

## REVIEWS

*Queen Mary's Hospital Carshalton: An Iron Age and Early Romano-British Settlement*. By Andrew B Powell. Wessex Archaeology Occasional Paper, 2017. Pp viii + 102, 43 figs, 19 tables. ISBN 978 1 874350 94 1. Price £15 pb.

The Late Bronze Age ringwork at Queen Mary's Hospital Carshalton has been known since the early years of the last century and is one of the largest of a diverse class of earthworks gathered under the term 'aggrandised enclosure'. Whatever role(s) it originally fulfilled, the Carshalton ringwork surely comprised a key element within the local/regional late prehistoric settlement pattern, an importance also reflected in its scheduling as an Ancient Monument. Furthermore, since the 1980s it has become increasingly clear that following its fall from use the site went on to provide the focus for considerable Iron Age and Romano-British settlement activity, and it is this later element of the archaeological sequence – lying some 100m downslope to the north-west of the abandoned ringwork – that forms the subject of the report under review.

Area excavation by Wessex Archaeology revealed large numbers of features, principally chalk-cut pits and enclosure ditches, together with a single roundhouse represented by an eaves-drip gully and several post-built structures. Ground reduction and levelling during the construction of the Edwardian and later hospital buildings had almost certainly removed other shallower features. The pottery sequence suggested that activity spanned the Early Iron Age to the early Romano-British period, 'possibly without any substantial break'. This lengthy occupancy inevitably resulted in the mixing of finds in some contexts, which introduced additional difficulties in phasing partly alleviated by a series of eighteen radiocarbon dates.

ated by a series of eighteen radiocarbon dates.

The earliest phase of activity comprised a seemingly unenclosed Early/Middle Iron Age settlement represented by the roundhouse and an adjacent four-post structure, as well as a single foetus/neonate burial and a series of large pits. This was succeeded by a sequence of sub-rectangular ditched enclosures, the earliest of which (enclosures 1 and 2a) were dated to the end of the Middle Iron Age, c.100 BC. These were subsequently modified in the Late Iron Age, around the turn of the millennium (enclosures 2b, 3 and 4), while further alterations and additions were made in the early Romano-British period, extending the occupancy of the site down into the 2nd century AD (enclosures 2c and 6). Like the open settlement that preceded them all three phases of enclosure were associated with the digging, use and eventual infilling of deep chalk-cut storage pits, many containing substantial pottery and animal bone assemblages – some appearing to have been deliberately selected and carefully arranged at strategic points within the pit-fill cycles.

Several of these Middle/Late Iron Age and early Romano-British pits produced notable groups of finds. The secondary and tertiary fills of cylindrical pit 3341 contained a series of animal bone groups (ABGs), for example, including a complete raven and two dogs (ABGs 60 and 61) arranged to suggest the act of mating. Three radiocarbon dates on the various ABGs were statistically consistent and sequential in age, and indicate a slow fill-cycle spanning the 2nd–1st century BC, which also provides a useful indication of the currency of the East Sussex grog-tempered jars from primary fill 3749 (wrongly marked 3249 on fig 2.7). A small briquetage vessel

from the upper pit-fill is a welcome addition to the regional record too. Deep pit 4376/3174 appeared to have been re-cut in the early Roman period and produced large numbers of ABGs (dominated by sheep, but including three dogs, two domestic fowl and another raven from the recut) together with evidence of early Roman iron working in the form of hammerscale, slag and a dozen smithing hearth bottoms locally matched by others from Purberry Shot in Ewell. Perhaps the most eye-catching of these assemblages, however, is that placed within Middle/Late Iron Age shallow sub-rectangular (grave-shaped?) pit 3998, whose fill incorporated an iron set hammer, a decorated spearhead and a single nave hoop from a wheel axle along with a bundle of birch bark tar and twisted fibres, some or all of which may have been deposited in a large, possibly deliberately smashed jar. Andrew Fitzpatrick makes a compelling case for these objects representing a *pars pro toto* assemblage of a type better known from Late Iron Age burials in continental Europe.

This slim and attractive volume is an important addition to the regional record. The careful treatment of the various finds assemblages takes up some three-quarters of the volume, and justifiably so – for few comparable assemblages of this date and diversity are available for the region. The pottery, metal objects, and the animal, human and plant assemblages are each of special interest and broach wider questions – not least the nature of the motivations likely to have underpinned the deposits contained within the pit-fills, a feature noted on other settlements of the period both within this area of North Downs chalk and beyond. It is surely right to see these as examples of mundane magic, representing practical quotidian appeals to supernatural chthonic forces – the landward flipside perhaps of offerings made to the region's rivers and springs.

The importance of the finds assemblages is further enhanced by the sequence of radiocarbon dates which have been subjected to modern statistical analysis by Alistair Barclay. For, with the impending publication of other closely dated Bayesian sequences from the Middle Bronze Age flat grave cremation cemetery at the Western International Market Site in Hayes, and

the Early/Middle Iron Age open settlement at Stockley Park, Dawley, we now have the makings of an independently-dated regional pottery sequence that effectively spans much of the later prehistoric period.

*Jon Cotton*

*First Stop North of Londinium: The Archaeology of Roman Enfield and its Roadside Settlement.* By Martin J Dearne with Geoffrey Gilliam and Roger Dormer. Enfield Archaeological Society, 2017. Pp 342, 165 figs including colour plates, 16 tables. ISBN 978 0 9501877 8 5. Price £30 pb.

Enfield Archaeological Society (EAS) are to be commended for the quantity and quality of their fieldwork, its analysis and extremely detailed publication. This volume covers antiquarian discoveries, fieldwork carried out within the locality of Enfield before EAS was established in 1955 and their own archaeological investigations carried out until 2011, plus 2012–13 MOLA fieldwork at Leighton Road. The volume includes 30 archaeological investigations (some of which have multiple addresses and phases of fieldwork), plus seven burial sites and various stray finds. The 1974–6 fieldwork at Lincoln Road (published in *Trans LAMAS* 28, 1977, 101–89) has also been reappraised. As many of these investigations consist of 'keyhole' trenches dug within suburban back gardens their results are best likened to individual pieces of a large jigsaw. Only when they are considered collectively can facets like the spatial extent of the Roman settlement, its dating, the variety of features and structures present, plus the diverse range of finds and craft activities all be considered. As this particular Roman settlement was extensively built over during the 19th and early 20th centuries, the usual settlement survey techniques like aerial photography, field-walking, geophysics or LIDAR are useless in this suburban environment, so small scale archaeological work carried out in numerous locations is the most practical means of investigation. Two back garden investigations were conducted as research excavations, but the vast majority of the fieldwork was carried out in advance of small scale redevelopment, such as house extensions.

The main focus of the anonymous Roman settlement at Enfield was within the Bush Hill Park area. It was established during the Flavian period along the western side of Ermine Street. As Enfield was the first nucleated settlement of any size, travellers leaving Londinium and journeying almost 10 Roman miles (14.8km) northwards along this arterial road would have encountered it and the settlement was conveniently placed to have perhaps served either as a *mansio* (official accommodation) or a *mutatio* (post house). The reused ceramic building materials present include a range of roofing and hypocaust forms. These finds hint at the presence of (undiscovered) substantial buildings and possibly a bathhouse within the locality. The combination of a government (*cursus publicus*) run roadside facility and the opportunity to supply travellers with food stuffs, animal fodder, stabling and accommodation could have provided the stimulus for the development of a local market centre. Crop processing is evidenced by the discovery of corn dryers and quern stones. The presence of two ovens provides evidence of food production. Some animal bones showed signs of butchery and there were traces of cattle horn core working. There was also evidence of small-scale metal working in the form of copper alloy and iron (smithing?) slag, plus some possible lead working debris. Finds of three styli, a lead steelyard weight and a probable lead pan balance weight are all indicative of commercial transactions. The presence of a lynch pin (probably used to secure a wooden wheel to an axle), hippo-sandals and various fragments of harness fittings provide evidence of transportation.

Over time the settlement expanded. This expansion probably consisted of ribbon development delineated by a series of ditched enclosures. Activity continued until the second half of the 4th century and the discovery of a Germanic style copper alloy buckle dated to c.AD 360–400 is indicative of the presence of military or paramilitary personnel. An early 4th-century hoard of at least 300 coins, plus other finds including amphorae, a statuette possibly of Bacchus, an elaborately decorated glass jug (Fig 1), a millefiori decorated brooch, an enigmatic miniature hippo-sandal, an iron



*Fig 1. Fragmentary yellow-brown, long necked, glass jug with a ribbed decoration and a discoid body, height 198mm, it was manufactured during c.AD 60–125, probably either in Northern France or the Rhineland. The jug was recovered from the backfill of a pit [F49] or possibly a cremation burial at Lincoln Road, Enfield (SW76), dated to c.AD 130–200 (copyright: Enfield Museum Service; photographer Trevor Springett)*

tripod candlestick and a lead coffin are all suggestive of a settlement with a certain level of material wealth, implying that Roman Enfield was more than a cluster of roadside farmsteads. It must have possessed one or more other service functions: determining what these were is the next challenge for EAS.

*Bruce Watson*

*Outside Roman London: Roadside Burials by the Walbrook Stream.* By Serena Ranieri and Alison Telfer. Museum of London Archaeology for Crossrail, 2017. Pp. xix + 228, 129 figs, 16 tables and further tables online. ISBN 978 1 907586 44 6. Price £10.00 pb.

This volume is part of the hugely impressive Crossrail Archaeology series, produced with

amazing speed by the Museum of London Archaeology (MOLA) team. The excavation was only completed in September 2015, and to have this well-crafted, designed and edited volume in print just two years later is a great achievement. The excavations themselves were a pressured affair, with two teams of up to 30 archaeologists working in shifts between 7am and 11pm, six days a week, to deliver the project within the available timescale of civic infrastructure programme. Urban archaeology is often a tension between access and timing, more so than even funding, and Crossrail highlighted many of these challenges and the fantastic archaeological response to them.

The publication reflects a wealth of archaeological material, and some excellent specialist inputs, including some particularly important contributions from human osteology and environmental sciences. After a general introduction and a discussion of the topography (Chs 1 & 2), the report focuses on the complex Roman sequence, with an overview (Ch 3), followed by a discussion of the Walbrook (Ch 4), the Roman road (Ch 5) and the cemetery (Ch 6). This is then followed by an extended discussion of the disarticulated human bone, in particular the skulls (Ch 7), and discursive chapters conclude with a discussion of the Moorfields Marsh and its formation up to c.AD 1000 (Ch 8). There are then a series of specialist appendices (Ch 9), which support the excellent integration of paleo-environmental, osteological, material culture and scientific dating within the main narrative.

Generally, the discussion and presentation are excellent. There is extremely important material here, with some splendid data, making a significant contribution to our understanding of the development of the area. Notable is the important geoarchaeological material, and the impressive range of material culture and osteological evidence in the specialist appendices, well integrated into the main chapters. Indeed, there is exemplary multi-disciplinary work evidenced throughout the publication (although see authorship, below).

In the discussion of the disarticulated human bone, including the human skulls (Ch 7), however, the discussion could have

been developed further. This chapter argues that these are the product of wash-out from upstream cemeteries and while the evidence is interesting, it is not compelling: the structured deposition of some of the skulls, for example set along open ditches, and the complex depositional contexts of the material (for example, an articulated human arm found in the open, not in a grave cut or pit, in an area with no river-lain sediments and about 0.5m above the upper bank of the river), makes it difficult to see how all of this material was deposited by water action alone. In addition, the cemetery evidence (Ch 6) included three decapitation burials, which, along with another from the area (C Harward, N Powers, & S Watson *The Upper Walbrook Valley Cemetery of Roman London: Excavations at Finsbury Circus, City of London, 1987–2007*, MOLA Monograph Series 69 (2015), 94–5), argues for more complex interpretations and the discussion required a greater engagement with alternative debates. Katie Tucker's recent analysis of peri-mortem decapitation burials ('The osteology of decapitation burials from Roman Britain: a post-mortem burial rite?' in C Knüsel & M J Smith (eds) *The Routledge Handbook of the Bioarchaeology of Human Conflict*, London (2013), 213–36) offers an important alternative picture, while a brief footnoted reference to Dominic Perring's paper on a possible Hadrianic rebellion ('London's Hadrianic War?', *Britannia* 48 (2017), 37–76) needed to be engaged with, rather than ignored. Perring's suggestion that the area north of London's *pomerium* may have been a Hadrianic war massacre site, with at least *some* of the Walbrook skulls being trophy heads, combined with the later disposal of *noxii*, perhaps as part of an execution ground, argues for a complex utilisation of this wet place at the edge of the urban *pomerium*; a more nuanced view of this liminal area.

There is limited acknowledgement of authorship in the volume, with only the main contributors cited and the rest of the contributions listed as specialist inputs: even the specialist appendices are not directly attributed in the section titles. Publications not only need to reflect the teamwork that goes in to the work, showing who was engaged in the various sections, but importantly who contributed to the conclusions drawn. For example, the discussion of the disarticulated

skeletal material must have been a product of collaborative debate, but anyone citing this will probably only cite as Ranieri and Telfer 2017. This promotes the poor academic referencing that has crept into many recent publications, where principal authors are cited as if they contributed all the material and ideas, even when there is clear authorship of chapters. It is not clear if this is a Crossrail editorial decision, as MOLA have been assiduous in citing inputs in a contributor section but also specifically ascribing authorship to appendices. However, joint authorship, in the multiple style of preeminent journals such as *Nature*, would benefit the collaborative team working of archaeology.

The publication is very well illustrated, in the now customary MOLA style, with clear figures and an excellent use of colour throughout. It differs slightly from the normal MOLA monograph in that it moves away from the conventional A4 format to the slightly less useful A5 format; I presume because Crossrail wanted to make their reports look different from the MOLA series, and perhaps, in part, as some of the Crossrail series are meant to appeal to a wider audience than the conventional academic monograph. While this report still reads as a conventional detailed exposition of the archaeological evidence, which is excellent, elsewhere Crossrail have tried to produce outputs aimed at a wider audience: notably J Keily (*Tunnel: The Archaeology of Crossrail* (2017)). So much of the material in *Outside Roman London* is truly outstanding and it would also merit a synthesis which could reach out to a much wider audience.

Tim Williams

*Roman Britain: the Frontier Province, Collected Papers.* By Mark Hassall. The Hobnob Press, 2017. Pp xvi + 291, 29 figs, 7 tables. ISBN 978 1 906978 42 6. Price £18 hb.

This attractive collection of papers celebrates Mark Hassall's considered contribution to Romano-British scholarship by reprinting twenty articles from a diverse range of original publications, spanning a 40-year period from 1970 to 2010. The papers are arranged in four thematic sections: addressing the early

military history of the province, the frontiers, provincial government and society, and later military history. Each draws on epigraphic evidence to shed light on the history and institutions of Roman Britain. Brisk updating commentary has been appended to acknowledge major new work, typographical errors are corrected, referencing has been harmonised, and there is the welcome bonus of a consolidated bibliography and general index. Otherwise, however, the texts are presented as first published. As a consequence, each chapter is a product of the time of its writing. Anyone using this book should take careful note of the date of the original publication and recognise the likely impact of more recent scholarship. This is a necessary and important warning given the pace of new research. Fortunately, the quality of the original research means that there is still plenty of useful and stimulating reading to be found here.

Readers of this journal will be pleased to find that Roman London is the principle concern of three of the papers reprinted. A short essay on Roman soldiers in London considers the likely pattern of army secondment to the provincial administration and to serve with the governor. This was a highly influential contribution when it was first published in 1973, and it still repays attention. Those who are seriously interested in this topic should, however, start with MH's comprehensive review of London's likely 2nd-century garrison published in John Shepherd's 2012 monograph on *The Discovery of the Roman Fort at Cripplegate* (MOLA). This more recent essay is perhaps the most glaring omission from the volume.

A chapter on London as a provincial capital, reprinted from the 1996 collection of papers in memory of Hugh Chapman, offers a wider ranging review of London's role in provincial government. Here we are reminded of major changes to the political status of the town in later antiquity, when the province of Britain was divided into first two and then four separate administrations. In the 4th century London had regained importance as the seat of the *vicarius* of the diocese of the Britains. The third paper with an explicit focus on the archaeology of Roman London offers less of substance. In exploring London's role as a place of education MH explores some

general probabilities and possibilities, given the absence of any useful primary evidence from London itself.

Matters of interest to students of Roman London are introduced in several of the other chapters in this book, and are easily followed-up through recourse to the general index. Those that most reward attention include a review of epigraphic evidence for trade between Britain and the Rhine provinces, drawing chiefly on the evidence of the altars set up by traders with Britain at Domburg and Colijnsplaat, and two chapters that consider the *Notitia Dignitatum* as a source for Britain in the 4th and early 5th centuries AD. Troops attached to the *Comes Britanniae* are likely to have been stationed in the late 4th-century diocesan capital, begging interesting questions as to how both their presence and eventual departure might have affected London in its final decades.

*Dominic Perring*

*Pudding Pan: A Roman Shipwreck and its Cargo in Context*, by Michael Walsh. British Museum Research Publication 202, 2017. Pp iv + 189, 92 figs, 75 plates, 19 tables. ISBN 978 0 86159 202 9. Price £40 hb.

This is an unusual piece of work: it is a report on an underwater archaeological site (or, more probably, more than one) that has never been accurately located, whose finds are dispersed into some '28 museums and other public institutions, and in nine private collections' (pp 37–8). Although the site has never been excavated, its existence in the Thames estuary north of Herne Bay (Kent) has been supposed since the second half of the 18th century. The book does not explore new evidence, but rather is a gathering of the existing evidence into a single monograph, to form a history of what might be called a 'virtual' site (or sites). The catalogue of the assemblage (App 1), and its accompanying discussion (specifically Ch 5, but also the rest of the book) is a substantial achievement. The author made contact with 39 institutions or individuals who provided him with at least some information. He also contacted a further 62 institutions, most of whom had no vessels at all, but probably needed to be asked, because vessels from

Pudding Pan have gone to a lot of places. The assemblage, as constituted on paper, consists of some 539 samian vessels of the later 2nd or early 3rd century AD (Walsh prefers 'samian' to 'sigillata' – I would have preferred the latter because it is more universal across Europe, but since neither term carries much historical authenticity, the question is not of great importance). In an obvious contrast with occupation sites, most of the vessels appear to have been complete, rather than fragments. The samian consists almost entirely of plain open vessels, either dishes (Dragendorff forms 31, 31r and 36, Curle forms 15 and 23 and Walters form 79) or cups (Dragendorff forms 33, 35 and 46 and Walters form 80) plus the flanged bowl Dragendorff form 38. About 75% of the vessels bear name stamps, and a further 5% have rosette stamps or concentric circle motifs. These aspects – the lack of mould-decorated forms (only two are mentioned, both probably not from the same group) and the lack of other plain forms (such as samian mortaria, for example), make this an anomalous assemblage by comparison with any occupation assemblage, and one that is different from but contemporary with the waterfront assemblage found at New Fresh Wharf in London. The latter site, one feels compelled to assume, is where the Pudding Pan shipment would have been unloaded, had it reached the city.

The question at the core of the book is whether ships crossed the Channel from Roman Gaul for the main purpose of carrying samian ware to Britain, or whether the ships carrying samian ware were engaged in general transport, with samian ware being just one element of mixed cargoes. Up to a point, this might seem to be a very difficult question to resolve, when the best evidence, apart from what has been found at the port of London, is pottery that appears to come from a wreck that has never been located or excavated, and that has effectively been pillaged since the 18th century. But looking at the evidence Walsh has been able to bring together, on paper at least, there is a case to be made for the first hypothesis.

This is in contrast to the prevailing presumptions concerning Roman shipping, which usually suggest that ships, especially those crossing the English Channel, would

have had mixed cargoes with pottery brought along as ballast or 'opportunistic' commerce (G Dannell & A W Mees, 'New approaches to samian distribution' in M Fulford & E Durham *Seeing Red: New Economic and Social Perspectives on Terra Sigillata*, Institute of Classical Studies, University of London (2013), 178). The idea that ships engaged in long-distance trade might have sometimes carried cargoes that consisted almost entirely of pottery vessels, or even almost exclusively of vessels in samian ware, seems to have been considered quite far-fetched until quite recently. This seems to arise from the view that among the artefacts found in excavations of Roman sites, the ceramics are usually thought to have been relatively low-value objects that would undoubtedly have been transported to accompany other more important goods.

Walsh presents the problem in a systematic manner. After a brief introduction, he presents a rapid survey of known maritime finds found in northern Europe, listing ships, boats, logboats or dugouts and barges. Table 1 shows that of the 75 vessels, 50 had no known contents. It is clear from this survey and from the work of A J Parker that most of the Roman-period shipwrecks that have been found in the Mediterranean contained amphorae and probably various forms of barrels, these being the main transport containers of the Roman world (A J Parker, *Ancient Shipwrecks of the Mediterranean and the Roman Provinces* British Archaeological Reports (International Series) 580 (1992), Oxford; E Marlière, *L'outre et le tonneau dans l'Occident romain*, Montagnac: Mergoïl (2002)).

Then there is the question of the site itself, and what is known about where the vessels ascribed to it were found. Although R A Smith's two reports ('Wreck on the Pudding Pan Rock, Herne Bay, Kent' *Proc Soc Antiq* 21 (1907), 268–92; 'The diving operations on Pudding Pan Rock, Herne Bay, Kent, and the Gallo-Roman ware recently recovered from the Rock' *Proc Soc Antiq* 22 (1909), 395–415) and numerous subsequent publications refer to the wreck of 'Pudding Pan Rock', and others write of Pudding Pan Sand or Pan Sands, there does not seem to be an actual rock in Herne Bay that merits the name. Walsh includes a number of maps and charts

that show the area where the wreck must have been, and he provides a fairly clear history of a site that will remain enigmatic unless and until future exploration changes that description. But the gathering of the material brought together here, including both the history of the discoveries and the histories of the vessels, has been a form of exploration in itself.

In the middle of the chapter on the background to the site, Walsh inserts a brief history of samian classification, from Dragendorff to Knorr and Ritterling via Déchelette and Walters. He also discusses the modern classification proposed by Philippe Bet and his collaborators (P Bet, A Fenet & D Montineri 'La typologie de la sigillée lisse de Lezoux, Ier–IIIème s., considérations générales et formes inédites' *SFÉCAG, Actes du Congrès de Lezoux* (1989), 37–54; P Bet & A Delor 'La typologie de la sigillée lisse de Lezoux et de la Gaule centrale du Haut-Empire: Révision décennale' *SFÉCAG, Actes du Congrès de Libourne* (2000), 461–84). In a review of 2012 I included a fairly lengthy critique of this system (R P Symonds, Review of Brulet, R, Vilvorder, F and Delage, R, 2010 'La céramique romaine en Gaule du Nord: Dictionnaire des céramiques, Turnhout, Belgium' *J Roman Pottery Studies* 15 (2012), 268–70), on the grounds that it is unnecessary and confusing, and that it is focussed specifically on vessel types made at Lezoux and in Central Gaul, while failing to recognise the universality of at least some samian forms whose evolution can be traced from Italy to South Gaul, Central Gaul and later to a variety of production centres in eastern Gaul, covering a period of more than four centuries. However, to Walsh's credit, he never uses the Bet and Delor system exclusively, and the Pudding Pan samian ware has the advantage of being almost entirely from Lezoux, and therefore its coherence with other samian production series is not particularly relevant. What is unfortunate about Walsh's views here is that while he is clearly enamoured with the Bet and Delor system (to the point of disagreeing with Steven Willis on the matter of Dragendorff form 31 bowl production at Lezoux, p 31), he does not appear to have consulted the leading specialist on late samian wares in southern Britain, Joanna Bird. She may

not have been available, or able to offer much advice, but her experience with the assemblages found at St Magnus House and New Fresh Wharf at London (J Bird 'Samian Wares' in L Miller, J Schofield & M Rhodes *The Roman Quay at St Magnus House, London* London and Middlesex Archaeological Society Special Paper 8 (1986), 139–85), as well as other assemblages found elsewhere in the region, could have been an invaluable contribution to this project.

The histories, or, as Walsh calls them, the 'biographies' of the finds in the Pudding Pan collections, described in Ch 4, make fascinating reading. This book is certainly not the first attempt to bring together the data, but it is the most comprehensive so far. Aside from tracing what has become of all the known vessels associated with the collections, the material is also quantified and presented in a series of tables and graphs showing the numbers of vessels recorded in specific years between 1773 and 2002. These show that for the most part the wreck has yielded its finds in small numbers, but a few particular years have been especially fruitful, notably 1907 and 1909, when R A Smith published his reports, and 1814, 1853, 1908, 1928 and 1937, when, respectively, the collections of Charles Townley, Revd Bryan Faussett, Sibert Saunders, Valentine Sinclair and Williams Holden were transferred from their private collections into public institutions (p 46). Walsh suggests that the variations in the rates of recovery of the vessels, and their subsequent publication, are more likely to reflect changing levels of interest in the site, rather than the shifting sands that may have uncovered and re-covered the wreck periodically. In any case, it would seem that 'the source is far from exhausted', which must be good news for future research, not least because it suggests that perhaps a concerted effort in underwater exploration might finally yield the actual location of the site.

The heart of the book is Ch 5, The Pudding Pan Assemblage, which, in association with the plates and App 1 (Catalogue of Samian Wares Recovered from the Kentish Sands) and App 2 (Other Artefacts from Pudding Pan) describes and lists the vessels and objects that have been identified with the assemblage. Some of the plates are incorporated with the text, but the majority

are presented in a separate section just before the appendices; the latter section consists entirely of samian dishes, individual potters' stamps, plus the ceramic roof tiles, two *tegulae* and an *imbrex* (two more *tegulae* are with the text, as fig 73a–b, p 80).

It can be a little difficult to be sure that all the vessels associated with Pudding Pan really belong together. This is especially clear in the section on 'Anomalous stamps and forms' (p 59), in which we see that while the main group of samian forms and stamps form a homogenous group from Lezoux belonging to the late 2nd century, there are also a few probable 1st-century potters as well as two who probably worked at Rheinzabern. But one has to wonder about the identification of the 'Vitalis i Ib die stamp', since the form is listed in the catalogue as a Dragendorff 31, or Bet and Delor 054, not a form made at La Graufesenque, where Vitalis is supposed to have worked. While it is true that identifying the origins of samian vessels can sometimes be less straightforward when the vessel is whole and offers no chance of a fresh break to examine the fabric, the form of the vessel and external slip of La Graufesenque samian is usually sufficiently distinctive for there to be little real doubt.

The high number of stamps appears to be anomalous, compared to terrestrial sites, but one needs to remember that the role of stamping samian changed gradually over time. At La Graufesenque, where R Marichal's remarkable 1988 study (*Les graffites de La Graufesenque*, 47th supplement to *Gallia*) of the graffiti accounts on dishes has shown that the kilns at the height of that site's long and productive floruit could have contained up to 40,000 vessels in a single firing, the role of stamps was mainly to distinguish the contributors to each firing either at the point of loading the kiln, or when it was unloaded. Later, notably at Lezoux, when the production numbers declined significantly, stamping seems to have become more a form of advertising, although it remained limited to certain forms that also happened to be, as at La Graufesenque, the most susceptible to efficient stacking.

Walsh does make good use of the unusual nature of the Pudding Pan assemblage, by, for example, noting the 'wear, growth and damage to the samian vessels' and

other aspects of vessels that have spent some time on the seabed, as well looking at the measurements of the vessels and the standardisation of their sizes. The last of these questions leads to some interesting speculation about how the potters worked – sharing, or perhaps not sharing templates between workshops (p 73).

There are also some non-samian vessels, notably Central Gaulish black-slipped ware, North African red-slipped ware, a single form 56c *terra rubra* cup (unlikely to have been from the main assemblage), two samian lamps, various amphorae fragments (mostly not whole vessels), and mortarium fragments (at least one is complete), along with *tegulae*, *imbrices* and a stone anchor. The reporting of some of these non-samian vessels and objects is not quite as thorough as it could have been. The only illustrated vessel in Central Gaulish black-slipped ware is the base of a two-handled cup. In my book on Rhenish Wares (*Rhenish wares: Fine dark-coloured pottery from Gaul and Germany* Oxford Committee for Archaeology Monograph 23 (1992), 20–1 and fig 8) I summarised a discussion of this type of cup published much earlier by Patrick Galliou ('Quelques nouvelles tasses en céramique 'métallisée' du type Nérès' *Annales de Bretagne* 80 fasc i (1973), 185–201). The chemical analyses carried out for my work suggest that the form was probably made at Lezoux and at Toulon-sur-Allier, but probably not at the other sources that Galliou mentions, Nérises-Bains, Terre-Franche (Vichy) and Les Martres-de-Veyre.

Despite the *pers comm* from Roberta Tomber 'tentatively' identifying the complete flat-bottomed amphora 'as a Gauloise 12 from southern Gaul' (p 78, fig 69), if it were indeed of that form, it would be from Normandie, or Gallia Belgica, not southern Gaul. While the dating of the form would make it contemporary with the samian cargo of the main wreck, there must be some doubt that it is a G12, since it appears to have none of the unusual decorative elements associated with the form, such as a multi-lobed rim and handles, undulating lines around the shoulder, or small lozenges applied to the bases of the handles. The vessel from Pudding Pan is of a similar size and shape to a Gauloise 12, and could well be a product of one of the smaller production centres in northern Gaul

or Gallia Belgica, but it does not fit well with the standard examples of the form.

From the perspective of Roman ceramics studies, this is a piece of work that is long overdue, since the vessels from Pudding Pan are located largely in museums around Britain, and have been used to illustrate sigillata vessels and stamps ever since Reginald Smith's two publications (1907 and 1909) of vessels from the site. It is a very significant contribution to samian studies, which are not especially voluminous or modern for the late 2nd century in Britain, and it does a handsome job of presenting a virtual site standing in for a real one. Perhaps a good deal of the report is a form of speculation, but it is only by gathering the evidence in such a thorough and systematic way that the Pudding Pan assemblage, and the nature of Roman transport from the continent towards Britain, will be fully understood.

Robin P Symonds

*Middlesex: Old English Adelmetone Hundred 793–1065 AD.* By V S White. V S White for Edmonton Hundred Historical Society, 2017. Pp 177, maps. ISBN 978 0 9934127 14. Price £10 pb.

Its sole author has 'compiled' (p v) this awkwardly presented book. He pursues his hypotheses about Edmonton hundred through four sections (the last an annotated reprint of Stephen Doree's *Domesday Book and the Origins of Edmonton Hundred* Enfield (1986)), two appendices and numerous maps. Section A is 'A model to synthesise an Old English Adelmetone hundred in Middlesex = 120 hides, not 70 as in Domesday' (p vii). Section B proposes the bounds of this larger hundred and Section C, another so-called model, proposes that the 1005 bounds of woodland attached to the *ealden byrig* at St Albans represent a major part of it.

These bounds, which supplement a long-known charter, were discovered in the 1990s and are edited by Julia Crick in *Charters of St Albans* (2007). Previous interpretations, including mine, have fitted them to those of the later East and Chipping Barnet on grounds derived from the actual description and from context.

White is not concerned about context. His

sections are lightly referenced but there is no bibliography and, very obviously, almost no awareness of important studies highlighted by Crick and Doree. Crick herself receives very selective citation. White's models therefore exist in isolation from charter and Domesday norms and from such essential, and known, dimensions as the chronology of shire and hundred change, relationship between estate and hundred boundaries, and soil type.

King Æthelred's 1005 charter shows that the *ealden byrig* was Kingsbury in St Albans. White's commentary ignores this but highlights Æthelred's renewal of the liberties granted by King Offa (AD 757–96). Such renewals were common form and referred to rights not lands, but for White 'As there is no statement in [the charter] indicating a gift by Æthelred of the woodland in (sic) the *ealden byrig* it is concluded that it was part of the liberty granted to St Albans monastery by Offa of Mercia that was confirmed by Æthelred in 1005' (p 47). White ignores the many problems surrounding all of Offa's supposed grants, not least Edmonton. He also fails to explain Domesday Book's evidence that only 61 years later, just before the Conquest's disruptions, the abbey not only held very little of his proposed area but nothing at all in Edmonton hundred and the rest of Middlesex.

In Domesday Book the charter's 5-hide Kingsbury and its wooded attachment are probably subsumed within 20-hide *Henamesteda*. The name survived in Hanstead in St Stephen's parish, immediately south-west of St Albans and, like most estate centres, on arable soil. White, however, includes *Henamesteda* within his 120-hide Edmonton hundred and the 1005 bounds, locating it as the 'Area surrounding Barnet, stretching across to Northaw' (p 11). The area around Barnet is on heavy clay, hence the woodland and several such attachments.

The list of other misconceptions is depressingly long and among the lesser errors and typos, tribal hildage (p 9) and King Offa dying in 996 (p50) are particularly unfortunate. The book is published for the Edmonton Hundred Historical Society. Perhaps when societies lack members or contacts able to assess submissions they could ask the LAMAS Local History Committee.

*Pamela Taylor*

*Wives and Widows of Medieval London*. By Anne F Sutton. Shaun Tays, 2016. Pp x + 390. ISBN 978 1 907730 57 3. Price £24 pb.

Anne Sutton's *Wives and Widows of Medieval London* brings together eight of her previously published articles and two new ones. Sutton's scholarship has largely focused on the mercers' guild and it remains the organising topic for these essays. The first section 'Wives' makes available in one place all her articles on London silkwomen.

The first section opens with a new article 'The Myth of the *Femme Solé*'. English Common Law denied married woman the right to act independently in legal contexts, so historians have been intrigued by civic records that labelled a woman as '*femme solé*'. Some historians have argued that it was a formal legal status for married women who worked on their own. Sutton's contextual reading of the London records, and her in depth knowledge of how women in the mercers' guild operated, argues to the contrary. She contends that '*femme solé*' was a descriptor of an individual married woman's economic activity, not a legal status. Early Modern historians have long questioned the ubiquity of the enforcement of the law of coverture, and Sutton's article brings this argument to the Middle Ages, normalising women's wide-ranging economic activities and opening up new ways of thinking about medieval women's economic behaviour.

The remaining four articles in the first section explore in greater detail the activities and lives of London's silkwomen. Despite their ability to work collectively (as shown by their 1368 royal petition for economic protection against Italian silk workers) and their ability to take apprentices, the London silkwomen never formed a guild of their own. Instead, they were attached to the mercers' guild, usually as the wives, widows, or daughters. The size of the mercers' female workforce made them unusual among London's guilds. 'The Shop-floor of the London Mercery Trade' explores the rise of women's silk work in London. Drawing on both London and Parisian material, Sutton is able to show how women's labour was key to the mercers' development. Sutton also makes apparent the centrality of piece work and wage labour to medieval production,

topics that are often lost in the glamour of their better documented employers, the guild masters. 'Women of the Mercery' looks at the familial and business experiences of the mercer's wives, widows, and daughters. Using all the surviving mercers' wills from 1400–99, Sutton shows that most mercer women tended to marry within the guild and that while many of these women worked as silkwomen, not all did. 'Two Dozen and More Silkwomen of Fifteenth-Century London' provides a collective biography of the silkwomen that Sutton uncovered in her work on the mercers' guild. Sutton shows how women entered the trade, their family and professional relationships with each other, and the scope of their businesses. Family relationships notwithstanding, these women went through apprenticeships and some leave enough evidence that Sutton can confidently make claims about their artisanal skill and business acumen. 'Alice Claver, Silkwoman of London, and Supplier of Kings' is the subject of this section's last article. She was, in Sutton's estimation, the most successful London silkwoman.

The second section 'Widows' opens with an analysis of the marriage habits of ambitious merchants. To get ahead in London, they had to marry an heiress, without whose money, Sutton argues, they would not have enjoyed such successful careers. The section then contains four prosopographical biographies of well-documented London women, one of which 'Joan Haynes-Westwood-Dunton-Kent' is new. Prosopography brings together all the records of an individual and those associated with them to create an account of the individual's life. Since prosopography largely relies on administrative and legal records, personal feelings and motivations remain elusive. These four women were heiresses and they married ambitious men, well-documented in their own right; Joan Bradbury eventually became Lady Mayoress. Starting with these women's wills and their connection to the mercers' guild, Sutton uncovers their family relationships and business and social connections. Together, these articles show that fertility, mortality, London politics, proximity to predatory or shrewd men, and the women's own choices all made the lives of these four women different. While Sutton repeatedly reminds us that women did not

have the agency and manoeuvrability of men and that their personalities are largely lost given the records that survive about them, their choices in pious bequests, business successes, and occasional comments do allow her to see them as individuals.

As is to be expected with a collection of essays that have been previously published, there is some repetition among the articles and new works have come out since the articles were originally published that would have shed light on Sutton's concerns. Nonetheless, as a collection these essays bring depth and nuance to the experiences of London women and raise compelling questions about how women outside the mercers' guild might have found their way economically and socially.

*Katherine L French, University of Michigan*

*The Great Barn of 1425–27 at Harmondsworth, Middlesex* by Edward Impey with Daniel Miles and Richard Lea. Historic England, 2017. Pp vi + 89, 31 figs. ISBN 978 1 84802 371 0. Price £20 pb.

This small slim volume on the timber framed aisled barn at Harmondsworth is to be recommended to anyone studying medieval barns, in particular because it studies not only the barn's timber frame structure, but its wider context and use. William of Wykeham, Bishop of Winchester, purchased the manor of Harmondsworth in 1392 from the French Abbey of the Holy Trinity, just outside Rouen, and endowed it on his foundation Winchester College. The timber framed aisled great barn was erected in 1425–7, well after Wykeham's purchase. It is 58.52m long by 11.42m wide (192ft by 37½ft). All measurements are given in metres in the book and often, but not consistently, also in feet and inches.

The book starts by summarising the origin of the Harmondsworth estate, the deliberations surrounding its purchase in 1392, and the resources acquired. It next discusses why the Great Barn was built and why it was on such a large scale, who was involved and what it may have cost. Then the fabric of the barn is described, the sequence of its construction, the peculiarities of its carpentry, and subsequent changes

and modifications, followed by a section discussing the administration and personnel involved in managing and using the barn, particularly in the first half of the 15th century. After this the Great Barn is compared with other large medieval barns, first in England, and then in northern Europe. It finishes with a summary of the post-medieval history of the site, antiquarian interest in the building, and its architectural legacy.

The barn is the thirteenth largest known medieval barn in England, but is the second largest to survive complete. Although it was known as a tithe barn in, at least, the 20th century, it was not a tithe barn. There was a second and smaller barn in the 15th century and later called the tithe barn. It makes the point that not all large barns were tithe barns. Here it was built to store the produce of the demesne.

The book's section on building the barn is excellent, except that it assigns numbers to each of the thirteen trusses and each of the twelve bays without telling you where these are. The plan in fig 6 has no numbering or indication whether the numbering is from the south or the north; a minor annoyance (and unnecessary omission). Also there are no longitudinal drawings of the side walls; these are needed to fully understand the discussion of anomalies in these walls. Further on there is an excellent section with 3-dimensional drawings of the suggested sequence of assembly of the building based on the scarf joints in the arcade plates. (You can also derive from this section that the numbering of the bays is from the south – the barn is aligned south–north). There are eighteen 3D drawings over three pages starting with the ground plan, the second then shows the erection of two arcade posts on to that plan, and finishing on the eighteenth with the completed timber frame of the barn. Each drawing is very small and I found the sequence very clear, but unfortunately they are slightly cluttered by putting in an unnecessary shadow behind each timber, which will not help those who struggle with 3D drawings.

Then using the small number of surviving manorial accounts, combined with an impressive array of published sources on medieval activities, it shows how the barn was used, the officials and their roles, the sowing

and harvesting of the crops and the disposal of the harvested crops via payments in kind, retained for seed, used for animal feed and sales. This provides a vivid picture of the flow of produce through the barn, something rarely attempted, though I found some of the discussion of quantities hard to follow, and felt additional tables might have helped. A very useful addition to the literature, but with some annoying omissions that would have been avoided with a decent text editor.

*John Walker*

*Cloth Seals: An Illustrated Reference Guide to the Identification of Lead Seals Attached to Cloth.* By Stuart F Elton. Archaeopress Archaeology, 2017. Pp iii+ 406. ISBN 978 1 78491 548 3 pb; 978 1 74891 549 0 ebk. Price £60, pb and ebk.

Given that lead cloth seals are now being found and recorded in ever increasing numbers, the publication of a reference book of this type is well overdue. Not since the late Geoff Egan's research on English and Continental lead cloth seals and related items in the British Museum (*Lead Cloth Seals and Related Items in the British Museum* British Museum Occasional Paper 93, London (1995)), and those cloth seals found in the Salisbury Drainage Collection ('Cloth Seals' in P Saunders (ed) *Salisbury & South Wiltshire Museum Medieval Catalogue, Part 3, Salisbury and South Wiltshire Museum* Salisbury (2001), 43–86), has any measurable cloth seal related publication gone to print in the United Kingdom. While Egan's work was grounded on sound academic research, the primary purpose of this book is less so, preferring instead to act as a straightforward illustrated reference guide to aid in the identification of those cloth seals found within, and originating from the United Kingdom. To achieve this, the book introduces the reader to basic cloth seal identification techniques, along with an explanation of their component parts and relevant terminology; it also includes a description of their original function and the period of use to which they were once ascribed, along with an explanation of the main known types. This useful information serves as a precursor to the main catalogue which follows. An added aim of the book is

to create a repository of the salient textual evidence, both current and contemporary, relating to the production and trade of textiles in late and post-medieval England. The author partially achieves this in the Appendix where he presents relevant textile industry and related legislative activity in the form of a time-line of the key events. This is then supplemented with further useful information relating to types of cloth, lists of known alnagers and their agents, cloth workers' privy-marks and unusual cloth seals associated with post-medieval immigrant cloth workers. The book also includes an invaluable bibliography on other textile related publications and academic works. It also serves as a useful guide to the more recent discoveries of cloth seals made in both the United Kingdom and continental Europe.

Many of the images which feature in the book's main catalogue also appear in various online sources, for example, the Portable Antiquities Scheme (PAS) website, [www.ukdfd.co.uk](http://www.ukdfd.co.uk) or [www.bageals.org](http://www.bageals.org) (the latter website created and maintained by the book's author); typically, these small metal finds derive from the metal detecting and London mudlarks communities. Given that many of the cloth seal images which appear online were originally submitted by the object's finder, image quality is variable; others are high-resolution images by the author which include many important seals held in the Museum of London and Colchester Castle Museum. Individual cloth seal images each feature a unique reference number ensuring that it is possible to quickly cross-reference the same object whether it appears elsewhere online or is held in a museum. For the researcher, the PAS references are especially useful as Finds Liaison Officers will always record more specific find site information rather than simply recording a relatively vague county reference as is the case with some finds.

Although their enigmatic function is long since obsolete and now mostly forgotten, cloth seals do represent direct evidence of a nation's cultural and economic past. The book's strength lies not so much with the fact that its 400+ pages are well presented, featuring many wonderful cloth seal images and associated information, but that it is an ambitious attempt to introduce the reader to

the trade, industrial regulation and taxation of commercially produced cloth. The section on cleaning and conserving cloth seals (p 326–7) should have adhered strictly to the PAS conservation guides it cites, rather than highlighting alternative cleaning methods. Nevertheless, the author should take credit for compiling a weighty volume of images and related information that should prove to be a valuable resource offering welcome assistance for those engaged in the identification of cloth seals.

Gary Bankhead

*Houses of Power: The places that shaped the Tudor world.* By Simon Thurley. Bantam Press, 2017. Pp xii +480, many figs, 16p colour plates. ISBN 978 0 59307 494 7. Price £30 hb.

In the context of an engaging and lively narrative of the Tudor state and monarchy from the arrival of Henry VII in London in 1485 until the death of Elizabeth I in 1603, Dr Thurley shows how the English palaces evolved as the stage for the ceremonies of state and provided the monarch with privacy from them. The emergence and changing role of the privy chamber, the interface between the public and private realms of the state apartments of king and queen, provides a narrative thread. After Bosworth, Henry VII was understandably obsessed with personal security. Around 1495 he formally instituted the privy chamber as the private inner sanctum of the king's apartment, beyond the public hall, a guard (watching) chamber manned by the Yeomen of the Guard, and the presence (audience) chamber; and also as a separate household department, whose 'socially insignificant' officers he could trust.

In contrast to this organisational and physical separation from his court, Henry VIII created his young minions Gentlemen of the Privy Chamber and gave them access to his private rooms beyond it. These expanded from a mere bedchamber and study to include a dressing room, dining room, bathroom, library and gallery. By the 1530s the privy chamber was becoming the main public reception room, guarded by Gentlemen Pensioners in the presence chamber, and it now had a withdrawing chamber beyond. With the accession of Mary,

the privy chamber reverted to being the first room of a now female privy domain, while the Privy Council met in the architecturally prominent Council Chamber built in Whitehall Palace at the beginning of Edward VI's reign. Elizabeth met male members of the court and ambassadors privately in her privy chamber, but access to her secret lodgings beyond was limited to her ladies.

While Henry VII was comparatively frugal in his palace-building, notably rebuilding Greenwich as a *pleasaunce*, and rebuilding Richmond save for the remodelled stone *donjon*, Henry VIII was famously expansive. From the 1530s, the flow of money and land from the church removed all inhibitions; inheriting about 20 houses, he bequeathed about 70. Dr Thurley explains how and why, as well as which, houses were built or altered, especially as Henry's household and family changed. This, with Henry's tendency to be involved in the detailed design, suggests planning largely from the inside out, of room following room, as well as a propensity to set out in haste in the spirit of experiment. The Works Officers were capable of a high standard of design of coherent units of building (the halls, chapels and gatehouses stand out) but in the circumstances struggled to unite these into an architecturally-coherent whole. Indeed, despite Dr Thurley's insistence that they should be recognised as architects rather than artisans, their ambition may not have extended so far. The unbuilt 1540s plan for a new palace at Waltham in the Forest, 'ideal' in the sense that there was no pre-existing building, suggests that it did not (S Thurley *The Royal Palaces of Tudor England* (1993), fig 164, p 125). The fenestration is laid out entirely to suit the interior of each room, resulting in wholly irregular courtyard and external elevations with *ad hoc* excrescences. Only the elevation to the privy garden is regular, but with a dividing wall between king's and queen's gardens as its centrepiece. One might conclude that the contribution Henry's palaces made to his undoubted magnificence derived largely from their size and the richness of their decoration and furnishings, rather than their architectural sophistication.

The Duke of Somerset arguably took the lead in English architectural development

during Edward VI's minority, and that lead stayed with courtiers rather than the crown through the rest of the century and beyond. Burdened still by about 50 houses, Elizabeth built comparatively little domestic space, but courtiers competed to provide houses to suit her tastes and needs on progresses. None was more eager than Sir William Cecil, who built the architecturally-influential Theobalds in two major phases between 1568 and 1585 (Emily Cole, *Theobalds, Hertfordshire: 'The plan and interiors of an Elizabethan Country House'*, *Architectural History* 60 (2017), 71–116, at p 81). Elizabeth stayed there in eleven separate years, and was reported as being 'never in any place better pleased.' Perhaps the growing contrast with the houses of her courtiers, particularly Theobalds, was part of the reason behind her 1590s redecoration of the increasingly shabby Henrician interiors of the royal houses?

This book is certainly to be recommended, but for a subject that depends so much on images, it is to be hoped that a future edition will improve their presentation. The numerous black and white illustrations are mostly dark, murky and lacking sharpness, not helped by being printed on cream paper. The plans are mostly updated but sometimes confused versions of drawings that have appeared in Dr Thurley's earlier works, and would benefit from refinement. To take two examples, the royal lodgings at Windsor as in 1509 and 1603 are shown to different scale and orientation on pp 40–1 and p 390, without cross-reference. The reconstructed first-floor plan of Greenwich (p 82) as built by Henry VII does not correlate with the reconstructed elevation on p 76 (the turrets and oriel window are shown disproportionately large in plan), and there is no explanation of why the water gate is present on the plan but not the elevation (it was added by Henry VIII). The reconstructed plan contradicts Dr Thurley's exposition of the layout of the privy closet, illustrated at large scale by an extract from the Queen's side of the unbuilt palace at Waltham in the Forest (although it is not identified). The fenestration in the drawing on p 76 shows that it followed this standard Henrician arrangement, but the plan transposes the narrow royal kneeling place and wider chapel.

*Paul Drury*

*Excavations at the British Museum: An Archaeological and Social History of Bloomsbury.* By Rebecca Haslam and Victoria Ridgeway. The British Museum Research Publication 210, 2017. Pp x + 258, 155 figs, 39 tables. ISBN 978 0 86159 210 4. Price £40 pb.

As Tony Spence points out in his Foreword (p v), 'There are few places that can demonstrate the rich and varied past of this particular corner of Bloomsbury' than the site of what was to become the British Museum. The volume under review is concerned with archaeological investigations carried out in 1999 and 2007 by Pre-Construct Archaeology (PCA) within the central courtyard and the north-west corner of the British Museum estate. These provide the starting point for an in-depth exploration, not only of the history and development of the Museum, but also of the area of London in which it is located. The authors claim that it is the 'first published study of the archaeology and built heritage of a major museum in a European city' (p 1), by which they mean that it is the first study of its kind to be presented in such detail, supported by meticulous historical research that places the museum firmly in its local, national and international context.

The brief introductory chapter provides exactly that, a concise summary of the archaeological, geological and topographical background of the area. Lying in the hinterland of Londinium and then Lundenwic, the landscape was characterised by open fields into the early post-medieval period, until it was eventually absorbed by the inexorable urban advance. A summary of the circumstances of fieldwork in Ch 2 is enlivened by a complex but illuminating land-use diagram (fig 7) that helps to place the excavated sequence in context. The authors have adopted the by-now standard integrated, interdisciplinary approach to presenting the considerable accumulation of evidence from excavation and accompanying documentary/historical research. The chronological narrative and thematic discussions, punctuated throughout by a number of helpful and informative vignettes on specific aspects of the area's history, are supported by detailed specialist reports (Ch 8), with tabulated data presented in four technical appendices.

The early history of the area is dealt with in Ch 3, covering the prehistoric period to the early 17th century. By comparison with later periods, the surviving artefactual and stratigraphic evidence is relatively scant and in keeping with the gradual development of the area as farmland. A significant feature of the excavation of site MPB09, however, was the discovery of important evidence for the Lines of Communication, the large defensive earthwork that was constructed during the Civil War to encircle London and its suburbs. It appears that the Bloomsbury section of the defences was 'monumental' (p 33). Probably constructed in 1643, the defences were slighted in 1647, although not completely removed within the area of the excavation, and so continuing to form a part of the landscape in this area of Bloomsbury into the 18th century. The wider context of London's Civil War defences is considered in some depth in Ch 9, which includes discussion of the design and construction processes, organisation and composition of the workforce, contemporaneous accounts and comparison with defences in other towns. One of several unexpected discoveries – and who ever said that archaeological investigation had to conform to expected patterns? – was a spread of Kimmeridge oil shale from Dorset, possibly brought to London during the Civil War as fuel in the face of disruption to the city's coal supplies.

Another unexpected find relates to the area's long-standing connection with farming, as generations of tenant farmers used the land for grazing their livestock from the mid-17th century onwards (outlined on pp 34–7). A series of mass graves yielded at least 40 cattle skeletons (possibly an entire herd) most likely buried during the first half of the 18th century. These are considered in detail in Ch 10, which comes to the conclusion that they represent a herd of dairy cattle acquired by farmer Christopher Capper and driven to London, probably from Northamptonshire, to replace stock depleted by the rinderpest virus to which the new stock apparently succumbed soon after.

The main meat of the volume is its account of the beginnings of the British Museum in Montagu House and its gardens, and the subsequent growth of the suburb of Bloomsbury. Chapter 5 traces the trans-

formation of the area from one of farmland to urban townscape between the end of the Civil War and the late 18th century. Successfully interweaving stratigraphic and finds evidence with cartographic, documentary and contemporaneous illustrated sources, this provides an illuminating window onto the development of what was to become London's intellectual quarter. It appears that the conversion from mansion to public museum was expensive and time-consuming, with the many changes required being reflected in the archaeological record. Evidence for industrial and other activities in the surrounding area was also recovered from late 18th-century levelling deposits, including a large collection of bone-working waste. The construction and occupation of Bedford Square between the late 18th and late 19th centuries is covered in Ch 6, involving the demolition of all upstanding features beyond the perimeter of the Museum garden and a comprehensive programme of levelling that yielded a considerable collection of finds. The investigation of a number of gardens associated with properties in Bedford Square and Montague Place proved particularly informative in relation to design and planting in high-status townhouses, which soon came to encircle the Museum completely. These are discussed in some detail, helping to build up a vivid impression of the area in late Georgian to Victorian times, a picture enhanced by a number of thumbnail sketches of prominent residents in the properties surrounding the British Museum.

The ever-growing flood of new acquisitions by the Museum in the early 19th century inevitably created serious problems with accommodation. The replacement of Montagu House with Robert Smirke's purpose-built Museum, completed in 1847, had a transformative effect on the area as the complex continued to expand and more and more residences in Bedford Square, Montague Place and Russell Square were absorbed into the institution over the following decades. As the authors point out, the account given in Ch 7 of the Museum's redevelopment and subsequent history through to the 21st century is not intended to be exhaustive, focusing instead on those areas investigated archaeologically in the

north-west corner of the Museum's estate, and affected by the construction of the World Conservation and Exhibitions Centre. It is, nevertheless, a fascinating and well-illustrated presentation of the evidence, interweaving the ongoing history of the Museum's development with the mundane, everyday items recovered during excavation, such as a blazer button and a toothbrush. Anything but mundane, however, was the discovery of 46 fossilised bones during excavation of the foundations of the Bindery extension. These are described and discussed in Ch 8 by Guy Thompson, tracing their journey to the British Museum from the Siwalik Hills in the foothills of the Himalayas via the expeditions of Hugh Falconer and Thomas Cautley in the 19th century. This includes a fascinating account of the evolution of the Museum's palaeontological collections and their eventual removal to South Kensington, although for some unknown reason the British Museum appears to have retained a number of the specimens from the Siwalik Hills, which were eventually disposed of in the Bindery foundations in the 1960s.

Detailed specialist reports provide valuable amplification of the preceding account of the results of excavation. As Chris Jarrett points out 'The pottery recovered from the British Museum excavations is rubbish' (p 136), the result of dumping from a wide range of households and other sources over successive generations as the area developed. This significantly reduces the possibilities for identifying and associating assemblages of finds with individuals or properties connected with the area, although the resulting broad-brush picture of ceramic trends is helpfully summarised. A characteristically thorough and perceptive account of the clay tobacco pipe evidence, again by Chris Jarrett, includes a number of mid-17th-century Bristol or West Country pipes for which a speculative Inns of Court connection is made (p 150). The following reports on ceramic building material, glass and faunal remains are equally informative and well presented, as would be expected of their respective authors.

Ch 11 is a synthesis of the multiple strands of evidence presented and discussed in preceding chapters, tracing the development of the area from prehistoric times through

to the present in a succinct and helpful fashion. The authors express the hope that the available evidence has been used in a clear and transparent manner to produce a coherent narrative (p 212). In this they have succeeded admirably; the result is a beautifully written, clearly laid out, well-illustrated and important publication that can be wholeheartedly recommended.

*Jacqui Pearce*

*The Deptford Royal Dockyard and Manor of Sayes Court, London: Excavations 2000–12.* By Antony Francis. Museum of London Archaeology Monograph 71, 2017. Pp xviii + 258, 199 figs, 10 tables. ISBN 978 1 907586 36 1. Price £30 hb.

The first thing to note is that this volume deals with a site of surpassing historical importance, a naval dockyard that with its peer in Woolwich grew in the 16th and 17th centuries to be among Britain's greatest industrial establishments, underpinning sea-power with vital agency in the world's political economy, even through a long decline towards closure in 1869. A second emphasis must be on the scale of the project that the book documents. Not counting supervisors, 127 archaeologists are credited. Earlier dockyard excavations are dwarfed. Bounding the potential contents was clearly a challenge, and the subtitle is significant. Handsomely bound and beautifully illustrated it is, but this remains a report on excavations, though not without ambiguities.

Highlights include the discovery of a medieval (pre-dockyard) 'barge gutter'; an interpretation of Henry VIII's great storehouse, construction of which from 1513 is traditionally taken as the founding of the dockyard, as having had a timber-framed predecessor, a tenon-based and tenuous argument; the exposure of timber revetments and iron land-ties to the internal wet dock dated to 1658–61, and of timber-floored slipways of around 1770, a visually spectacular find; the foundations of the rigging and sail loft of 1791–6, cautiously interpreted, but surely a three-storey building from the outset; and, at the end, clear instancing of the reuse of ships' timbers in building construction.

This is all fascinating, but the nature of

the undertaking and consequent emphasis on fabric detail ends up somewhat failing to see the wood for the timber. There is little emphasis on the dockyard's significance as an early-modern (pre-industrial revolution) manufacturing site without parallel. An anti-synthetic spirit, whether coy or agnostic, causes 'British maritime ascendancy' to appear in (scare?) quotes for a discussion of the period 1774 to 1869 (p 119). Overall the value of the findings to historical understanding is more technological than social or economic.

The boundaries of the excavated site reflect contemporary land ownership, not those of the historic dockyard. There is thereby a chapter on Sayes Court, the adjacent manor house where John Evelyn lived and wrote in the late 17th century. Of this little has been known, so it is disappointing that little more has been discovered. A non-destructive approach permitted the uncovering of the foundations of the workhouse of 1759 that probably stands above the manor house's foundations, but no more. We end up none the wiser about the physical form and appearance of Sayes Court.

There is also a small excursion into residential Deptford, one of England's largest towns in the 18th century. Cesspit evidence is summed up as 'an interesting, if partial, story' and 'suggestive of wealthier ownership' (pp 182–3). It hints at Deptford's character – prosperous and cosmopolitan, but not necessarily high-status. That, like Sayes Court, is really another story.

Historical contexts are set out, based on extensive documentary research (here the late Christopher Phillpotts deserves mention). This brings occasional glimpses of the human: 'there is the sense from the officers' letters that the scale of the work was beginning to overwhelm them' (p 101). Archival findings would have been better presented with footnotes or endnotes; numerous parenthetical references get in the way of reading. The textual analyses assiduously separate 'documented works' and 'archaeology'. Finds are thus embedded in history, though documents and artefacts are ultimately just different sources towards one story. Complex and comparably dual (old and new) series of maps are clearly presented and a great aid to understanding.

What has been included in this monograph beyond the strict compass of ‘excavations’, within a necessarily bounded site that is not synonymous with the historic dockyard, is clearly defined more by pragmatics than principle. A penultimate chapter is honestly titled ‘Aspects of the Deptford dockyard and conclusions’. Even so, questions arise about what is in and what not. ‘Aspects’ is dominated by Damian Goodburn’s expertise on timber and shipbuilding, which ranges well beyond Deptford, presented here in enjoyably discursive accounts. It is a pity that this expansive net could not have been thrown wider, or rather nearer.

The excavatory frame means that standing structures are slighted, typical methodological prioritisation of looking-down over looking-up. The dockyard’s Master Shipwright’s house of 1708, an occupied house just outside the site boundary, is mentioned only in passing despite its valuable comparative potential. Similarly, the Olympia warehouse, a much-altered iron-framed slip-cover roof of 1844, a rarity and a listed building, is interpretively scanted even though it is bang on the excavation site. CgMs’s Duncan Hawkins’s work with MOLA on this structure has been published elsewhere (see <http://www.glias.org.uk/journals/13-d.html>), but the exclusion of this aspect here seems more a reflection of the commercially divided nature of archaeology than of sensible scholarship. And then there is the brick-and-stone river wall, bounding the site and entirely visible and accessible at low tides. Recently listed, this is a complex multi-phase structure of great significance. John Rennie’s reconstruction of the (excavated) wet-dock entrance in 1814–19 is accounted for over several pages, but that a substantial and contiguous stretch of river wall from the same works programme is extant goes completely unmentioned. There are other grumbles to do with dock walling: earlier battered brick walls are not contextualised, and a reference to ‘a Mr Ranger’ (p 145) working on the double dock in 1835 fails to recognise that this was William Ranger, the innovative engineer (see the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*) who worked extensively on the river walls at the Woolwich royal dockyard in the 1830s. This is not the only failure to gain comparative insights

from recent published work on Deptford’s sister dockyard. A final quibble – a Gothic brick niche from the Tudor storehouse was salvaged in the 1950s by Sir Albert Richardson for the Bartlett School of Architecture, not for UCL’s Department of Computer Science, which did not exist before 1975.

It may seem churlish to emphasise the unexcavated in reviewing an account of complicated excavations. That emphasis is admittedly a reflection of this reviewer’s interests. However, it is not just the missed interpretive opportunities that matter. The absence of Deptford dockyard’s significant surviving fabric plays into a prevailing misperception that the history has gone, that the site is a blank slate. That is how it is being treated by its present developers, despite vigorous campaigns of opposition that were ignored by Mayor Johnson. Thus archaeology comes to seem complicit in a huge missed opportunity to respect and sustain the site’s history. Caveats aside, this book is a valuable pulling together of data, an indispensable source for future histories and, at £30, extremely good value.

*Peter Guillery*

*Living and Dying in Southwark 1587–1831: Excavations at Cure’s College Burial Ground, Park Street.* By Louise Loe, Kate Brady, Lisa Brown, Mark Gibson and Kirsty Smith. Oxford Archaeology and Pre-Construct Archaeology, Thames Link Monograph Series 3, 2017. Pp xvi + 139, 68 figs, 54 tables. ISBN 978 0 9956636 1 9. Price £13 hb.

*The New Churchyard: From Moorfields Marsh to Bethlem Burial Ground, Brokers Row and Liverpool Street.* By Robert Hartle with Niamh Carty, Michael Henderson, Elizabeth L Knox and Don Walker. Museum of London Archaeology for Crossrail, 2017. Pp xxiii + 300, 178 figs, 23 tables. ISBN 978 1 907586 43 9. Price £10 pb.

These two publications produced from large scale rail engineering infrastructure projects (Thameslink and Crossrail) bring together in an engaging manner a fascinating insight to two distinct areas of London, with a focus on burials from the post-medieval period. The strengths of the books are the

format, writing style and detailed synthesis of the archaeology, osteology and historical sources, making them appealing for both specialists and the general public. The images, drawings, plans, maps and tables complement and enhance the text, proficiently bringing together the varied mix of sources for revealing the changing times and story of those using the burial grounds.

The chapters in both publications follow a similar pattern in providing a general background to the nature and implementation of the commercial projects, geographical location, archaeological results, burials and funerary practice, coffin furnishings, artefacts, osteological and scientific analysis, documentary sources and social history. In *Living and Dying in Southwark* information about the area, documentary sources and the people is presented over six chapters. Chapter 2 presents documentary evidence for the development of Cure's College Almshouse and Burial Ground, Ch 4 the osteological and scientific analysis, and Ch 6 a thorough discussion, leading to the overall assessment that the people buried in the ground '...were predominantly not inmates but, rather working class individuals engaged in local trades and of sufficient means to afford a burial and a funeral' (p 120). Chapter 4 also has a useful table (Table 4.2, p 42) listing the comparative post-medieval assemblages used when interpreting the information from the skeletal remains of 331 men, women and children.

The Crossrail excavation was larger in scale and produced a higher total number of skeletal remains at *The New Churchyard*, so the comprehensive information is presented over fourteen thematic chapters. Chapter 2 describes the area from the 11th century to the 16th century; Chapter 3 outlines how the foundation of the burial ground came about due to pressures faced by the Corporation of the City of London with high mortality rates, then gives the history of Keepers of the burial ground and its eventual closure. Chapter 5 examines burial practice and density of the burials, with illuminating details from tombs, monuments and coffin plates giving biographical details of individuals. The Bedlam Register Project is used for the comparison of the burial register records and the osteological sample in Ch 6, and

osteological analyses cover life and health in London from birth to death in Chs 7–12. The final Ch 14 has a compilation of useful and accessible biographical appendices. The bibliographies from the two publications provide an excellent and extensive resource for researchers; the *New Churchyard* also provides a good list of the documentary sources accessed, ranging from Manuscripts, Trade Directories, Court Papers, Parish Records and Wills (pp 270–7).

The skeletal assemblages from the two different excavations are of particular interest osteologically for being distinct in type from other previously excavated burial sites, with those from *Living and Dying in Southwark* coming from almshouses and the *New Churchyard* being a municipal burial ground accepting burials from multiple London parishes which in part most likely represent a migrant population. As the period of use of the New Churchyard included 1665, the sampling of individuals from burials for ancient DNA analysis adds important information to the genetic study of the plague and invaluable benefit to epidemiological studies. Stable isotope analyses provides an insight to breast feeding from skeletons from Cure's College Burial Ground and dietary information about the post-medieval period from those in the New Churchyard.

The two projects form valuable resources for researchers in many fields and particularly osteology and bioarchaeology. Even though the individuals from the Cure's Burial Ground have been reburied there is a rich digital archive enabling continued access to the data. For the New Churchyard, the total number of burials was very high at 3,354 individuals and as such a sampling strategy was implemented for the degree of osteological recording and analysis, with the burials divided into three categories (A, B, C), with the explanations for the excavated sample clearly explained in Ch 6. A large proportion of the individuals were reburied but approximately a third of those excavated were retained to be curated, allowing in the future for continued research to enlighten further more compelling details about the lives of these people.

*Jelena Bekvalac*

*'An immense and exceedingly commodious goods station': The Archaeology and History of the Great Northern Railway Goods Yard at King's Cross, 1849 to the Present Day.* By Rebecca Haslam and Guy Thompson. Pre-Construct Archaeology, 2016. Pp xxii + 356, 186 figs. ISBN 978 0 9926672 6 9. Price £30 hb.

Promoted as a direct route from London to Yorkshire and enacted in 1846, the Great Northern Railway was the largest railway project in Britain at that time. King's Cross Goods Station, the London terminus for goods and coal traffic, was laid out by the engineer Joseph Cubitt and the architect Lewis Cubitt on a grand scale. At its core were two long transit sheds on either side of a train assembly shed, axial with a six-storey granary facing a canal basin, while other facilities included covered coal-drops, a hydraulic power station, various stabling, office buildings and extensive sidings. Despite additions and modifications, the original planning proved sufficiently robust for the original buildings to remain in active railway use until traditional railway goods handling ended in the 1960s, and to continue in road transport use into the 1990s. The subsequent adaptation of this incredibly well preserved complex of listed buildings for new uses, as the centrepiece of the major Kings Cross Central development, has been accompanied by a very extensive developer-funded programme of archaeological excavation, watching briefs and buildings recording, of which the first half, undertaken by Pre-Construct Archaeology between 2006 and 2009, is commemorated in this substantial volume.

PCA's work above and below ground was concentrated in the original core area, centred on the granary. They also undertook extensive documentary research in the company's minute books and other records, extracting information on constructional progress and operational changes to build an overview of the site's evolution through a 150-year period. The judicious combination of archaeological, built-heritage and documentary evidence has enabled the authors to synthesise the characteristics of each part of the site in fine detail and through time. They have marshalled the information into chapters covering eleven

distinctive phases of the site's history, within which they present and analyse changes area by area, the various buildings and structures being numbered consistently as 'Landscape Features'. Some parts which PCA did not study physically, such as the temporary passenger station and the Potato Market, are also included here. Presentation is aided by chronological colour-coding on the many purpose-made drawings and plans, while well-chosen site photos and archival illustrations relieve the text. Each chapter is introduced by a historical section and concludes with a synopsis, while technical aspects are discussed at length as occasion arises, for instance the innovative constructional and operational features of the granary, or capstan shunting as introduced in the 1880s. Turn-of-the-century investment and enlargement, the two world wars, interwar modernisation, post-war austerity and the late 20th century each have period chapters of equal archaeological intensity.

Interspersed with the chronological chapters there are narratives on historical background, such as the Great Northern Railway Company's origins or Samuel Plimsoll's involvement in the coal trade, and others on human and commercial activities as deduced from evidence, such as the working environments of goods yard workers and railway clerks or the distribution of beverages in glass bottles. The role of the horse in shunting wagons and road cartage, and the technology of hydraulic power (in a contribution by Tim Smith) are further themes. The concluding chapter reviews how various commodities were handled and stored at different periods, reflecting changing economic circumstances. The incoming and outgoing routes they followed through the goods yard are analysed in diagrams.

This study has broken new ground by critically interfacing documentary and physical evidence. As an illustration, the minute books might imply that the original construction progressed evenly from the making-up of ground levels to the erection of buildings, yet the archaeology shows (as does engineering logic) that building foundations were formed as a first stage and the clay soil was filled around them, topped by a mud-suppressing layer of burnt-clay ballast. The

authors make a further methodological point, regarding precision of measurement – that archaeologists record to 10mm at best whereas much in engineering was made more finely and standardised in imperial units. Important evidence can thereby be missed, such as might have differentiated phases in the hydraulic pipe network.

The text is dense to bring out fine detail for the record, but well written, and the illustrations are a delight to study. Very occasional errors merit a corrigendum slip, *eg* fig 7.15 shows the Midland Railway's granary, not the one at King's Cross. No other goods station complex has been investigated to such depth and, when it comes to making comparisons with other installations, the unevenness of existing published information becomes apparent. A write-up of the remaining parts of the Goods Yard is expected, but this book will be difficult to beat.

*Malcolm T Tucker*

*Down the Drain: The Long and Difficult Transition from Night Soil Men to Public Sewage Treatment Schemes: Local Democracy stretched to its limits in Hampton Wick, Teddington, Twickenham (with Whitton) and Hampton 1863–99.* By Ray Elmitt. Twickenham Local History Society Paper Number 97, 2016. Pp 150, colour maps and figures. ISBN: 978 0 903341 96 7. Price £10 pb; obtainable online at: <http://bothls.co.uk/portfolio/97-down-the-drain/> (£11 including postage). Winner of the LAMAS Local History Publications Award 2017.

'Next to contests about religion there is nothing which waxes so warm as a sewage fight.' With this inviting preface Ray Elmitt introduces us to the almost intractable problem facing communities in London in the second half of the 19th century: namely, the story of how to deal with human waste generated by an ever-growing population.

Using a previous Twickenham local historical research paper along with minute books of the four Local Boards involved together with reports, articles, correspondence and editorial comment from the Surrey Comet, Mr Elmitt skilfully weaves an entertaining, readable and well-informed story to answer

his key research questions on why this issue became centre stage for so many local politicians, why did it take so long to find solutions and how did it eventually get resolved.

A crisp introduction outlines the context of traditional sanitary practices with cess-pools, privies, night soil men and the use of the waste for manure on local farmers' fields. A growing population, expanding urban area and cheaper guano imports from Peru resulted in larger volumes of waste which frequently overwhelmed the existing infrastructure. Cholera and the Great Stink of 1858 gave impetus to finding new solutions to this growing problem. Central London received the genius of Bazalgette to solve its problems but that left communities upstream on the Thames to be tackled.

Mr Elmitt approaches his task by looking at each area in turn, exploring the twists and turns of the political process, the formation of the Local Boards, protests by residents, public inquiries, the detail of the schemes, the disruption that construction caused and in a nice touch ends each local section with a brief overview of what happened to the schemes in more recent years and what if anything can still be seen on the ground today. Technological change is also covered. One difficulty faced in this low-lying area was in obtaining sufficient fall for the efficient flow of effluent. A short appendix explains the 'Shone Ejector' an ingenious device used in three of the four drainage schemes to overcome this problem.

Throughout the book, illustrations (many in colour), maps and photographs are used to illuminate and reinforce key points made in the text. These help to show the development of the areas and the specific buildings and infrastructure built to service the waste needs of the growing population. They also demonstrate the care taken in the design and detail of buildings which today is often, sadly, lacking. The author starts each section covering a place with a brief history of that area which both sets the context for and enriches the story to come.

The book covers a 36-year period and as the author notes, these sewerage schemes were for each area the largest infrastructure scheme that they had seen to date. This created immense problems

for each board in terms of cost, scale, disruption to the local community and led to continuing questioning and challenging of the increasingly prescriptive legislation emanating from central government. This theme of local versus central administration demands remains with us today. The growth of local opposition by residents to development is noted and again this remains a theme in our communities today. Technological change over the scheme period occurred. At the beginning the accepted method for sewage treatment was to apply it to the land, mirroring the previous practice of using human waste as fertiliser, but initial proposals replaced the night soil men by a network of sewage pipes. The land required for this, up to 340 acres, was too costly and not available given the rising population. By 1876 a new approach, solid and liquid elements to be treated independently, became the norm and indeed remains the standard approach throughout the world today.

Dealing with human waste may not appear an attractive topic for local historians but Ray Elmitt demonstrates how it can be skilfully, comprehensively and effectively dealt with at a local level. Mr Elmitt uses the topic and a wide range of sources to illuminate local social, government, technological and development history in an entertaining and informative manner and thus win this year's LAMAS Local History book prize.

*Roger Chapman*

Also received:

*From Ice Age to Wetlands: The Lea Valley's Return to Nature.* By Jim Lewis. Redshank Books, 2017. Pp 138, many col illustrations. ISBN 978 0 9954834 0 8. Price £16 pb.

This attractive, enthusiastic survey of the present landscape of the Lea Valley and the history of its heritage is written by a local historian, providing a welcome perspective from outside archaeology. Lewis argues that the Lea Valley has been the place of origin of several important scientific discoveries and technological achievements, including

the diode (the basis of modern electronics), London's sewage system (Bazalgette was born in Enfield), the UK's first motor car and the first flight of an aircraft with British components. He shows how the Lea Valley is regenerating its environment and promoting many historical sites for tourism. In passing he describes the Viking boat found at Walthamstow in 1900, though I suspect he misquotes Mortimer Wheeler in ascribing a Viking sword now in Rome to it; the alternative findspot for the sword is Enfield. But that is still in the area. This is good material for those thinking about the relationship between historic sites and nature reserves.

*Knightsbridge and Hyde.* By Pamela Taylor. Victoria County History of Middlesex, Institute of Historical Research, University of London, 2017. Pp 96, 20 figs, 11 maps. ISBN 987 1 909646 66 7. Price £12.99 pb.

This small book has a very specific purpose: to reveal the early histories of Knightsbridge and the Westminster Abbey estate of Hyde, later the royal park. It is part of a series of parish and urban studies in all parts of England, intended to bring local research to publication as soon as possible. Pamela Taylor's aim is to fill gaps in previous knowledge, and to correct many mistakes made by previous historians. At some length she disentangles the changing boundaries of Knightsbridge and Hyde from the medieval period onwards, touching on the geology of the area and the road patterns (though there is no archaeology). Even the Survey of London does not escape criticism for perpetuating 'nonsense' about Knightsbridge's character. As the three Survey volumes which cover Knightsbridge deal in the main only with the 17th century onwards, this work fits in front of them. The author devotes chapters to land ownership (including the formation of Hyde Park and Kensington Palace and Gardens), economic history and religious history. It would have been better if the figures and maps had been individually referenced in the text: they just float. But from this short account the two places, the hamlet and the park, do emerge.

*Thomas Cromwell and His Family in Putney and Wandsworth.* By Dorian Gerhold. Wandsworth Historical Society Paper 31, 2017. Pp 36, 12 figs. ISBN 978 0 905121 40 6. Price £5 pb. For availability see [www.wandsworthhistory.org.uk](http://www.wandsworthhistory.org.uk).

Thomas Cromwell, born in Putney, was the manager of the break by Henry VIII with the Church of Rome, and is known from the novels of Hilary Mantel. The traditional view of his father Walter as a violent drunk and his home life in Putney as dysfunctional is overturned by this careful study by Dorian Gerhold. Cromwell's father was a substantial local figure who ran a brewery at Putney and then a mill at Wandsworth; Gerhold identifies their sites. Stories which grew up said Thomas was the son of a blacksmith, or a cloth-shearer; this can now be doubted. This research can complement the fiction if you wish.

*Civil War London: A Military History of London under Charles I and Oliver Cromwell.* By David Flinham. Helion & Company, Century of the Soldier 1618–1721 Series, Solihull, 2017. Pp 119, many figs. ISBN 978 1 911512 62 2. Price £13.95 pb.

This is the eighteenth in a series for military historians, attempting to cover battles, campaigns, logistics and tactics, personalities, armies, uniforms and equipment of the golden era of Pike and Shot warfare, 1618 to 1721. Its main content is a gazetteer of nearly 200 sites across London associated with the capital's military role during the 1640s and 1650s. Each is given an eight-figure National Grid Reference, which seems a little unnecessary for the middle of London. Memorials, all of stone, are photographed; but for the majority of sites, you can only stand in the modern street and imagine. There are a few archaeological references, but not many, and some archaeological and topographical references in the bibliography are incomplete. Of note are two manuscript Hollar drawings (now in the John Rylands Library, Manchester) of a fort at Hyde Park in 1644. If you are a military historian interested in London in the Civil War, this is for you.

