London's churches, where a chronological survey through the Fifty New Churches, commissioners' churches and the Victorian Revival can be simply told, with non-conformist buildings and the 20th century relegated to a couple of paragraphs each.

An oddity in the concluding chapter, on open spaces, is a description of the Metropolitan Board of Works' scheme of sewers and pumping stations wedged between sections on parks (nicely illustrated with old postcards) and sport. The development of Arsenal Football Club gets another four pages, thus confirming the North London bias. But as Crystal Palace FC went into administration this week, maybe the authors are not the only ones to abandon South London. Nevertheless, the total absence of Crystal Palace Park is surely wrong.

Above all, London encompasses the whole story of English architecture since the Middle Ages, give or take the odd country house; the subject of the great houses and villas now enveloped by the capital is notably not covered here. There are fascinating side-tracks, for example on the history of escalators, and the stories of women fainting and men fighting on the crowded buses and trams that provided the only transport north-east of Finsbury Park until the Piccadilly Line extension was finally sanctioned around 1930. Most useful of all, perhaps, is the fabulous bibliography at the back.

This book is delightful, but there is plenty more of London to discover.

Elaine Harwood

Lived in London: Blue Plaques and the Stories Behind Them. Edited by Emily Cole. Yale University Press in association with English Heritage, 2009. Pp xvii + 637, 525 illus. ISBN 978 0 300 14871 8. Price: £40.00 hb.

Books about where famous people have lived (or sometimes worked) in London abound; I have identified 31 in my own library. They are constantly going out of date since more plaques are installed all the time — in my local Marchmont Street we have had four in the last two months. English Heritage is the official arbiter of the Blue Plaques; Emily Cole is head of their Blue Plaque Team and so is well fitted to edit this sumptuous volume, well up to the standard we have come to expect from Yale.

The book is much more than a simple reference book giving a few details of the life of the subject of each plaque. It gives a detailed biography of the subject at least up to the time he or she ceased living at the site with their works dated and the dates of associates' lives given. There are often details of who proposed the plaque and who unveiled it (since it has recently been the custom to make quite an event of unveilings); there are many new photographs by Derek Kendall and interesting old ones from a wide variety of sources to add interest to the biographical details. It is certainly far too large and heavy to carry around with you — the Shire publication *Discovering London Plaques* first published in 1999 is best for that task — but will reward you with plenty of information before and after your explorations.

There is a full introduction by the Editor on the history of the scheme and how it has been organised over the years. Here I would make one small carp, bemoaning a lack of self-editing, since in the 'Role of the Plaques' we get an incomplete summary of how the scheme started leaving several points unexplained, only to be followed by a fuller summary under the 'History of the Plaques', paraphrasing much of what had been said before (and admittedly providing the missing explanations).

Starting from a suggestion in Parliament in 1863, the plaque scheme was taken up by the Society of Arts with the support of the *Builder* magazine. The Society installed plaques until 1901 when the scheme was taken over

by the LCC; their baton was passed to the GLC with its wider area of interest, and after the GLC's demise English Heritage is now in charge. None of these bodies has a monopoly of plaques — many are erected by local associations and the City of London has its own scheme; the book only covers the Society of Arts/LCC/GLC/EH plaques, but does include those erected by special interest societies and adopted later into the official scheme, so not all the plaques included are the familiar blue circles.

The body of the book is divided into chapters covering individual districts of the inner London Boroughs, with Westminster occupying about as many pages as the runners-up, Kensington & Chelsea and Camden, put together. When a distinct location such as The Regent's Park straddles two boroughs, it is covered in a single chapter for convenience. Each chapter has a map showing street names clearly and the site of each plaque described in that chapter identified. Outside the old LCC area the plaques are sparse, since the scheme only extended this far when the GLC was formed in 1965; the outer London boroughs are therefore grouped into geographical areas for their chapters and Hillingdon has yet to record its history with a plaque.

The scheme has always been taken seriously and research has been carried out and the criteria considered by committee throughout. This research has enabled the present authors to make their entries both informative and enjoyable to read. The spirit of enthusiasm shines through, from that of the proposers of the plaques, of the home owners who agree to have the plaques on their walls, the researchers who check up on the people commemorated, the committee who approve the addition of a plaque to the scheme and the celebrities who come to unveil them — and not forgetting ourselves who appreciate a bit of history on our streets — and this book certainly helps us in that appreciation.

Roger Cline

The Lost Mansions of Mayfair. By Oliver Bradbury. Historical Publications Ltd, 2008. Pp 255, 231 illus. ISBN 978 1 905286 23 2. Price: £24.95 hb.

'Lost Mansions' is the title of Chapter 4, but the book covers demolished buildings other than mansions in this always fashionable part of London. Other chapters cover the houses in the main squares, Grosvenor, Berkeley and Hanover, the boundary streets of Piccadilly and Park Lane as well as churches and minor buildings. Each chapter has an introduction covering the general history of the area covered and then many of the lost buildings are described, usually with at least one illustration. The description covers the various occupants and the re-ordering they arranged before the building finally succumbed to the redeveloper or bombing.

Local history enthusiasts must now be familiar with the books of Historical Publications, well illustrated and with informative text which makes fairly light reading. This book is different, a seriously denser read along the lines of a doctoral thesis. The author comes from the team organising the Blue Plaques scheme, whose praises I have sung in another review in this issue, and his text is crammed full of facts and argument, so much so that it warrants being read with a notepad beside the book and being read several times over to assimilate all the information.

To give an example: the dustjacket of the book reproduces an 1818 drawing of a house on Park Lane with a balcony supported by caryatids. The book describes the building design as being worthy of Thomas Hope and thanks David Watkin for the information that Hope's brother (who made the drawing) moved into the house just before the drawing was made. Albert Richardson is taken to task for attributing to J B Papworth in his 1911 book on London Houses the addition of two storeys to the house and the unfortunate David Watkin is taken to task for repeating Richardson's statement in a 2008 book he edited on Thomas Hope without giving a source. Oliver Bradbury says that Papworth worked on the house next door, adding two storeys to *that* building, but he says he is unsure who did the design for the illustrated house, though it was probably based on a

drawing Hope made in the 1790s of caryatids in Athens.

In spite of these difficulties over fine points, the book can be enjoyed on a lighter level with its generous provision of illustrations ranging over many years of the lost buildings and buildings recently occupying their sites and stories of their well-heeled occupants. Two of these are Barney Barnato and the Sassoon family who successively owned 25 Park Lane, demolished in the 1960s for the Playboy Club. Barnato was from Whitechapel and a music-hall artist who made a fortune in Kimberley diamond mining; he sold his interests to Cecil Rhodes, receiving a cheque for £4million, reputedly the largest cheque ever made out at that time. The Duke of Westminster did not take kindly to Barnato and refused him land on which to build on the ground that he was a land speculator (the pot calling the kettle black?), so Barnato built on a site just outside the Grosvenor estate, and to make his point rented the sumptuous Spencer House, St James', during construction. The florid Park Lane house is shown in an illustration from *The Builder* of 1896. The Sassoon family had made a fortune from cotton and opium and Sir Edward Sassoon bought the house on Barnato's death, his wife, a Rothschild, decorating the house in French Rococco manner. In 1912, the house was inherited by Sir Philip Sassoon who turned it into a plutocrat's palace, using Philip Tilden who worked as architect for many Mayfair families (and also on Sir Philip's country estate at Trent Park, now used by Middlesex University). Tilden's *True Reminiscences* (1954) makes interesting reading about the same vanished world as the book under review — both recommended.

Roger Cline

Lost London 1870–1945. By Philip Davies. English Heritage and Transatlantic Press, 2009. Pp 368, numerous black and white illus. ISBN 978 0 955794 98 8. Price: £29.99 hb.

This substantial book full of haunting pictures will appeal to anyone interested in what London looked like fifty to a hundred years ago. The book presents between three and four hundred black and white unnumbered photographs, reproduced to an outstanding standard, with an average of three or four to a spread, many filling a whole page. In size and format, and in its shortage of references and, alas, of maps (apart from end papers with Booth's survey), this looks like a coffee table book. But it repays detailed scrutiny. It is a great benefit that nearly all the photos are closely dated, a large number dating from just before the First World War. The majority are from the records made by the Survey of London for the London County Council; their purpose was to record buildings and areas threatened with demolition. We are not told anything about the photographers and their aims, nor how the images published here were created. One deduces that they were made from scans of prints which English Heritage inherited after the abolition of the Greater London Council, rather than from the negatives held by the Metropolitan Archives (to which there is no cross-referencing). The size and clarity of the pictures make the smallest details legible — advertisements, casual onlookers, the coursing of the grimy brickwork, the neatly kerbed York stone pavements. These are not posed compositions; the fascinating human detail is incidental. The views with hatted loungers and pinnafored children gathered to watch the photographer, the chimney sweeper's barrow, the horses and carts and the crowded windows of the small shops, unremarkable to Edwardian contemporaries, open our eyes to the commonplaces of past life, as well as to the building fabric of the metropolis.

The introduction by Philip Davies provides a comprehensive sweep through the history of London's buildings and their inhabitants, with some illuminating comments, as one would expect from an author with long experience in English Heritage's London Division. He observes the surprising cleanliness of the streets, even in poor areas, the good quality road surfaces free from the clutter of transport signs (a particular interest which he has pursued through English Heritage's campaigns for better care of streets). His explanation for what he calls 'the cohesion of Georgian and early Victorian London' is that proportions were based on well established forms of measurements (a rod, 16ft 6in, was the common width of a workman's terrace

house). It is indeed the poorer areas which dominate this book, with their memorable images of gaunt ultra-plain brick terraces where proportion is all. But the photos also show that Edwardian London still had plenty of timber-framed, weatherboarded houses, as well as older jettied and gabled groups in places such as the High Streets of Aldgate and Southwark, and the notorious Holywell Street off the Strand. Holywell Street, and the area around Clare Market at the edge of Lincoln's Inn Fields, were swept away as part of the Strand and Kingsway improvements, and so feature largely, as do other areas threatened with wholesale redevelopment at the start of the 20th century. Nash's Regent Street and the picturesque alleys of Cloth Fair, Smithfield, are well known, less familiar are the wharves of Millbank prior to the Victoria Embankment, and the old houses of Savage Gardens which were demolished for the Port of London Authority's headquarters building on Tower Hill.

In most of the chapters, subjects are grouped topographically, in keeping with current interest in the particular character of localities. The book is particularly strong on the buildings of the artisan south and east, for example riverside Bermondsey, Rotherhithe and Wapping, all to be much altered by slum clearance from the 1920s onwards. The photographers here were ahead of their time in recording such quarters; the published volumes of the Survey only tackled Southwark and Lambeth in the 1950s, and then very selectively. Such photos enlarge our knowledge of the variety of smaller houses that existed in London, a subject pioneered in Peter Guillery's book on this subject (2004). The extreme end of the spectrum is demonstrated by the tiny one storey hovels of Kensal New Town, built for Irish labourers in the 1840s and demolished in 1911. In contrast, there are dignified early 19th-century buildings of high status that were discarded after less than a century, among them Smirke's General Post Office and Cockerell's excellent Westminster Insurance Office in the Strand. The last two chapters consist of photos taken between the Wars, a melancholy period for historic buildings, when so many great London mansions disappeared, and in the 1940s, when they record with great impact the tragic destruction of the Second World War.

The choice of subjects is selective and is largely of street views. We are not shown backyards, and there are only a few (though fascinating) glimpses of interiors. Because of the purpose of the photography this has to be a partial record; the relics of an older, more austere London, without the Victorian streets of Kensington, the City's major banks, or the suburbs' turn-of-the-century pubs. For more comprehensive coverage of major architecture it is still worth consulting Hermione Hobhouse's more analytical study, also called *Lost London* (1971), which arranges its subject matter by building type and draws on a wider range of sources. But the new volume is a memorable and valuable addition to books on London; Philip Davies and the publishers deserve our thanks for so perceptively introducing us to these splendid and thought-provoking images, in a form that does justice to their original creators.

Bridget Cherry

An Infinity of Things: How Sir Henry Wellcome Collected the World. By Frances Larson. Oxford University Press, 2009. Pp xiii + 343, 18 colour pls, 30 figs. ISBN 978 0 199554 46 1. Price: £18.00 hb.

The main title of this book refers to the eclectic nature of the tremendously broad scope of the collection of materials for a history of world medicine assembled by Sir Henry Wellcome (1853–1936). He was an American whose collecting was funded by the profits from the Burroughs-Wellcome drugs company, of which he was a senior partner. This book is less a biography of Wellcome the man and more the biography of a collection.

The author breaks her vast subject into four aspects of Wellcome's career, which she deals with in sequence. These are the earliest phase of his personal collecting during the 19th century, the expansion of the collection during the early 20th century (when he had the benefit of others collecting on his behalf), the ostensible culmination of the frenetic collecting, by the opening of the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum, then finally, the fate of the collection in Sir Henry's final years and beyond. Unfortunately this approach

makes the book rather unbalanced because of the relative paucity of reference material for Wellcome's early life, as compared to the huge level of documentation of his latter years. In fact, most of the book deals with him in old age. Wellcome's life-long aim was to fuel the great history of the 'art and science of healing', recognising that hundreds of books could be written on the subject. He was devoted to his pharmaceutical company and to collecting and either or both may have distracted him from planning marriage until the comparatively late age of 47, when he married Syrie Barnardo, the daughter of the well-known philanthropist and 25 years his junior. His new bride accompanied him on his worldwide collecting expeditions but it is clear that this was not to her liking. She did not share his passion for collecting and considered that his money be better spent upon her and their son. The marriage lasted only ten years then ended in divorce (possibly because of adultery on Syrie's behalf) and Sir Henry is said never to have spoken to her again.

As a partner in a private pharmaceutical company Wellcome had to divide his time between promoting the business, which provided the funding for expanding his collection, and (before and during his marriage) travelling throughout Europe and South America to continue collecting. However, as he grew older he concentrated more on the business of drugs (particularly their marketing and advertising), spending less time directly in collecting but living vicariously through a team of agents who now collected on his behalf. The team was led initially by Dr Charles Thompson, in whom Wellcome found a kindred spirit — highly acquisitive but determined to strike good bargains in his collecting of new objects, books or paintings despite almost unlimited funds. In later years he was diligent in seeking out the collections made by others. Buying an entire collection would often fill gaps in the Wellcome collection and Wellcome was not perturbed if these were accompanied by duplication of items. When collections of objects on the continent of Europe were being considered there was great concern to get in before the wealthy American rival collectors arrived (Wellcome became a British Citizen in 1910 and was knighted in 1932). In London auction houses he often had real competition for works of art. Thus, when the Hope Collection was auctioned at Christies in 1917 Wellcome was interested in ancient statues of Greek gods of medicine. However, with fellow bidders backed by the wealth of the likes of Gordon Selfridge, Henry Frick, J P Morgan, William Hesketh Lever and Sir Alfred Mond he managed to out-bid them all for a single lot only.

Ostensibly, Wellcome's collection was to be exhibited in a museum. However, this is the one area in which he prevaricated. It was never possible to declare the collection complete, so when could he stop collecting and concentrate on displaying what he had amassed. Therefore when the Wellcome Historical Medical Museum eventually opened in Wigmore Street, London, in 1913, it was already some ten years behind schedule. Even then Wellcome seemed ambivalent about what he had created. He intended his establishment to be less like the Hunterian Museums and more akin to the anthropological collections in the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford, or the Horniman Museum, Forest Hill. On the other hand, all members of the medical profession were to be made welcome as visitors, at the expense of the vulgar public. Initially it was impossible for any member of the public to gain admission unless his path had been smoothed by a letter of introduction by a physician. The term 'his' is used advisedly because women were not admitted at all unless actually accompanied by a doctor!

Meanwhile, although his collecting teams remained enthusiastic, those responsible for unpacking, labelling, conserving, recording and cataloguing the collected items were very unhappy with the 'chaos' that they encountered daily. The new acquisitions of objects and books accumulated much faster than they could possibly be processed. Sir Henry Wellcome was very good at everything to which he turned his hand but as a collector he went well beyond what was prudent or manageable. His final acts were to construct the iconic building in Euston Road in 1931–2 as the Wigmore Street accommodation had become far too small. It was to contain his Museum of Medical Science on the ground floor, with the Historical Medical Museum relocated to its next floor up (as yet there was still no room for the internationally important

Wellcome Library). The subsequent history of this building and the Wellcome Collection lies outside this book and involves ruthless rationalisation of the collection, disposal of duplicated items and refocusing of scientific research, with increased public access and the growth of the magnificent Wellcome Trust.

Bill White

Finchley Memorial Hospital: the First Century 1908–2008. By Dorrell Dressekie. Friern Barnet and District Local History Society, 2008. Pp 79, 30 illus. ISBN 978 0 956044 80 8. Price: £10.00 pb. Available from the Hospital or the Society, c/o 96 Ashurst Road, Friern Barnet, London N12 9AB.

In 2008 the Finchley Memorial Hospital in Granville Road, North Finchley, celebrated its 100th birthday. When he opened it, as Finchley Cottage Hospital, Ebenezer Holman, the main benefactor, paid tribute to the local people who he said had made up their minds that the hospital should be built and went about it with a will. One hundred years later the chairman of the Friern Barnet and District Local History Society, writing a preface to Dorrell Dressekie's book, said: 'It is fascinating to look back on those early days when the residents of Finchley and the surrounding area fought long and hard for something that meant so much to them and it is heartening that in the modern era the work of the hospital has been praised by the upper echelons of the National Health Service.' Praise indeed came from the chair of the Barnet Primary Care Trust but what the book does not say is that the chair of the PCT had previously unveiled plans to redevelop the site and do away with the old buildings.

Dorrell Dressekie's book, published to coincide with the celebrations, provides a concise and readable history of the hospital from its foundation to the present day. It describes the first meetings of local residents in 1904 and the opening of the original hospital, with 18 beds, which was initially paid for and supported by voluntary subscriptions, not the least from a Working Men's Cottage Hospital Fund. Following the war in 1914–18 an extension was added that also formed a memorial to those who lost their lives in the conflict; on completion of the work in 1922 the hospital was renamed Finchley Memorial Hospital. A private wing was opened in 1933 and there were 124 beds by 1977. Under the National Health Service Act of 1948 the voluntary system of hospitals was abolished and the hospital was absorbed into North West Metropolitan Regional Hospital Board group of hospitals. But Finchley Memorial Hospital retained its unique identity largely due to the work of the National League of Hospital Friends; The League of Friends of Finchley Hospitals, formed in 1957, eventually became the Friends of Finchley Memorial Hospital in 1979.

The original hospital buildings, still standing in 2009, survived the successive NHS modernisations to provide accommodation for a thriving local hospital. Dorrell Dressekie provides numerous examples of memories, views and comments, showing how well supported the hospital was and still is. This oral history record is complemented by pictures of the 27 historic plaques within the hospital that record many of the subscriptions, endowments and donations that supported the hospital before 1948. In much the same way that the 1922 wing was a memorial to the men who died in the War, so the old buildings and the historic plaques are a monument to the local people who worked together to build and support the hospital through years of war, hardship, and change. In light of the proposals to redevelop the whole site for a new hospital, Dorrell Dressekie's book is important in preserving the history of the hospital which is in danger of being forgotten when the buildings disappear.

John Hinshelwood

Camden History Review No. 32. Edited by David A Hayes. Camden History Society, 2008. Pp 36. ISBN 0 904491 76 0. Price: £5.95 pb. Available from the Society, c/o Mrs J Ramsay, Garden Flat, 62 Fellows Road, London NW3 3LJ.

This annual *Review* was the winner of the 2009 LAMAS Local History Publication Award. The *Review* is a very professional publication as we have learnt to expect from the Camden team. It contains six articles, mainly about people who, if not native to Camden, chose to live in the borough.

The first article is 'Drs John Radcliffe, Hans Sloane and Richard Mead: natural sagacity and natural sciences in Bloomsbury'. These doctors came to medicine at an exciting time, the dawn of the Enlightenment, when natural science and detailed observation were replacing knowledge of ancient texts in medical practice. Peter Woodford states his aims: 'to evoke a sense of their vivid intellectual and social life', to analyse why they were so successful so young, and to describe their legacy. Finally, he suggests why Radcliffe and Sloane are so well-known to us whilst Mead is almost forgotten. All three men achieved great wealth. Radcliffe invested massively in property, which eventually financed building the Radcliffe Camera, Radcliffe Infirmary and Radcliffe Observatory. Sloane and Mead both assembled huge collections. Sloane left his to the nation to found the British Museum, whilst Mead's art collection was auctioned, eventually, much of it being acquired by the Museum but without the Mead name.

Staying with medicine, the advancement of women in medicine during the Great War is recounted in 'The Women's Hospital Corps and Endell Street Military Hospital'. The little known Women's Hospital Corps was founded in Paris by Drs Flora Murray and Louisa Garrett Anderson, militant suffragists, and former associates of Mrs Pankhurst. When War Office policy changed to one of treating casualties at home, the WHC returned to London to run the military hospital in Endell Street under the umbrella of the War Office, in spite of hostility from many military personnel. Though Murray wrote a book about their activities, no other records survive and the writer has pieced together her story from contemporary newspapers and nursing journals, plus recently discovered family papers and diaries of WHC members and patients which recorded daily routine with its frustrations. Suffrage work continued, with weekly lectures by Drs Anderson and Murray on women's rights: many staff wore suffrage badges on their uniforms and the slogan, 'Deeds not Words' was painted over the proscenium of the hospital stage. Dr Anderson had earlier written to her mother that they were 'doing suffrage work — or women's work — in another form'. The war had started with women doctors hardly allowed to practise medicine, especially upon men. When Endell Street Hospital closed it could no longer be claimed to be inappropriate for women to practise.

Other articles featured in this issue are: 'Henry Walter Bates: explorer, Darwinian geographer and family man'; 'Perkins & Co: four generations of steam and heat engineers in Camden'; 'Howard Candler: schoolmaster, educationalist and polymath'; and, '100 years of the Kingsway Tram Subway'. The *Review* is fully illustrated with well-reproduced black and white images. I don't like its four-column layout, but this is a personal opinion. The publication is a credit to Camden History Society and a worthy prize-winner.

Graham Javes

Ruislip, Northwood & Eastcote Local History Society Journal 2008. Ruislip, Northwood & Eastcote Local History Society, 2008. Pp ii + 48, 9 figs. Price: £4.00 excl p&p, pb. Available from the Society, Mrs S Toms, 3 Elmbridge Close, Ruislip, Middlesex HA4 7XA.

This is the annual collection of research by members of Ruislip, Northwood & Eastcote Local History Society. Though it deals with a relatively recently developed suburban area, unlike the prize-winning Camden History Society, which covers an area much richer in historical people, buildings and organisations, often of national interest, the work of RNELHS researchers is no less interesting and competent.

The topics in the *RNELHS Journal* 2008 include an Iron Age site, church fabric, a prolific early Victorian criminal, the heart-stopping Olympic marathon of 1908, and post-War aviation disasters. This edition also has title and keyword indexes to all its articles since inception in 1978. The newsletter is incorporated, with the annual programme, accounts of outings, and occasional obituary or book review. It is well printed on glossy paper, which does the illustrations proud and makes them so much more useful, as well as attractive, than is often the case these days.

Pat Clarke

Hornsey Past: Crouch End, Muswell Hill, Hornsey. By Steven Denford. Historical Publications, 2008. Pp 160, 157 illus. ISBN 978 1 905286 27 0. Price: £17.95 hb.

This is another book in the 'Past' series by Historical Publications with its trademark clear, clean layout. The old parish of Hornsey was divided into the Highgate Side (dealt with in another volume in this series) and Hornsey Side, the subject of this book, covering Crouch End, Muswell Hill and Hornsey. The area is now part of the London Borough of Haringey. Steven Denford guides the reader through the centuries from its appearance as Haring in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle in AD 603 (with a backward glance at some prehistory) through its transformation from a group of rural settlements to the Victorian/Edwardian suburb, still recognisable, despite post-Second World War building and social change. The area's historical development follows the typical pattern of the Middlesex uplands, gradual clearance of the wood and commons that covered half the land in medieval times, first becoming pasture, then meadow to provide hay for London, and eventually, following the coming of the railways, being covered by houses and shops.

We learn of the Bishop of London's manor, its sub-manors, the nuns at Kilburn Priory, and the story of the Mousewell or Mus well. The old parish church of St Mary, dating from the 13th century, was in Hornsey village, but only the tower remains on the original site, after two rebuildings. Rural retreats were built in the parish by Londoners, like Ranulf Cholmley, Recorder of London, who probably built the moated Brick Place in the mid-16th century. Later gentlemen erected villas and interesting inhabitants and visitors included Guiseppe Mazzini.

Arguably, Alexandra Palace, at Muswell Hill, is Hornsey's best-known feature, if only because of its association with the first regular public TV service in the world from 1936 until the BBC left for the White City in 1981. This 'phoenix of North London' has had an unlucky history, being burned down only 16 days after its official opening by Queen Victoria on Saturday 24 May 1873. Rebuilt (but with water tanks in the four corner towers) and reopened in 1875, it contained an enormous Great Hall seating 12,000 people, a theatre, concert room, art gallery, museum, lecture hall, library and banqueting room. Between 1876 and 1900 it had eight different managements and went into liquidation five times. It served as an internment camp in the First World War and as a refugee camp during both World Wars. In 1980 it was again wrecked by fire. Reopened in 1988 it now stages exhibitions, conferences, music and live events, and still dominates its surroundings.

The plentiful illustrations bring 'Hornsey Past' to life before our eyes.

Eileen Bowlt

Hornsey Historical Society Bulletin 49 (2008). Edited by Albert Pinching. Hornsey Historical Society, 2008. Pp 41, numerous illus. ISSN 0955 8071. Price: £5.00 pb. Available from the Society, The Old School House, 136 Tottenham Lane, Hornsey, London N8 7EL.

Lucky the Local History Society Newsletter editor who finds a topic of more than local interest — Hornsey's editor has struck gold with an article of international interest in the *Bulletin 49*. As well as articles on a local photographic archive, the boundaries of South Hornsey, Scouting's beginnings in the area and various smaller items of local interest, the magazine includes a fascinating collection of watercolours and an account of their artist — a young German, who came to London in 1910 as a commercial artist, but was interned in 1915 in the camp at Alexandra Palace. He spent most of his time painting his surroundings and keeping a journal, and the account of his, and another 2,800 internees', life there is brought to vivid life through these illustrations. The originals are now with the Imperial War Museum — congratulations to the author Nick McCormick for bringing them to our attention.

Ann Hignell

Fifteen books were submitted for the Annual LAMAS Local History Publications Award in 2009. The winner, *Camden History Review 32 (2008)*, together with *Finchley Memorial Hospital: the First Century 1908–2008, Hornsey Historical Society Bulletin 49 (2008)*, and *Ruislip, North-wood and Eastcote Journal 2008* are reviewed above; a brief summary of the remaining eleven follows.

Tin Hats, Doodle Bugs & Food Rations: Memories of Acton in World War 2. By Maureen Colledge. Acton History Group, 2008. Pp 84, many illus. ISBN 978 0 955234 30 9. Price not stated, pb. Available from the Group, c/o Miss P Austin, 10 Northfields Road, Acton, London W3 0NN.

This is a good introduction for younger readers, showing how Acton coped with the War, with many first-hand memories recorded.

Trawling for Treasures: 80 Years of Barnet's Local History. By Dr Gillian Gear. Barnet District Local History Society, 2008. Pp x + 179, 106 illus, incl 3 maps. ISBN 078 0 955040 11 5. Price: £10.00 pb. Available from the Society, Barnet Museum, 31 Wood Street, Barnet, Herts EN5 4BW.

A collection of interesting extracts from the Society's *Journal* and the local press over the last 80 years.

Nesta Caiger: a Tribute, Dancer to Digger. By Sheila Schaar. Bexley Archaeological Group, 2008. Pp 24, 21 illus. Price not stated, pb. Available from the Group, c/o Mrs S Noble, 20 Naseby Court, The Crescent, Sidcup DA 14 6NN.

A brief biography of Nesta, who trained as a dancer, and her husband John, both keen local archaeologists.

George Morland: a London Artist in Eighteenth-century Camden. By Marian Kamlish, edited by David A Hayes. Camden History Society, 2008. Pp 136, 133 illus. ISBN 978 0904491 74 6. Price: £11.95 pb. Available from the Society, c/o Mrs J Ramsay, Garden Flat, 62 Fellows Road, London NW3 3LJ.

This thorough and well-referenced account of the London life of George Morland (1763–1804) includes many contemporary quotes together with the author's original research. It includes a useful chronology of his life, a topographical account of Camden at the period, and an extensive list of sources.

Streets East of Bloomsbury: a Survey of Streets, Buildings and Former Residents in a Part of Camden. Edited by Steven Denford and David A Hayes. Camden History Society, 2008. Pp 128, 35 illus, 5 maps. ISBN 978 0 904491 73 9. Price: £7.95 pb. Available from the Society, c/o Mrs J Ramsay, Garden Flat, 62 Fellows Road, London NW3 3LJ.

A reissue of a book first published in 1998. The usual fact-filled publication, with ten walks between Woburn Place and Kings Cross Road.

Enfield and the Transatlantic Slave Trade. Edited by Valerie Munday. Edmonton Hundred Historical Society, published by Enfield Museum Service, 2008. Pp 109, numerous illus. ISBN 0 906076 02 1. Price not stated, pb. Available from the Society, c/o Local Studies (Local History), Thomas Hardy House, 39 London Road, Enfield, Middlesex EN2 6DS.

A well-illustrated booklet produced for an exhibition marking the 200th anniversary of the abolition of the transatlantic slave trade. It shows various, sometimes tenuous, connections with people of Enfield.

Coal and Calico: Letters and Papers of the Bennett and Leach Families of Merton and Wandsworth. Edited by Judith Goodman. Merton Historical Society, 2008. Pp 199, 47 illus, 8 maps and plans. ISBN 978 1 903899 55 7. Price not stated, pb. Available from the Society, c/o Mrs S Harris, 100 Cannon Hill Lane, London SW20 9ET.

An edited transcript of a collection of family papers and letters, first made in 1897–98, detailing the history of the two families. It gives a useful account of Merton Abbey works.

Arnos Grove and the Walker Family: Book 1, Isaac Walker the Founder of the Family at Arnos Grove. By Ruby Galili. Southgate District Civic Trust, 2008. Pp 72, 40 illus, 4 maps. ISBN 978 0 905494 09 8. Price not stated, pb. Available from the Trust, Mr A Palmar, 5 Tintern Gardens, Southgate, London N14 6AS.

Isaac Walker, linen draper and Quaker, bought Arno's (or Arnold's) Grove in 1777. This is the first part of a detailed history of both his family and the estate.

The History of Sunbury's Pubs. By Nick and Sue Pollard. Sunbury and Shepperton Local History Society, 2008. Pp 78, 33 illus, 1 map. ISBN 0 905178 17 3. Price not stated, pb. Available from the Society, c/o Mrs C Harris, 22 Crofton Close, Ottershaw, Surrey KT16 0LR.

Illustrated histories of all pubs known to have existed in Sunbury, with much interesting information given on the brewing trade.

The Streets of Battersea; their Names and Origins. By Keith Bailey. Wandsworth Historical Society, 2008. Pp 74, 1 map. ISBN 978 0 905121 21 5. Price not stated, pb. Available from the Society, c/o Miss J Smith, 16 Crowborough Road, London SW17 9QQ.

A useful research tool, giving the derivation of all the street names in Battersea.

The Kingsbury Swimming Pool Story: an Illustrated History. By Phillip Grant. Wembley History Society, 2008. Pp 12, 11 illus, 1 map. Price not stated, pb. Available from the Society, Mrs P Carter, 84 Kingsbury Road, London NW9 0AX.

A brief but fascinating history of the Pool from its inauguration in 1937 to its much regretted closure in 1988. The site is now grassed and levelled, with only a few bumps to show its previous use.

Ann Hignell and Cathy Ross