

REVIEWS

Alien Cities. Consumption and the Origins of Urbanism in Roman Britain. By Dominic Perring and Martin Pitts. Archaeology South-East and Surrey County Archaeological Unit, SpoilHeap Monograph 7, 2013. Pp xx + 267, 190 figs, 64 tables. ISBN 978 0 955884 69 6. Price: £30.00 pb.

Since the implementation of PPG16 in 1990 there has been a dramatic increase in archaeological interventions in advance of development. In many areas of Britain's archaeological past we have more information from just these 25 years than from any or all previous periods. This is certainly true of Roman Britain from town and countryside alike. Publication, however, remains very variable, ranging from the excellent to the very poor or non-existent. Making sense of all this new information is another matter and a key aim of this book is to try and do this for part of Roman south-east England. It draws on recently excavated data, most of it derived from developer-funded excavations, from a number of late Iron Age and Roman settlements within an area more or less corresponding to a right-angled triangle where London and Colchester, the major towns of the study area, are at either end of the hypotenuse and a few sites around Cambridge form the right angle with an ultimate northern limit defined by sites at the southern edge of the Cambridgeshire Fenland, some 100km to the north of London. The majority of sites are in Essex, with the remainder ranging into Cambridgeshire and Hertfordshire. The chronological range of the study extends from the 1st century BC to the end of the 2nd century AD. Five questions shaped the research which underpins this study (p xix): how did access to resources and the evidence of specialist consumption differ across the settlement landscape; how

comparable are the artefactual signatures of different types of settlement; to what extent does the evidence of different patterns of consumption support or challenge such classifications of settlement character; how can observed differences in patterns of production and consumption within the landscape be explained in terms of changing economic and social forces; what significance can be given to urbanisation as a factor in such explanatory models?

To address these questions the authors drew on other specialists' analysis of four categories of evidence: coins (Curteis), pottery (Doherty), registered finds ('small finds') (Wardle, Clifford) and faunal remains (Ayton). Sample size is a consistent problem except for the major urban and very large-area rural sites such as Stansted, Essex, and the Cambridgeshire sites. In some cases fresh analysis of material was undertaken. In their conclusions the authors plead for 'consistent and compatible approaches to the recording of assemblages within the region' (p 252).

The authors acknowledge considerable difficulties in finding representative sites and associated assemblages which covered their time period. In fact the study drew on only 39 late Iron Age and early Roman settlements and of these, only nine featured in all the specialist analyses undertaken. Of these, and excluding the two towns, five are nucleated settlements on the road network, two of 'higher-status rural' and three of 'lower-status rural sites'. Although a variety of approaches can be taken to defining urban hinterlands, let us consider sites which lay within 25km of the two major towns, that is about one day's travel to or from a town. Settlements meeting some or all of the criteria used in the analyses accounted for only one, a lower status rural settlement, within an arc of 25km to the north and east

of the centre of London and only nine sites located within 25km of Colchester/Sheepen, the majority lying on or close to the roads leading south-west to London and west towards Braughing and Verulamium. Four of these, all nucleated settlements on the road network, were used in all analyses. Only one of the sites in the Colchester hinterland was classed as a lower status rural settlement. The remaining 27 settlements, almost three quarters of the sample (excluding Colchester and London), are located further than 25km from either town, some more than 100km away. What relationship, if any, might these latter settlements be expected to have with either town?

Nevertheless, the authors conclude that their study offers little support for the idea that these two towns served as market centres, rather that rural surplus flowed towards them in an asymmetrical relationship as a result of tribute, rent and taxation, with little reciprocal exchange. 'The cities of Roman Britain stood apart: they appear as alien places of government where the exercise of power made exaggerated call on available resources' (pp xviii, 250). Where did those resources come from?

In the case of early Roman London there is a clear dependence on imports from outside Britain, both foodstuffs and material goods. With the quantification, now fairly typical of finds reports, of pottery, in particular, the sheer scale of importation is becoming clearer. Drawing on earlier research as well, Pitts also shows how different certain imports (eg amphoras, flagons, mortaria, samian) were from those of the immediate pre-conquest period and how much in common they had with Colchester and military sites more generally, but not with contemporary rural settlements. The consumption of meat, notably in the relatively high representation of pork and beef, also serves to distinguish London and Colchester from their hinterland settlements. Although this study only includes one settlement from London's hinterland, the accumulating negative evidence for intensive development of the environs to supply the town during the Roman period reinforces the differentness of London from other towns in Roman Britain. While this study represents a detailed regional analysis, its conclusions

lead us to contemplate a much wider canvas for London's catchment area which, it can be argued, was on a provincial, if not an imperial scale.

Michael Fulford

The Origins of Roman London. By Lacey M Wallace. Cambridge University Press, 2014. Pp xvi + 192, 76 figs. ISBN 978 1 107047 57 0. Price: £75.00 hb.

The ongoing archaeological exploration of the capital has produced a vast amount of data pertaining to the origins of Londinium. Some of it has been analysed and published but much has not been. As the latest synthesis of Roman London was published 24 years ago (D Perring *Roman London* (1991)), there is an urgent need for up to date studies that make use of recent fieldwork such as No. 1 Poultry and its crucial tree-ring dates (J Hill & P Rowsome *Roman London and the Walbrook Stream Crossing: Excavations at 1 Poultry and Vicinity*, City of London Museum of London Archaeology Monograph 37 (2011)). So it is very pleasing that Wallace has produced a seminal synthesis of the evidence for pre-Boudican Londinium and its destruction during AD 60–1. Wallace has made a comprehensive study of material from 117 sites (Regis House is actually included twice as Nos 66 and 71 in her gazetteer) in the City of London and Southwark. It is illustrated by many detailed full-colour plans, including individual building plans (Fig 1).

The results of this highly informative study are worth summarising as it addresses the how, why, when and who questions relating to the origin of Londinium. Wallace believes that Londinium was not founded as an invasion period camp or fort. Instead initial activity consisted of establishing a network of arterial roads connected with the establishment of a bridge across the Thames at a convenient crossing point. The construction of the main east–west Londinium road was underway by AD 47–8 and this was accompanied by digging ditches, stripping turf and topsoil, and quarrying metallurgical material. However, settlement alongside the new roads did not begin until about AD 51–4. The earliest riverside revetment dates to AD 52, which marks the establishment of a port facility of some description. This raises the question was

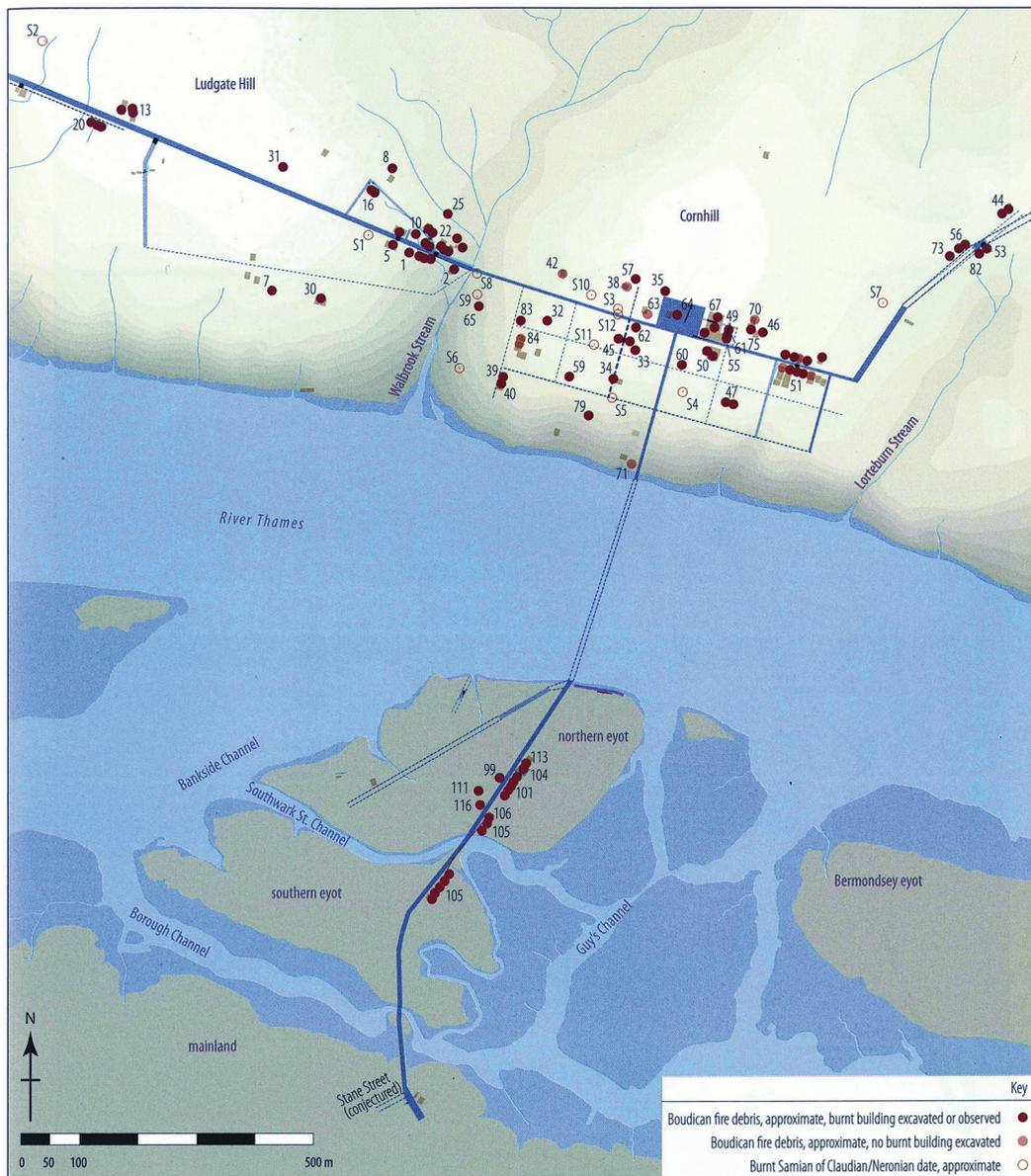


Fig 1. Evidence of the Boudican fire and locations of burnt samian. The numbers refer to the gazetteer and S1–12 are sites where burnt Claudian/Neronian samian has been discovered (Wallace 2014, fig 36; reproduced by kind permission of Cambridge University Press)

this settlement planned when the roads were constructed or was it built as an afterthought. However, the presence of a well-constructed timber-lined drain under the road at No. 1 Poultry dating to AD 47–8 shows a ‘degree of forethought’ and an ‘anticipation of heavy use’. While the degree of disturbance

caused by road construction left a landscape that required extensive ground preparation to make the area habitable, this suggests the establishment of a settlement was not anticipated by the road builders.

Before the Boudican destruction of Londinium three discrete areas of settlement

had developed which were separated by the Wallbrook and the Thames (Fig 1), around which on the unoccupied land rubbish was dumped, pits dug, animals grazed and the deceased were either buried or cremated. First, Ludgate Hill, which contained a number of Iron Age style round houses perhaps occupied by an indigenous community. Secondly, Cornhill, which might have been home to either immigrants or a Romanised 'indigenous elite'. An extensive area of gravel metalling situated at a crossroads on Cornhill (measuring at least 40m by 33m) is interpreted as a 'proto-forum'. Adjoining this metalled area were two much larger buildings, one of which was an aisled hall with masonry foundations and monumental facade, which might have served as a 'communal hall'. This metalled square implies a degree of urban planning, while the presence of finds like ceramic bricks, roof tiles and a Purbeck marble flagstone indicate that the residents of Cornhill were enjoying a Romanised lifestyle with their imported ceramics and glass vessels. The 2008–9 excavations at 20 Fenchurch Street, which are not included in Wallace's study, revealed fragments of marble imported from modern Turkey in Boudican period deposits (R Wroe-Brown *Roman Occupation South-East of the Forum: Excavations at 20 Fenchurch Street, City of London, 2008–9* MOLA Archaeology Studies Series 31 (2014), 18). Lastly, there was clearly ribbon development along the bridge approach road in Southwark; evidence of associated activities included butchery, baking or selling grain and blacksmithing. All but one of the 41 buildings and structures studied were timber-framed, timber-built or of mud brick construction. Many of these buildings were of a modest size and possibly intended for temporary occupation while more permanent replacements were constructed nearby. Water was obtained from wattle- and barrel-lined wells situated in backyards or streams. The estimated size of Londinium at the time of the Boudican destruction was 39.7ha which, assuming a residential density of 100 people per hectare, produces an estimated population of 3,973. The settlement possessed 7km of main roads and 2km of minor ones.

The presence of 29 military-related objects suggests the presence of either a number

of serving soldiers or veterans residing in Boudican Londinium. Evidence of craft activity included pottery manufacture, ferrous and non-ferrous metal working. 'The mode of economy in the earliest settlement seems to have been based on specialised workshops and skilled craftsmen living alongside general merchants trading in a variety of goods' (p 144). As regards the vexed question of who established Londinium,

the structural and artifactual evidence suggests that the town was founded by Romano-Gallic citizens with official permission from the *procurator*, possibly arranged before/during the bridge/road construction. ... Arriving after the main roads were finished, they began to clear up the mess of quarry pits, ditches etc. and divvy up the land without the aid of professional surveyors and town planners. They undertook this work in a somewhat tentative and piecemeal fashion, and had probably not completed it ten or so years later. The early plans did not keep up with an explosion in population, the attraction of indigenous individuals and families, and the intensive use of waterfront areas for trade and transport. This model of foundation is different to anything we know in the Roman Empire. Yet it has long been acknowledged that *Londinium* was a unique type of Roman town (p 155).

It is to be hoped that this excellent study inspires further research on Roman London, the rapid Neronian recovery of Londinium from the Boudican destruction would make a great sequel.

Bruce Watson

Roman Burials in Southwark: Excavations at 52–56 Lant Street and 56 Southwark Bridge Road, London SE1. By Victoria Ridgeway, Kathelen Leary and Berni Sudds. Pre-Construct Archaeology Monograph 17, 2013. Pp xiii + 143, 71 figs, 23 tables. ISBN 978 0 992667 20 7. Price: £15.00 pb.

Roman Burials in Southwark presents the results of excavations in 2003–4 by Pre-Construct Archaeology at 56 Southwark Bridge Road on the 'southern island' of Roman Southwark, revealing 18 inhumations, and by AOC

Archaeology Group at 52–56 Lant Street on the ‘mainland’ southern bank of the Thames, revealing 84 inhumations and two cremations.

Early activity is limited and the 2nd century AD (period 3) sees the first definite evidence for burial at Lant Street with contemporary evidence from Southwark Bridge Road limited to some disarticulated human bone. The phasing suggests a 3rd-century AD hiatus in activity (period 4) followed by major phases of burial in the 4th century AD (period 5). However, the authors acknowledge that this hiatus may be illusory (p 16) and, as some of the grave goods seem to pre-date the 4th century AD, period 5 should perhaps have been subdivided or assigned a broader late Roman date. The clear descriptions of the dating and stratigraphy, however, will allow readers to make up their own mind. Finally, a small scatter of Early Anglo-Saxon pottery (period 6) provides some limited but nonetheless important evidence for later activity.

The specialist reports (chs 4–6) contain a wealth of information. Particular highlights include evidence for the ritual deposition of dogs; a ceramic *tettina* closely associated with a baby; four identical but otherwise unparalleled Alice Holt/Farnham ware flasks found across several graves; and two identical gold earrings, probably a pair, again found across several burials. The authors wonder whether these identical finds are stock objects, made especially for funerals, or sets parcelled out between individuals who had some personal relationship in life (pp 35–6). A wonderful composite object (copper-alloy pendant, studs and rings and frit melon beads) found with a decapitated dog burial is interpreted as a collar (pp 13 and 54).

The osteological sections (chs 5 and 6) are detailed and interesting, particularly in terms of the slight female bias proposed at Lant Street. This contrasts with the male biases reported in many other Romano-British cemetery populations, including London’s ‘Eastern’ and ‘Northern’ cemeteries. Given this, formal statistical testing of this demographic difference and other patterns might have been worthwhile. Aging and sexing skeletons is inevitably a matter of interpretation but the inclusion of data here, occasionally contradictory, on

single individuals from multiple observers (Kathelen Leary and Rebecca Redfern) is problematic as readers have no way to judge which is more valid. In general Redfern’s identifications seem to be favoured (p 124), but it is unclear whether the data in Leary’s reports favour her own identifications and whether Redfern re-examined all the burials or only those for which the isotopic/ancestry study was undertaken.

The section on isotopes and ancestry is an important contribution to the field and it is good to see it included in a monograph arising from developer-funded work. It adds to the debate surrounding the significance of migration in the Roman Empire as a whole (see H Eckardt (ed) *Roman Diasporas: Archaeological Approaches to Mobility and Diversity in the Roman Empire* Journal of Roman Archaeology Supplemental Series 78 (2010)) and begins to situate London within this wider context. A number of individuals from the cemetery are identified as having spent their childhood in warmer climes. A discussion of the methods used to assign ancestry would have been useful for readers without a background in osteology, but the results usefully complement the isotopic work identifying probable examples of both European and African ancestry.

The burial catalogue contains valuable information but suffers from the lack of a standardised approach to the cataloguing, illustration and cross referencing of associated finds which are variably catalogued within the burial text (BL16; p 80), alongside it (BL43; p 86) or in the specialist reports with a different numbered sequence (BL15). Some grave goods are mentioned but not illustrated or described in detail anywhere in the volume. The grave goods ought to have been catalogued and illustrated consistently and *in toto* with a single system of cross referencing.

Amongst the most important discoveries is the inhumation burial of an adolescent at Lant Street, BL15 (pp 79 and 113–14), found with a clasp knife handle in the shape of a leopard, a key, the remains of a box with metal and bone fittings and some unusual glass vessels. The isotopic evidence suggests this individual came from a Mediterranean climate and the skeletal evidence suggests a probable African ancestry. However, the

'North African associations of the grave goods buried with BL15, particularly the leopard knife' are somewhat overplayed in places. While it is worth speculating whether this object made of (presumably African) ivory depicting a (sometimes African) leopard may have been particularly meaningful because of the deceased's background, both ivory and big cat imagery are found widely in the Roman Empire and an equally reasonable, not necessarily exclusive, suggestion by the authors is that this object may have had Bacchic significance (p 114). The skeletal evidence may suggest that the deceased had 'a childhood in North Africa' but to decide that this was 'most likely in Carthage' (p 70) based on a single parallel for the knife from that area, is going too far.

The concluding chapter provides good thematic summaries of the site with care taken to place the evidence against the wider background of Roman Southwark and contextualise it through comparison with other cemeteries. The earlier Lant Street burials are contrasted, in terms of their peripheral location and dense intercutting burials without coffins, with the clearly demarcated roadside plots and mausoleums, probably belonging to wealthy families, found at Great Dover Street (A Mackinder *A Romano-British Cemetery on Watling Street: Excavations at 165 Great Dover Street, Southwark, London* MoLAS Archaeology Studies Series 4 (2000)) while the later burials are compared in detail with London's Eastern Cemetery (B Barber & D Bowsher *The Eastern Cemetery of Roman London: Excavations 1983–90* Museum of London Archaeology Service Monograph 4 (2000)).

Some editorial problems mean this book is not always easy to use, and nuanced discussion is sometimes marred by references that cannot easily be followed up in the bibliography: for example Melikian 2002 (cited throughout the book) is not listed in alphabetical order, Seeley and Wardle 2009 (p 108) is missing or incorrectly cited and Johns 1996, Henig 1998, Riu 1999, Clarke and Fulford 2002 and March 1999 (all p 114) are missing. Nevertheless, there is also a lot to recommend this volume including the isotopic work, exciting archaeology and some good ideas from the authors; all with a very reasonable price tag. In the

closing section the authors note that the 'southern cemetery' is due for a major review. In fact the same can be said for burial in London as a whole and, at a time when we are still eagerly awaiting reports on a number of major cemetery excavations, all the excavators and authors involved in the *Roman Burials in Southwark* project are to be thanked for adding two important pieces to this larger puzzle.

Michael Marshall

Romano-British Round Houses to Medieval Parish: Excavations at 10 Gresham Street, City of London, 1999–2002. By Lindy Casson, James Drummond-Murray and Anthony Francis. Museum of London Archaeology Monograph 67, 2014. Pp xviii + 220, 143 figs, 43 tables. ISBN 978 1 907586 22 4. Price: £25.00 hb.

This publication describes excavations undertaken in the heart of the historic City just over a decade ago. In many ways, the site represents a typical piece of complex urban archaeology, covering all periods from the Roman onwards and linking evidence from myriad trenches whose positions are dictated by the vagaries of modern development rather than by research priorities. Fortunately, as the development area is considerable, the analysts can make more sense of their material than is often the case with small interventions post-PPG16. The standard of production is, as one now expects of the MOLA series, simply excellent.

Activity started c. AD 60, about ten years after settlement to the east around the primary bridgehead. A proliferation of round houses was set up in successive developments within an enclosed area (but see further below). Towards their centre lay rectangular Building 4, part of which was used to produce Iron Age glass beads. The circular building forms and bead types suggest that relationships between Roman and native in the new settlement were more complex than top-down models of Romanisation acknowledge.

Soon after AD 70, this zone was comprehensively redeveloped when new streets were laid out. The main north–south element, Road 1, seemingly dictated the future position of Cripplegate Fort. Timber-framed, strip buildings developed either side of this street,

the whole scheme being further elaborated before c.AD 130 with other structures, some on masonry foundations, beyond the initial core. On the basis of plan form, character and associated artefacts, buildings here are interpreted variously as being domestic beside the main street, industrial to the south (later replaced by a mosaic-floored townhouse) and high status to the north. Whether Roman towns embodied such clear social distinctions could, however, be debated.

In common with much of Londinium, fundamental change is evident from the 3rd century AD. Pits were dug into Road 1 and the built-up zones beside it used for dumping waste and inserting refuse pits. The few masonry buildings at this time may now have orientated on the fort to the north. Thus the provincial capital moved from intensive, mixed activity to a few good-quality buildings set amidst a sea of open ground.

Evidence for activity directly after the 4th century AD is lacking but, by the 10th, Late Saxon shelly ware was being discarded here, before several substantial masonry buildings were constructed in the 12th century. Other, later medieval foundations included a tower added to the pre-existing church of St Michael, and various wells, cellars and cesspits. One refuse pit contained a magnificent set of multicoloured glass vessels, perhaps testament to the status of the nearby household, whilst an assemblage to the west suggests a nearby tavern, as known from documentary sources. By the post-medieval period, we find only intrusive features such as deep cesspits and, in the south, culverts.

To check whether such accounts of deep, complicated stratigraphy hold water, it is often necessary to drill down to underlying data, for example that contained in this volume's specialist appendices. Some of the latter material might have been deployed more effectively. The greatly reduced intensity of land use from the 3rd century AD, for example, is interpreted in the main text as due to economic factors without further elaboration. The specialist faunal evidence, however, implies that this was the first time that the town exerted some control over its meat supply, when hunting with sparrow-hawks took place and when more

fish such as eels were eaten. This suggests increased access to and control of London's hinterland, not economic breakdown.

Elsewhere, questioning of received wisdom requires information not accessible through the reports listed: was the *tegula*, noted in a pre-Flavian ditch, made of the usual 2815 fabric or made at an earlier production centre? In rectangular Building 4, only the bead making in Room B is clearly under cover: the other structural elements do not co-align and comprise mostly discontinuous lines of stakes. Do these elements really constitute a single, 25m long, roofed structure, as stated, or just fences in an external area? On the basis of two 5m lengths of parallel ditches over 50m apart, this initial development is thought to be enclosed. Could the ditches instead define separate enclosures to the north and south, with the round houses in a marginal zone in between? A new street system is said to have been created after AD 70, but these broad townscape divisions seem to be prefigured in the preceding development. Finally, the vexed question of what happened on the site between AD 400 and 1000 is largely avoided. If it was simply abandoned, natural formations must then have accumulated. Why are these deposits not evident? If they have been truncated, what mechanisms removed them so effectively, sitting as they would have directly on an undulating 4th-century AD horizon?

The MOLA series of which this publication forms a part incorporates popular booklets and works of synthesis from artefact and ecofact specialists, yet site-by-site commentaries have always been its 'bread and butter'. The series embodies an approach to publication in which this writer and the current LAMAS reviews editor played a significant role. The use of common terminology and even graphics symbols display these origins. Beyond this, how well has this long-lived strategy – publishing detailed interpretations of structural and stratigraphic development alongside deliberately selective supporting evidence – stood the test of time? The system still allows reasonably prompt dissemination of results, now with increased clarity which more professional design allows.

The problem lies in archival access.

Alternative views of the sequence listed above would lead to very different conclusions about the site, but have to be tested against primary evidence. Twenty-five years ago, a burrowing researcher might be expected to visit that archive in person, but this is no longer realistic (the audience is now international) or, indeed, necessary. Incorporating more information into a CD such as that accompanying this publication would help somewhat. It is time, however, for MOLA to think even more strategically about the relationship between published interpretation and underlying data, and to make the latter fully accessible online. Only then can the archaeological community engage fully with its hugely significant evidence.

Steve Roskams

Medieval Haywharf to 20th-century Brewery: Excavations at Watermark Place, City of London. By Louise Fowler and Anthony Mackinder. Museum of London Archaeology, Archaeology Studies Series 30, 2014. Pp xiv + 110, 68 figs, 13 tables, CD-ROM supplement. ISBN 978 1 907586 23 1. Price: £15.00 pb.

Medieval to Early Post-Medieval Tenements and Middle Eastern Imports: Excavations at Plantation Place, City of London, 1997–2003. By Ken Pitt with Lyn Blackmore, Tony Dyson and Rachel Tyson. Museum of London Archaeology Monograph 66, 2013. Pp xiii + 138, 71 figs, 32 tables. ISBN 978 1 907586 16 3. Price: £22.00 hb.

These two latest volumes in the highly successful series of MOLA monographs are both attractive, reasonably priced and handsomely produced volumes – one a paperback and the other in hard covers.

The first of these details the excavation in 2005–7 of a series of medieval and early post-medieval waterfront and dock structures on the north bank of the Thames, in the area of the medieval Haywharf, to the east of Cannon Street station. During the last 50 years London has spearheaded the development of waterfront archaeology in this country, and has produced some spectacular discoveries; yet, ironically, many of its most celebrated waterfront excavations have never been fully published, and are known mainly from interim accounts, some

of which are now quite dated. Hence, this latest publication is a most welcome addition to the MOLA series. It is a well thought out and cogently argued volume which has benefited from the input of its multi-disciplinary team, and showcases the work of MOLA at its best. Its two principal authors should be congratulated on a very creditable production, which sagely manages to avoid repeating some of the pitfalls which have often beset earlier waterfront publications (*eg* the failure to consider the possible reuse of timbers; or a similar failure to consider whether rubbish deposited in dumps behind the revetments has been brought in from other parts of the city and may incorporate residual material).

Parts of 11 successive waterfront structures were encountered, but two of these were represented by substantial structural remains, and are studied here in detail. The earlier example (Waterfront 2) comprised a substantial front-braced, timber river wall, which is thought to have been constructed in the late 13th or early 14th century; it bears all the hallmarks of being a well-built but middling-cost structure. In contrast, the other well-preserved revetment (Waterfront 4) was a high-cost, high-quality waterfront which is amongst the most impressive yet found in the City of London; unlike Waterfront 2, this was a structure against which boats could berth to load and unload. Several of its timbers were felled in the spring of 1339, and provide a clear *terminus post quem* for its construction; the authors suggest that this could have been built for Sir John Pulteney, a draper, who at that time was one of the richest citizens in London and who bought this plot in 1334, though he may subsequently have sublet it to William de Montagu, Earl of Salisbury in *c.*1340. These, then, were two very different structures, but the detailed study of their timbers reveals that both incorporated substantial elements which had been prefabricated to assist their assembly. A comprehensive section on the carpentry of these medieval waterfronts breaks new ground (at least for British archaeology), in trying to assess the logistics and make-up of the teams which would have been needed to erect such a timber revetment, and even makes an educated guess about the types of treescape which

would have supplied the raw materials for its construction. Though not directly credited in the main heading, large parts of this section bear all the hallmarks of Damian Goodburn's fine writing: this is an excellent piece of work, and one which I hope may serve as an exemplar for future studies.

Over four centuries an area 12m deep was reclaimed from the river, behind the successive new waterfronts; a certain amount of evidence was found for the buildings erected here and for the use of these tenements, but this was limited by the size of the excavations. Hence tantalising glimpses are seen of a 14th-century mansion known as Coldharbour, but not enough to be able to say much about its overall plan form. In the 15th century the nature of the land use on these tenements seems to have changed, and to have become more industrial in character; yet, whilst an enigmatic series of keyhole-shaped ovens and parts of associated buildings were uncovered, the precise nature of the industrial processes represented remains uncertain. From the later 16th century onwards part of the site is known from documentary records to have been used as a brewery. While archaeology has identified a number of structures which relate to this brewery complex, our main sources remain the historical and cartographic evidence.

This account of Watermark Place would have benefited considerably from the inclusion of some section drawings, for example through the revetment dumps, through the foreshore deposits, and across the interiors and through the walls of some of the buildings. The lack of any supporting sections through the industrial complexes shown in fig 30 is an unfortunate oversight. Given the inclusion of a CD-ROM with this monograph, there was clearly the possibility of including substantial extra illustrations without it having any major impact on either the overall size or cost of the volume. That criticism aside, this is a very useful and informative production, and is highly recommended.

The Plantation Place monograph had the potential to be a most impressive piece of work, as it set out to describe the results of the excavations between 1997 and 2003 of a large block of properties in the eastern part of the City, just to the north-east of

Eastcheap (the 'eastern market'), and some 200m north of the Thames waterfronts; with extensive documentary records surviving for the descent of many of the tenements, historical evidence for specialist traders (*eg* goldsmiths) and foreign merchants, and a rich array of finds, this promised to be a cracking read. Unfortunately, parts of this volume never quite met those expectations. Reading between the lines, I would guess that this project has suffered somewhat from resourcing problems (either as a result of insufficient funding being made available, or of decisions being made at the project management level) and that these in turn have impacted upon the ways in which the site has been presented.

Although later truncation had severely affected the preservation of the medieval and post-medieval levels on this huge development site (such that only subsurface features (*eg* pits, wells and cellars) survived over much of the site), the site photographs ably demonstrate that an impressive array of structural remains still managed to survive at this deeper level and to incorporate some very impressive finds assemblages. Thus the project had the potential to be every bit as informative as such classic studies as Michiel Bartels's *Steden in Scherven* ('*Cities in Sherds*' Stichting Promotie Archeologie, Zwolle, en de Rijksdienst voor het Oudheidkundig Bodemonderzoek (1999)), which studied a series of well-dated pit groups in a number of historic towns in the Netherlands. However, for such an approach to work successfully, far more detail would have had to have been presented about the contexts than is offered here in the structural narrative of chs 2–4. There is not a single section drawing reproduced in this volume, whilst the text offers very little detail about dimensions, fills or the evidence for recuts in many of these features; it reads far more like a well-written, popular interim account (*eg* for a client), than a final excavation narrative; and one of the drawbacks of this approach is that there is little here in the structural narrative to assist fellow excavators or academic researchers. The period 8 cesspits, such as S151, S118 and S111 (figs 27 and 35 show the first two; cesspit S111 is unillustrated) look fascinating structures, but the level of description and illustration

offered here is so sparse that key questions (such as were these detached, stand-alone structures, or were they originally attached to buildings, and fed by chutes from the upper floors: cf D H Evans 'A good riddance of bad rubbish?: scatological musings on rubbish disposal and the handling of "filth" in medieval and early post-medieval towns' in K de Groote, T Dries & M Pieters (eds) *Exchanging Medieval Material Culture: Studies in Archaeology and History Presented to Frans Verhaeghe Relicta Monografieën 4* (2010), 267–78) are not even considered. Some of these structures were clearly in use for a long time, and even the text acknowledges that there was evidence for recuts on a number of occasions. For example, the earliest glass and pottery in the fills of S111 date from the 13th–14th centuries, whilst the latest pottery could be as late as c.1550–1600, and the latest glass is assigned to the late 16th or early 17th centuries; the cesspit in OA120 had 11 identifiable fills (p 38), cesspit S151 was cleaned out several times (p 39), whilst the bases of both S111 and S118 had suffered from repeated cleaning out of their fills (pp 43 and 49–50). Hence, with this amount of information, one would have expected some differentiation to be made between the various individual fills, so that deposits accruing from the use of various periods of a pit's history could be distinguished from those deposits which relate to the deliberate infilling of the pit, once it had passed out of use; however, the overall conclusions (ch 6) treat the assemblages from these structures simply as 'clearance groups'. If all of the material from the various fills of a cesspit represents a single clearance event, then one ought to ask from where did it derive, as some of the finds were clearly a century or more old when they were deposited; this is an issue which is not really tackled in this volume.

Hence the structural account is not as informative as it should have been. Nevertheless, what we are left with is a very interesting finds volume. This is a site which has produced some of the most important finds of Middle Eastern glass and ceramics yet discovered in Britain. Rachel Tyson's detailed reports and discussions of the glass are superb, and are very well illustrated. Not only has this site produced a nationally (and possibly internationally) significant group

of Middle Eastern glass, but the periods 7–8 levels have also yielded the largest group of glass vessels of 13th–17th-century date in the whole of London. The pottery finds from the site also include nationally significant material, both in the form of the Middle Eastern ceramics, and in the well-preserved parting vessels (which were used in the working of gold and silver); these are discussed respectively by Lyn Blackmore, and Beth Richardson and Justine Bayley. In addition, there was a wealth of ceramic finds from the various pit groups, that originated either more locally, or from sources in mainland Europe; these are discussed at length by Blackmore, and supplement the growing corpus of material published from the City of London. She looks at this material under a number of different headings, but (as with the structural narrative) her presentation appears to have been limited by the available resourcing, as her account would have been improved by

- More line drawings. There is an over-reliance on photographs of vessels (*eg* ch 7.1 contains not a single line drawing of any vessels).
- Reconstruction drawings of the various pit or well groups: this was an approach which Colin Platt and Richard Coleman Smith (*Excavations in Medieval Southampton, 1953–69* (1975)) used to great effect at Southampton. One of the important aspects of the Plantation Place assemblages is being able to see the association of local and imported wares in their individual pit groups; yet, the text currently separates these out, and discusses them in separate parts of the volume, under period headings or under individual fabrics. Being able to see a pictorial reconstruction of individual groups as a cohesive whole would be of great assistance to the reader.
- The various pottery texts are currently scattered through the volume. Some are inserted into various passages of the structural narrative in chs 2–4 (including vessel illustrations and some parallels); others into individual period summaries; the imports into ch 5.2 and 5.4; and the British wares into ch 7.1. There is thus a substantial amount of information available, but the reader needs to know where to find the relevant passages. I think that this may cause some problems with citation, unless

researchers cite the appropriate section headings and page references (as there would be potential for multiple Blackmore 2014 references to this one volume).

The other finds categories included in the volume are the accessioned finds (ch 7.3), the coins and jettons (ch 7.4), and the metalworking evidence (chs 5.1 and 7.5). Of these, the last is particularly important, as it covers some significant groups of evidence for gold- and silver-working on some of the tenements. It is unfortunate that the accompanying structural account gives only a brief and rather uninformative account of the discovery of a possible casting pit in period 8 (fig 22), as this would appear to have been germane to this discussion. Lastly, there are overviews of the environmental analyses of the plant remains (ch 7.6) and the faunal remains (ch 7.7), whilst detailed comments have been incorporated into the relevant sections of chs 2–4. What is strange, as this site produced a number of cesspits with well-preserved organic deposits, is why there are no comparable analyses and overviews of the insect remains and the parasites. As the text clearly mentions that fly puparia were present in nearly all the samples (p 122), and there are other references to faecal deposits, these clearly survived. One wonders whether this is another example of under-resourcing the analysis stage of this project.

Despite the shortcomings outlined above, this is an important volume, and one which will doubtless be used by finds specialists for some time to come.

D H Evans

A Hamlet in Hendon: The Archaeology and History of Church Terrace, 1973–74. By HADAS Finds Group, edited by Jacqui Pearce and Sarah Pearce. Hendon and District Archaeological Society, 2014. Pp xi + 216. ISBN 978 0 950305 08 0. Price: £20.00 pb. Available from Don Cooper, HADAS, 59 Potters Road, Barnet, Hertfordshire EN5 5HS.

Here we have a very well-produced book, presented with a dignified, but attractive front cover, bearing a coloured 1790 print of The Greyhound Inn with the tower of St Mary's Parish Church peeping out behind; thus showing the centre of Church End,

the hamlet of the book's title. The site of the archaeological excavations at Church Terrace is to the right of this picture. A selection of the varied finds, ranging from a Roman flagon with a face mask to a late 18th-century saucer with a 'precarious Chinaman' pattern, are depicted on the back cover. The story that lies between the covers lives up to expectations. The excavations at Church Terrace were undertaken in 1973–4 with great enthusiasm by members of the Hendon and District Archaeological Society (HADAS) that had been founded in 1961 by Themistocles Constantinides. Their earliest archaeological work started that year in the ruins of nearby Church Farm, but had failed to find any trace of Saxon Hendon, which had been the main aim of the founder. Meanwhile, a survey of the condition of the houses behind the church led Barnet Council to decide to demolish them and redevelop the area. HADAS Research Committee began looking at historical documents to identify likely sites to excavate.

All 85 diggers were amateur as opposed to professional archaeologists. A few were experienced in archaeological techniques, but most were not and learnt as the dig progressed. The washing and marking of finds took a very long time. Significant artefacts were well researched and recorded. Assistance with identification came from the British, London, Guildhall and Reading Museums and also from the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society. Other finds were simply processed and stored in various places and had to be moved from time to time. Some were lost. Then in 2001 a series of HADAS/Birkbeck evening classes, led by Jacqui Pearce, was started to provide training in post-excavation analysis and led to the establishment of the HADAS Finds Group. In 2005, following the publication of the 1960s Church Farm dig, the Society decided to produce an archaeological biography of the Church Row Terrace site.

This splendid publication is the result. It is well written and contains material to please archaeologists, local historians and those who simply enjoy skimming through a book to look at the pictures. The first two chapters cover the background and the dig itself. The discovery of three burials near the churchyard wall caused some excitement and delay.

The historical background, illustrated with plans, drawings and photographs, describes Church End period by period, interpreted from referenced archives and secondary material. The archaeology is divided into six periods from prehistoric and Roman to the 20th century – and yes there were Saxons in Hendon. Excellent photographs of finds are bolstered by occasional historic pictures. Beside a photograph of 17th-century yellow bricks that were manufactured in the Low Countries, is a de Hooch painting showing similar bricks in a Dutch courtyard. One pit was filled with glass bottles, presumably from The Greyhound Inn. The illustrations in this section include a Hogarth print. There are six specialist reports, one being a petrological and chemical analysis of medieval pottery by the late Alan Vince. There is also one on the coins and jettons, and another on clay tobacco pipe makers recorded at Church Terrace.

This book is undoubtedly a good read. It takes a close look at a very small area, and the finds plus the documents consulted shed light upon the lives of earlier inhabitants, their occupations and their houses. It shows the benefits of modern techniques in the processing of archaeological finds, and also shows the interdependence of archaeology and documentary history, a lesson that is being gradually learned on both sides and happily seen in recent reports published in these Transactions.

It has been published by HADAS, a local society. The story is clearly told. The illustrations are good. There is an index, a bibliography and footnotes. It should serve as an example to other local societies. Moral: it is never too late to publish.

Eileen Bowlt

The Singularities of London, 1578 by L Grenade. Edited by Derek Keene and Ian W Archer, assisted by Emma Pauncefort and Ann Saunders. London Topographical Society Publication 175, 2014. Pp viii + 288, 61 figs. ISBN 978 0 902087 62 0. Price: £25.00 hb. Available for £25 post-free, UK only, from London Topographical Society, Flat 13, 13 Tavistock Place, London W1H 9SH.

The London Topographical Society's latest production is an edition of an intriguing

16th-century text by L Grenade, a Protestant who, while identifying himself as French, belonged to a family who may have originated in Granada, Spain. The Grenade or Grenado family had been established in London since at least 1539, and were active as merchants, diplomats and royal servants. The author himself may have belonged to an Antwerp branch of the family, but was clearly a regular visitor to London. Grenade's text was intended to be presented to the Mayor and Aldermen of the city, although there is no indication that this ever happened. It takes the form of a panegyric, full of lavish and (to modern sensibilities) ludicrous praise of the city and its office-holders: the location of the city is 'perfect in all respects' (p 62) and its rulers' policies are 'so well ordered that nothing better is possible' (p 139). Nevertheless despite this uncritical approach, and its rehashing of the mythical origins of the city, Grenade's text contains much of interest on the physical appearance, governance and social and economic life of mid-Elizabethan London.

The largest part of this relatively short text is organised spatially, and the editors consider that Grenade's approach was strongly influenced by access to recently produced maps of the city and its region. He notes the significance of the Thames to London's prosperity, allowing sea-going vessels of up to 300 tons access to the port, while 'large boats' can travel up-river as far as Oxford (p 63). Strikingly, Grenade begins his description of the built-up area not with the walled city but with the suburbs, which he clearly views as integral parts of the metropolis; each of the enumerated suburbs 'resembles a good town as much for their size as for their singularities' (p 65). Suburban hospitals and theatres are noted, and the impressive but dilapidated Charing Cross is described, 'from which, on account of age, several ashlar stones hang into mid-air, attached only by a little iron' (p 67).

Within the City proper four structures are singled out for special praise and detailed description: London Bridge, St Paul's, The Royal Exchange and the Tower. The 'sumptuous' Royal Exchange is given particular prominence, its architecture, dimensions and functions described in detail, from the underground galleries to the bell

tower, from which the City Waits produce 'wonderful sounds' on Sunday afternoons (p 117). The axes of Thames Street, Tower Street, Cheapside and Lothbury are employed to organise the rest of the topographical coverage, again hinting that Grenade viewed London in part through the lens of contemporary maps. Grenade constantly shows an awareness of the commercial functions of the city, and of the wider economic hinterland within which it was located. In Cheapside one sees 'a sea of all worldly riches', while at Gracechurch is 'a fine market ... selling all foodstuffs which come from the villages' (pp 109, 111).

The city's meat supply attracts particular attention. Butchers from 'the villages' take stalls in Leadenhall market, Grenade observes, sometimes over 100 stalls being occupied. In the Shambles up to a 150 'heads of beeves' can be seen at any one time, and Grenade estimates that within the city and suburbs 750 cattle were slaughtered each week 'amounting to 9,000 a year' (p 105). The editors ponder the significance of this miscalculation, without apparently considering that Grenade may have intended to say that 750 were killed monthly rather than weekly. If 9,000 were indeed the annual figure of cattle slaughtered, that, using late medieval cattle weights, would represent some 2.4 million pounds of recoverable meat, or around half a pound of beef per head of population per week for 46 weeks of the year – perhaps not an implausible figure, given that sheep, pigs and poultry were also significant elements of London's meat supply.

After the topographically organised chapters Grenade concludes with an account of the office-holders, laws and policies of the city. He is particularly struck with the magnificence of the ceremonies associated with the election of the Mayor and his entry into the city. Except for emperors and kings, no individual on earth attracts such splendour: 'to be Mayor of London is, therefore, a greater honour in England than being a doge of Venice' (p 133).

The volume is attractively produced, with over 60 illustrations, many in colour. Extracts from Braun and Hogenberg's *Civitates Orbis Terrarum* and the Copperplate map are used to illustrate sites and buildings referred to

by Grenade. The text is reproduced in the original French and in translation, and is accompanied by an extended introduction and full scholarly apparatus, as thorough and enlightening as would be expected from its distinguished editors.

James A Galloway

Westminster 1640–1660: A Royal City in a Time of Revolution. By J F Merritt. Manchester University Press, 2014. Pp xii + 276, 4 maps. ISBN 978 9 0719090 40 0. Price: £75.00 hb.

By 1640 the 'twin-sister cities' of London and Westminster had merged to form a sprawling, largely indivisible metropolis, stretching from Tothill Fields in the west to Limehouse in the east: joined, as the playwright Thomas Heywood put it, 'with one street so watered by one streame.' Yet despite appearances to the contrary, these conjoined 'cities' were distinct urban centres with defined characters and focus. Westminster, as Dr Merritt points out, was not a city in the technical sense at all, but rather an unincorporated town with a decentralised civic structure split between the three parishes of St Martin, St Margaret and St Clement and a Court of Burgesses who had neither the power to levy taxes nor make laws. What made it distinctive was its long-established association with royalty and, before the Civil Wars, it was recognised as a 'royal city' with, at its heart, the Abbey, 'the house of kings', the Royal Courts of Justice and Whitehall Palace, the political, cultural and social focus of the English nobility. It was likewise assumed, in contrast to London, that the local populace were 'instinctive followers of the king and court' and inherently conservative in outlook. But in 1642 the king fled from his capital and from 1649 to 1660 England was a Republic. Westminster became the venue for a whole succession of regicidal regimes; the palace of Whitehall became the seat of the Council of State and ultimately the residence of Oliver Cromwell as Lord Protector, while the Abbey was used for the 'state' funerals of some of the most prominent and radical members of the Commonwealth.

Julia Merritt has had a long interest in the history of Westminster. In 2005, she wrote, *The Social World of Early Modern Westminster: Abbey, Court and Community, 1525–1640*,

and this book essentially follows on from where that left off. As the title suggests, it was written with the singular purpose of considering Westminster as a 'royal city' during the period of the English Civil Wars and Commonwealth and seeks to address three key questions: first, the degree to which the inhabitants of Westminster were committed to the royalist cause; second, whether they could and did adapt to the new regimes; and third, the extent to which political or religious conservatism was able to thrive. By way of answer the book is divided into six chapters. The first provides a broad consideration of Westminster as a place, its societal divisions at the onset of war, and whether it had a part to play in the dissolving relationship between king and parliament; the second focuses on the militarisation of the city and the impact of the trained bands and army on the resident population; the third considers Westminster as a stage for propaganda and display; the fourth deals with local government and issues of incorporation and legitimacy; the fifth discusses aspects of cultural life, entertainment and fashionable West End society; and the final chapter deals with issues of religious reformation and conformity in the Westminster community.

As the first serious study of Westminster during the turbulent period of the Civil Wars and Interregnum, this book serves a very important purpose. It is largely narrative in style and easy to read though some sections are slightly reiterative, and the chapters on Westminster 1640–2 and Fashionable Society do not add much in the way of new material. There is a disappointing lack of information on trade, economy, poor relief and the interplay between Westminster and London, but Merritt does provide convincing evidence to show that the Westminster community was deeply affected, even permanently marked, by the turbulent affairs of the mid 17th century. She also demonstrates that by virtue both of its decentralised administration and proximity to the agencies of national government, Westminster was quite literally at the forefront of changes in national policy, that the local populace was used by successive regimes as a political, social and religious test-bed, and that despite all the inhabitants remained, at heart, inherently conservative. This book does much to fill a

yawning gap in Westminster historiography and will no doubt prove the basis for much further debate and scholarship. Above all, it proves the point that the metropolis cannot be understood as a singular entity and demonstrates very well the old adage 'that the whole of history [in this case "London"] can never be got between the covers of one book'.

Hazel Forsyth

Probate Inventories of French Immigrants in Early Modern London. Edited by Greig Parker. Ashgate, 2014. Pp xiii + 334. ISBN 978 1 472420 85 5. Price: £80.00 hb.

How does one measure a person's life by the things they own? Anyone who has had to file for probate will recognise the difficulties inherent in placing a monetary value on individual items that once formed the everyday setting for daily living. Yet this is precisely the position in which archaeologists and historians find themselves when confronted with the probate inventories of those long deceased. Although the market value of listed items will have a completely different meaning today, the care and attention paid to listing and valuing an individual's goods and chattels can be very revealing at many levels.

The volume under review focuses on London's French immigrant community, providing transcripts of 92 probate inventories between April 1661 and September 1748. It is the fruit of Greig Parker's PhD research undertaken at Sheffield University, and is presented in accessible detail in this important contribution to the study of early modern London. Although London's Huguenot community has inspired and generated a considerable body of research in recent years, there has been some difficulty in identifying individual probate inventories as belonging to members of this culturally distinctive group. We should be very grateful that Parker's researches have brought to light an invaluable body of previously unrecognised evidence.

Most of the inventories included in this study were made for people of fairly modest means, but to what extent are their distinctive French origins revealed by the material possessions listed by their

assessors? Surprisingly little, as it turns out – or at least, seldom in obvious ways. There are exceptions, such as goldsmith Peter Marchant of St Martin in the Fields, whose inventory was valued and appraised on 29 July 1689 (pp 86–93). Amongst a great many items relating to his occupation as a jeweller, a large sum of French gold coins is listed (186 Louis D’Or), as well as Desperate Debts of 3,000 Livres owed by individuals in France. For the most part, however, interpretation of the evidence follows more subtle paths, casting light on occupational preferences and social networks amongst the immigrant community. The inventories also provide a rich source of information concerning domestic interiors, the organisation of space within the household, changing tastes and social practices, although, as Parker points out, these largely reflect wider changes taking place in Western Europe in the early modern period. To this extent, the Huguenot community shared much in common with other Londoners, remaining both distinctive and at the same time an integral part of the life of the great metropolis.

The introductory chapter is necessarily presented in summary form, but is none the worse for that, since the main body of the volume (234 pp) is taken up with the inventory transcripts. These make fascinating reading in their own right, their value greatly enhanced by the specific focus of the study and the cumulative effect of viewing, through their material possessions, the daily lives of members of a particular London community over 87 years. Unsurprisingly, the study is sparsely illustrated, with three figures and eight tables. Three appendices are devoted to an alphabetical listing of names and occupations, and there is a useful glossary.

More than 20,000 refugees are known to have fled to London, mostly from northern France, as a result of the persecution of Protestants following the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685. In the later 16th century, an influx of French-speaking Walloon refugees had led to the establishment of an increasingly integrated community within the capital, the established French churches providing an important point of contact and support for the new wave of immigrants in the late 17th century. Parker restricts use of the term ‘Huguenot’

to those French-speaking members of the French Reformed Church who originated in the Kingdom of France (p 5), in order to distinguish them from the wider French community in London. He focuses his study on those communities concentrated in the City of London and Westminster, and their immediate suburbs, highlighting the distinct emphasis on silk weaving and textile manufacture in the Spitalfields area to the east, and on luxury craft-based manufacture in the west.

In an informative discussion of the use of probate inventories as evidence, Parker considers some of the many pitfalls attending their interpretation (pp 11–16), including completeness (or lack of), representativeness (*eg* married women and children are usually excluded), the increase of possessions with age and the frequent failure to distinguish between work place and domestic space. Even the question of what constituted the ‘household’ may now be unclear. Some inventories are more detailed than others, although the main criterion for inclusion was resale value at the time of death. This presents a marked contrast with artefacts recovered archaeologically, precisely because these generally represent deliberately discarded items, such as the everyday earthenware pots that so seldom receive a mention in the inventories. As Parker rightly points out, these differences serve to highlight the value of interdisciplinary research in which these and other sources of evidence can be used to complement each other.

The study began with a search through the registers of London’s French churches, focusing on likely French surnames and excluding those known to have had a long history in England (p 17). The final sample was chosen on this basis, as well as legibility and completeness of information, although the dangers of over-reliance on the apparent ‘Frenchness’ of a name are fully acknowledged, especially in light of a long history of assimilation into English society. Most of the inventories are valued at less than £100, with only a small number over £1,000. There is a decided male bias in the sample (with only 15 female inventories), which is unsurprising given that a married woman’s property would generally revert automatically to her husband on death. In

all, 41 different 'occupations' are listed, although these do include labels such as 'widow' or 'gentleman'. General trends in the sample are considered further on pages 18–23, some of which are unsurprising: for example, an increase in total values over time, as well as in the numbers of inventories listing debts due, suggesting a growth in wealth as the refugees became established within London society.

The wider historical trends that transformed Western European society in the late medieval and early modern periods are briefly examined on pages 23–31, particularly as they relate to the emergence of capitalism and the burgeoning consumer culture. These are reflected in increased compartmentalisation in all aspects of daily life, notably demonstrated by the growing division of space within the household. Artefacts that appear in the inventories are frequently listed according to room, although this does not necessarily indicate where they were originally (or solely) used. Parker explores the extent to which cultural distinctions between the French immigrant community and native Londoners can be detected within the sample. This reveals some fascinating, though subtle, differences and provides insights into ways in which the refugees were influenced by the practices of their host nation, as, for example, in their attitudes toward the use of brick and metal stoves (p 25). A useful approach – and one familiar to archaeological finds specialists – is to consider the inventories according to broad functional categories: heating and lighting; pictures, ornaments and books; cooking, eating and drinking; furniture; and textiles (pp 25–31). This section is necessarily presented in summary form, and is well referenced. Many readers will want to explore these important questions further – indeed they could have formed the substance of a separate companion volume in their own right. As it is, the rest of the book is occupied by the 92 inventory transcripts, and these make for absorbing reading, offering partial, but often vivid and intimate, glimpses of London households and individuals long since departed.

The book is refreshingly well written, the potential density of its subject matter made far more approachable by its readability.

Although the interpretative section is understandably more limited in extent than the original doctoral thesis from which it is derived, it does provide a valuable introduction to and overview of the main trends exhibited by the sample. In making this fascinating study available to a wider readership, Greig Parker and his publishers are to be congratulated. If the high cover price may prove something of a deterrent, this in no way detracts from the value of the book.

Jacqui Pearce

London and Middlesex Hearth Tax. Edited by Matthew Davies, Catherine Ferguson, Vanessa Harding, Elizabeth Parkinson and Andrew Wareham. British Record Society 129 and 130 (Hearth Tax Series vol 9), 2014. Pp xiii + 1825, 37 col pls, 22 maps. ISBN 978 0 901505 60 6 (2 volume set). Price: £60.00 hb. Available, plus post and packing, from the British Record Society, www.britishrecordsociety.org.

The British Academy Hearth Tax project is to be congratulated on this latest addition to its series of editions of hearth tax assessments. The two volumes comprise transcripts of the collectors' books for 79 of the 121 parishes within the bills of mortality for Lady Day 1666, supplemented by the assessments of 1662–3 for the missing portions of the City of London, and of 1664 for St Margaret Westminster and Hackney. Southwark is not included. It meets the highest editorial standards, seeking to reproduce as accurately as possible the layout of the material (although the use of brackets is slightly confusing, and readers may find it helpful to compare some of the plates with the text). Variations in the form of the records and collectors' practices are carefully explained at the beginning of each of the sections. Where there are variant versions of the collectors' books, both are published, giving us insights into the different stages of the collection process. Indexes to personal names, place names and subjects (including occupations) provide invaluable aids to navigation. One of the chief glories of the edition is its colour maps which offer the clearest illustration of parish boundaries in the metropolitan area in print. An elegant essay by Vanessa Harding

provides an excellent introduction to the social and economic context of the 1660s in London and Middlesex; her treatment of the often overlooked non-metropolitan portions of Middlesex is particularly welcome.

The editors are careful to explain the limits of the assessments, and Elizabeth Parkinson offers us an exemplary account of the administration of the tax. The collection of 1666 was basically a shambles as it fell between two sets of administrators (a group of tax farmers taking over from professional receivers in its midst), and took place in the very difficult circumstances of the period after the plague and continued in some areas after the fire. Although levels of occupancy may well have been low in the aftermath of the plague, collectors may have been tempted to record houses as empty (16% in metropolitan London; 9% in Middlesex) simply as a way of speedily completing their accounts. The very large numbers failing to pay (56% in metropolitan London; 39% in Middlesex) suggests that levels of resistance were high: doors were frequently slammed shut on the approach of the collectors, particularly in the eastern suburbs. The 1666 returns were largely for liable households, though some returned exempt houses in anticipation of the next assessment. It is evident that the exemption criteria caused much confusion in London because the rents paid even by the poor were higher than the threshold of 20s per annum; in practice justices seem to have used their discretion to exempt on other criteria, but the scale of this is not known because of the loss of the exemption certificates.

Awareness of these limitations might make one sceptical about the utility of the assessments for questions relating to demography and social structure, but a series of clear tables and maps chart the proportions of properties in the various bands. The records are highly indicative of the social characteristics of particular milieus and help us to place individuals in their local communities. The social complexion of contrasting areas like the new housing developments of Lincoln's Inn Fields or the commercial heart of the city in Cheapside is very clear. In the latter instance we are assisted by the fact that four of the parishes around St Mary le Bow also

have occupational information, enabling us to distinguish between the types of trades pursued on the main commercial artery and those clustering in the alleys and lanes running off it. Occupational information is available in all for 21 parishes, including another wealthy central parish, St Stephen Walbrook, two parishes at the north end of London Bridge, three parishes within Aldgate, and another three (including St Martin le Grand) around Aldersgate, and it is perhaps a pity that more was not made of this in the introductory essays. Catherine Ferguson shows the way in which the records can add valuable contextual information for those researching individuals. In her comprehensive concordance she provides notes on the 460 individuals mentioned in Pepys's diaries whose hearth tax assessments can be determined with reasonable confidence. It is perhaps not the most essential part of the introductory apparatus, but it is a useful supplement to the *Diary* whose editors she corrects on a number of points.

The hearth tax records for London were used by Michael Power in a classic essay of 1986 on the social topography of the city. The editors do not question his conclusions, but introductory essays by Ian Warren and Peter Guillery demonstrate the possibilities of new approaches, particularly using the hearth taxes as a means into discussing the housing stock. They call into question the dominance of the three storey, three bay, two room per floor plan. Warren's typology classifies houses by the number of hearths: the larger ones classified as having 15 or more hearths accounted for 1% of houses; those with seven to 11 hearths (the middle sort) for 13%; meaning that small houses were in the majority, though there were significant variations across the capital with 27% in the middle category in Westminster. Still more intriguing is his discussion of the kinds of people who might occupy the different types of houses. He clearly shows that the middle type could embrace a variety of social identities, household structures and cultural preferences. Guillery's concentration on suburban housing adds further revisions by showing the sheer variety of housing types which do not conform to the classic terrace pattern, nor to the replacement of timber by brick construction.

There is already an online edition of the returns available through British History Online and the underlying database is available on SAS-Space, but this print edition is frankly much easier to navigate; its supporting apparatus is superb; and it represents massive value added to the digital resource.

Ian W Archer

Landscapes of London: The City, the Country and the Suburbs 1660–1840. By Elizabeth McKellar. Yale University Press for The Paul Mellon Centre for Studies in British Art, 2013. Pp xv + 260, 195 illustrations. ISBN 978 0 300109 13 9. Price: £45.00 hb.

Anyone curious about the changing character of greater London between 1660 and 1840 will enjoy browsing in this attractive book, produced to the high standard one has learned to expect from Yale University Press. The text, drawing on a wide variety of sources, is accompanied by copious illustrations ranging from sketches of select villas in idyllic landscape settings and rustic cottages to contemporary maps and humorous depictions of rural entertainments. Recent photographs remind us that, amidst modern suburban sprawl, elements of this past history are still standing. All help to reveal architectural aspirations, aesthetic taste and Londoners' pastimes and amusements – above all those of the Londoners who belonged to the 'middling sort' – the prosperous middle classes who could afford to build villas or country retreats, and purchase the books, maps, prints and paintings which reflected their interests. Many of the illustrations come from the rich quarry of the British Museum's Prints and Drawings Collection (now available online); many others come from the London Metropolitan Archives, but there are also examples from American and private collections.

The approach echoes current scholarly preoccupations in challenging the conventional distinctions between the urban and the rural, and in its exploration of the various ways in which people inhabit geographical space, but thankfully the text is refreshingly free from academic jargon. There are two parts. The first section brings together the

history of maps, written descriptions and illustrations – subjects which previously have tended to be examined separately. While the book does not set out to be a history of the suburbs, those seeking some guidance to the historiography of the London region will find these chapters and their references useful. The 'Environs' of London explored here consist of the land lying within a 20–25 mile radius of the centre (roughly defined today by the M25); in the 18th century it was largely rural; most of the settlements were small, but had close links to the metropolis. The increasing colonisation of this area by the middle classes provided a market for the maps which located these scattered places and related them to routes to the city. The growing economic and social importance of places beyond the urban fringe is demonstrated in Defoe's groundbreaking *Tour*. Later writers were keener to emphasise the rural appeal, in deliberate contrast to the crowded and insalubrious city. By the later 18th century descriptions were increasingly idealised under the influence of picturesque aesthetics, as were the numerous illustrations which accompanied the growing number of guide books, and the sketches made by artists escaping for a day out in the countryside. Dilapidated cottages qualified as picturesque, as is shown by the drawings of S H Grimm and J T Smith, but as the focus is on domestic and secular buildings, the book only touches briefly on the numerous views of village churches recorded for their antiquarian as well as their picturesque interest. The way these reinforced awareness of the historic identity of ancient villages, as a counterpart to the new suburban hinterland, is an aspect that could be examined further.

In the later part of the book 'Case studies' focus on different themes under the heading of 'Inhabited landscapes'. These chapters may disappoint those eager for new discoveries, as they largely draw on well-researched and familiar topics. But there is plenty to enjoy in the accounts of the novel elements of the busy spa resorts of Islington, Hampstead and Marylebone, with illustrations both of their new entertainment buildings and (amusingly) of Londoners disporting themselves. Highgate, in contrast, is seen as a select 18th-century 'retreat', featuring prominently in the chapter on

'Landscapes of mobility'; its large number of smart brick houses have survived better than the ephemeral amusement centres of the spas. A variety of individual mansions and villas, cottages improved for labourers, or self-consciously *orné* for those of higher status, appear in the chapter on 'Landscapes of selectivity', which brings together a fascinating if rather confusing variety of house types. The observations on their contexts are interesting: gardens were designed to signify social status, and by the early 19th century walls and planting indicate an increasing desire for privacy, as pressure on land increased and enclosed spaces replaced the open countryside, as was already noted by Daniel Lysons in the 1811 *Supplement* to his earlier *Environs of London*. The final chapter is devoted to the rapid changes on the London periphery, the rival proposals for the development of Marylebone Fields, and the ways in which Nash's Regent's Park with its zoo and Colosseum developed into a place of entertainment, following the tradition of the earlier experimental and unorthodox pleasure buildings described in the earlier chapters. The book offers new and rewarding ways of looking at its subject matter, and is a triumphant demonstration of how contemporary images can be used fruitfully for historical interpretation.

Bridget Cherry

Early Structural Steel in London Buildings: A Discreet Revolution. By Jonathan Clarke. English Heritage, 2014. Pp xiii + 393, 359 figs. ISBN 978 1 848021 03 7. Price: £75.00 hb.

This excellent book is arranged in two parts, which share a comprehensive set of footnotes, bibliography and an index. It comprises some 400 pages, but none of it is padding.

Part I is about 'Technological pre-conditions and other contexts'. It comprises 100 pages which present a well-researched and balanced view of the development of steel as a building material for the mass market during the 19th century. There are lots of illustrations of completed buildings, buildings under construction, constructional details and manufacturing processes. The examples are from all over the United Kingdom and abroad.

The story begins with the advances in steel production which allowed material of consistent quality to be produced in huge quantities. Continental Europe was ahead of the UK in terms of manufacture and supply at first, but the UK caught up just at the time when industry and commerce were crying out for buildings for which structural steel was the ideal material. The disadvantages of cast iron especially in beams are described in a fair and balanced manner, and there is plenty of material describing how steel stanchions and beams were integrated into the external envelopes and floors of buildings. Steel frames are not combustible, which provided additional impetus for adopting steel, following a number of spectacular fires in buildings containing lots of structural timber. Timber floor joists can readily be supported on steel beams, but for complete incombustibility they need to be replaced by concrete or clay pots, and the book provides examples of these and references so that the reader can explore them in more detail elsewhere.

The London Building Regulations at the turn of the 20th century are often quoted as the reason why fully-framed steel structures were not built until the regulations were revised in 1909. Ch 4 is devoted to this topic. The author puts this all in context, pointing out that there was no blanket ban on steel frames. The problem was the requirement for minimum external wall thicknesses. Until these were relaxed in 1909 the full commercial advantages of the increased internal floor areas which steel structures offered could not be realised. Also, individual District Surveyors were afforded a degree of discretion and the uncertainty to which that led caused developers to shy away from innovation.

There is a fascinating section on the mixed reaction of the architects to this new material. On the one hand it offered great possibilities for designing buildings that could not have been constructed in any other way – but on the other hand it involved sharing the role of designer with engineers, which some felt was an unwelcome erosion of the traditional architect's role. There was also a strand of philosophically based resistance from those who felt that cladding structural members was dishonest and a form of moral deceit.

Part I concludes with a chapter on fully-framed buildings.

Part II is subtitled 'Steel into London buildings and iron precedents'. It is illustrated with photographs of buildings during construction, during demolition and with contemporary structural drawings. The examples have been carefully selected and arranged in groups according to building type: theatres and music halls, clubs and hotels, banks and offices, stores, houses, churches, pools, fire stations, tube stations and industrial buildings.

I feel its title is rather misleading. It is technically correct, since the bulk of the examples in Part II are in London, but to me it implied that this is a book about London. I was tempted to think that, if I waited a year, the publishers might release another volume telling of early structural steel in, say, Manchester, and that I might eventually build up a set of geographically based early steel books to go alongside Pevsner. I got the wrong impression. This is not a book about London – it's about early structural steel. London just happened to be where a huge number of developments took place in a relatively short time. This generated a crop of well-illustrated and well-recorded examples that was large enough for the author to use in presenting the story. The book will make interesting reading for anyone interested in early structural steel and the context in which it developed.

There are of course topics which the book does not cover, such as fire resistance and corrosion. Steel is 'fireproof' only in the sense that it is not combustible. If heated by an external source it loses stiffness and strength, and it expands. A whole set of measures had to be developed to ensure that buildings have a reasonable resistance to fires fuelled by their contents rather than by their fabric. Steel also corrodes in the presence of air and moisture, and designers were often over-optimistic about the degree of protection afforded by the masonry into which steel frames were embedded. Fortunately hidden corroding steel normally makes its presence known by disrupting the enclosing masonry as it expands. This typically occurs long before sufficient steel has corroded for the overall structural stability to be threatened, but it requires

vigilance and early intervention by building owners to ensure that these remarkable buildings survive into the future. A brief mention of these potential snags would have been useful. Nevertheless this is an excellent book, covering for the first time an important subject in a way that is readable and rigorously researched.

Robert Bowles

The Cheapside Hoard: London's Lost Jewels. By Hazel Forsyth. Museum of London and Philip Wilson, 2013. Pp viii + 248, many colour illustrations. ISBN 978 1 781300 20 6. Price: £19.95 pb.

In many exhibitions of objects of early modern culture over recent years we have all come to the case of jewels with items borrowed from 'The Cheapside Hoard' at the Museum of London. In 2013–14 the Museum put on display the entire hoard for the first time since 1914, a date just three years after its discovery beneath 30–32 Cheapside. The recent exhibition was dazzling and comprehensive, carefully lit and the hoard was effectively contextualised among portraits and other items. It offered moreover an object lesson in current methods, some of them realised for the very first time here, of displaying objects whose tiny attachments of loops, hooks and eyes are now very fragile. Hazel Forsyth's book is not a catalogue as such, but throughout it does offer analyses of particular object types, gemstones and techniques through case studies laid upon a richer cream-coloured paper. The layout and precision of illustration and accompanying text is impressive enough, but the chief pleasure of this volume is the way it uses a series of chapters to explore the circumstances of the find, the origins of these precious materials and the trade which circulated them.

Considering that we do not know the reasons why the hoard was laid beneath Cheapside (possibly at the outbreak of the Civil War) the book takes full advantage of the collection in its entirety to explore in the widest sense a trade in gems fraught with the high risk of supply and transport, and the duplicity that often attended this. A series of documents from 1631 to 1641 records one such major import and in Hazel Forsyth's

hands the chapter on this reads like a detective story of theft, concealment and claims of ownership. The investigation of the population of Cheapside itself also enables the author to reveal important aspects of the rampant property disputes of post-Reformation London and the proximity with which craftsmen in individual skills lived and worked with each other.

Amongst the objects are things bearing comparison with other jewellery of the period, but some groups of items are unique, like the fan-holders or *aigrettes* discussed here whose function is only explicable with reference to portraiture. All the objects have been subject to careful technical analysis and this reveals the extraordinary nature of their manufacture and the way in which we can now place them in a growing understanding of collaborative work in early modern London. The underside of the famous salamander jewel, used on the cover, set on top with emeralds from Colombia and diamonds from India, is covered in an opaque white enamel that may have been at the hands of a different craftsman to the gem setter, but both active in the same workshop. The making of many such things at this period can be highly complex and the result of shared activity, as documented through technical examination in portraits by the recent *Making Art in Tudor Britain* project at the National Portrait Gallery, and with tomb sculpture by the recent examination of the Howard monuments at Framlingham, assembled, defaced and reassembled as they were in a changing religious climate. Jewels of course adorned the extraordinarily complex dress of this time, adding to the layers of different materials on the body and thus to the meaning of textiles and their adornment as signs of wealth and allegiance to family, guilds or the Crown itself.

The hoard emphatically belongs to London but the history of its discovery offers a distinct echo in recent times of debates about appropriate dissemination and display, most notably with discussion about the final museum location(s) of the Staffordshire Hoard. In 1911 the site on Cheapside was kept secret, the nature and purpose of treasure trove came up for discussion, objects initially seeped out through the underhand dealing of workers on the site, and then

the donation to the (then) newly founded London Museum prompted claims for part-ownership by both the V&A and the British Museum. No exact archaeological record, as we would now expect, was ever undertaken. Gathered in one place since the merger of the Guildhall Museum with the Museum of London after the Second World War it is to be expected that the Cheapside Hoard will remain accessible and to the fullest extent as possible in future displays, since Hazel Forsyth's book has given us so rich an understanding of its glittering resonance for the material culture of its period.

Maurice Howard

The History of Walton Bridge. By Nick Pollard. Sunbury and Shepperton Local History Society, 2013. Pp 60. ISBN 0905 17832 7. No price given pb. Winner of the LAMAS Local History Publications Award 2014.

Walton Bridge across the River Thames was first opened in 1750. We know what it looked like because four years later it was painted by Canaletto who also put himself in it. This painting can be seen in Dulwich Art Gallery. On the left of the painting is Mount Felix, the home of the founder of the bridge, Samuel Dicker. As well as being the MP for Plymouth, Dicker masterminded the first bridge's planning and construction. He hoped for financial help in this but when he failed to get that he took on the job. No doubt he hoped that tolls would enable him to recoup his initial outlay.

This story, the choice of site, the building details and subsequent rebuilding five times is told in *The History of Walton Bridge* by Nick Pollard who writes that he first became interested in the topic as he was brought up in Walton Bridge Road in Shepperton. While writing the story yet another permanent bridge was being built, the fifth on the site. Dicker's bridge, the first on the site, collapsed in 1883 and the ferry had to be used all over again. Dicker died in 1760 and others had to pick up the baton.

Of course until the coming of the railway to Walton in 1864 the Thames was an important means of transporting heavy goods like coal to Surrey and Middlesex and for transporting residents needing to travel regularly to London. One such was William

Schaw Lindsay, the Lord of the Manor of Shepperton, MP for Sunderland and the owner of a shipping company. Getting across the river from the Surrey side to the Middlesex side was really difficult for him either by the ferry, which couldn't function well when the river was running high or the nights were dark, or by the old wooden bridge at Hampton Court and crossing there. For four years after the collapse of the first bridge the ferry now being reused was described by William as a 'lumbering punt'. It was decided to rebuild the Hampton Court Bridge at the same time as the construction of the first Walton Bridge, as the Hampton Court Bridge was in a ruinous state. An Act of Parliament was required to allow these bridges to be constructed. Not before time. Until the new bridge was built William could only access the railway by getting the ferry. Ironically by the time a new bridge was built there was a railway opening at Shepperton as well as Walton and a regular train service ran to Waterloo.

This second bridge, initiated by William Lindsay, lasted a few years when it was replaced in 1864 by a stronger one of iron girders supported on four new brick and stone piers. A bomb in 1941 seriously weakened the fabric though the actual bridge was spared, and a temporary bridge was built alongside it. Then in 1985 the damaged one was replaced by a Callender Hamilton bridge, a forerunner of the Bailey bridge design, which lasted till 1999 and then gave way to a fifth bridge, supposedly able to cope with all weights and vehicles, and this one survives though it too has had to be repaired recently.

The sub-plot in the book is the story of Mount Felix which was a desirable residence with views of the Thames. It was used as a billet for soldiers in 1914 and then as a military hospital in 1915 after the Gallipoli campaign. No mention of the history of the house is made after the hospital closure in 1920. One presumes it fell into decline. Sadly the house was destroyed by fire in 1966.

One of the reasons that this book won the LAMAS Local History Publications Award for 2014 was because of its general appeal. Yes it is local history but it will appeal to a wider audience particularly to LAMAS members who may well know the area and the Thames,

and the story of their own bridge. This story illustrates the huge problems associated with the financing and building of capital projects, however needed. Some readers like me will recall the serious inconvenience suffered in the closure of Hammersmith Bridge for repairs several times in the 1980s. The many photos illustrating the different bridges are well captioned and include the London 2012 Olympic cycling road race in Walton near the bridge. There is a good bibliography at the back.

Eleanor Stanier

Also received:

Roman and Medieval Development South of Cheapside: Excavations at Bow Bells House, City of London, 2005–6. By Isca Howell with Lyn Blackmore, Christopher Phillpotts and Amy Thorp. Museum of London Archaeology, Archaeology Studies Series 26, 2013. Pp xiii + 114, 63 figs, 17 tables. ISBN 978 1 907586 17 0. Price: £15.00 pb.

The main east–west road through Londinium of about AD 48 was suggested by its roadside ditch. Timber buildings of AD 60–70 contained much domestic debris, until burnt in the Hadrianic Fire. Subsequently a masonry building on the Watling Street frontage to the south shows less intense occupation. Medieval buildings were also recorded, with good 13th-century groups of finds.

Roman Occupation South-East of the Forum: Excavations at 20Fenchurch Street, City of London, 2008–9. By Robin Wroe-Brown. Museum of London Archaeology, Archaeology Studies Series 31, 2014. Pp xiii + 109, 63 figs, 20 tables. ISBN 978 1 907586 24 8. Price: £15.00 pb.

Intensive occupation from about AD 50–5 was interrupted by the Boudican destruction of AD 60/1. The north-east corner of a temporary fort of AD 63–85 had previously been found at Plantation Place to the east, and the present site lay within it. Finds include armour fittings and a possible spear butt, clay and timber buildings and a metalworking shop. Domestic buildings, with examples of window glass and painted plaster, took over until the 3rd century AD. Mid 1st-century AD pottery was abundant, along with seed evidence for Roman-period diet.

Urban Development in the North-West of Londinium: Excavations at 120–122 Cheapside to 14–18 Gresham Street, City of London, 2005–7. By Sadie Watson. Museum of London Archaeology, Archaeology Studies Series 32, 2015. Pp xiv + 121, 90 figs, 19 tables. ISBN 978 1 907586 27 9. Price: £15.00 pb.

Earliest Roman buildings may pre-date the Boudican fire of AD 60/1, though most date to the later 1st century AD along Roman Cheapside; one included a fragment of mosaic floor. After what may have been the Hadrianic Fire, no further occupation was found. Reoccupation from the 10th century was evidenced in pits and later timber and stone buildings. The later medieval period produced two cellars from wealthy houses, and finds possibly from a named apothecary.

Roman and Medieval Revetments on the Thames Waterfront: Excavations at Riverbank House, City of London, 2006–9. By Anthony Mackinder. Museum of London Archaeology, Archaeology Studies Series 33, 2015. Pp xiv + 137, 91 figs, 16 tables. ISBN 978 1 907586 30 9. Price: £15.00 pb.

The excavation and watching brief by Geoff Egan on the Swan Lane Car Park site in 1981–2 is part of the history of waterfront archaeology in London. This report is of small but significant excavations around the perimeter of the replacement building in 2006–9. A 2nd-century AD timber waterfront and part of the late Roman riverside wall were recorded alongside Thames Street. A sequence of medieval waterfronts are datable by dendrochronology, and many well-preserved finds came from trenches along the sides. A notable find was a devotional metal panel commemorating the life and death of the Earl of Lancaster, executed in 1322 by Edward II and briefly venerated. A view of the site in the earliest 16th-century panorama is tied into the archaeology.

A History of Bassishaw Ward c 1200–c 1600. By Christine M Fox. Commissioned by Alderman Timothy Hailes, 2014. Pp 122, 31 figs, many tables. Ebook format, available from Amazon, £3.00–£6.00 pb.

Privately commissioned by the alderman of Bassishaw Ward, Timothy Hailes so enjoyed it that he decided to publish it independently (all proceeds go to the Ward Club). This is a history of Bassishaw Ward within the context of the medieval City of London: the ward and its administration, Guildhall and four livery company halls within the ward (Girdlers, Coopers, Weavers and Masons), the church and parish of St Michael Bassishaw (which is described with its late medieval monuments) and lists of inhabitants from the late 13th century to the early 17th, that is those who appear in documents. The range of crafts in the ward in the 14th to 16th centuries is a notable element. A commendable publishing venture.

London's Sailortown 1600–1800: A Social History of Shadwell and Ratcliff, an Early Modern London Riverside Suburb. By Derek Morris and Ken Cozens. The East London History Society, 2014. Pp viii + 207, 13 figs. ISBN 978 0 956477 92 7. Price: £12.60. Available, plus post and packing, from P Mernick, East London History Society, 42 Campbell Road, Bow, London E3 4DT, mail@eastlondonhistory.org.uk.

A wide-ranging documentary survey of 17th- and 18th-century Shadwell and Ratcliff: its churches and chapels (along with Quakers and Jews), the East India and Hudson's Bay Companies, a host of ship-building and victualling trades, with indexes of names, places and subjects. The lives of the middling sort of people are explored. A useful complement to studies of buildings in the area.

