

CMH

Centre for  
Metropolitan  
History

*Annual Report 1999–2000*



University of London  
School of Advanced Study

Institute of Historical Research



UNIVERSITY OF LONDON  
SCHOOL OF ADVANCED STUDY  
INSTITUTE OF HISTORICAL RESEARCH

**CENTRE  
FOR  
METROPOLITAN  
HISTORY**

*Annual Report 1999–2000*

(1 December 1999–30 November 2000)

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## 1. DIRECTOR'S REPORT

During the year the Centre has been active in three main research areas concerning London and its wider setting between the Middle Ages and the present. A new research project has been established and several potential themes for future research and related activities have been explored. A seminar series and conferences were organised. Seven staff were employed at the Centre in the course of the year, and former staff worked there from time to time. Three project advisers made greatly valued contributions to the work of the Centre, as did three Visiting Fellows of the Institute of Historical Research and one graduate student. Two other graduate students intermitted for the year.

A major area of investigation during the year concerned the market network of medieval and early modern England and Wales, and London's increasingly dominant role within it. Jim Galloway and Margaret Murphy continued their investigation of the latter issue by examining a large sample of debts arising in London and across the country between the early fourteenth and the late sixteenth century, together with evidence for variations in prices. The ESRC-funded element of this research ended in the summer of 2000, but it was possible to continue to the end of the year with an important stage of the project contributing towards the completion of a book on 'London and the transformation of the English economy'. Data-gathering and initial examination of the material had produced many insights, but this stage saw the completion of the systematic analysis which allows a sound assessment of London's increasing dominant role as an economic force (and so of its role as a cultural and political force too), as well as of those English regions which maintained and even enhanced their independence of the metropolis and of the forces overseas which did much to shape these changes.

Samantha Letters completed her collection of material for a gazetteer of markets and fairs in England and Wales up to the early sixteenth century. With the end of ESRC funding for the project, further resources have been found which will help complete the editing and checking of the material. The gazetteer is being made available electronically on the Centre's website and when complete will be published in paper form by the List and Index Society. By December 2000 the entries for nine English counties had been made available on the website and it is anticipated that most of the remainder will be available by midsummer 2001. The gazetteer is an immensely valuable resource for many types of historical enquiry and has already attracted a great deal of interest. Moreover, it serves as the foundation for a new project funded by the ESRC, 'Markets and

fairs in thirteenth-century England', in which from November 2000 Samantha investigates the political economy of markets and fairs. The gazetteer reveals that while there was clearly an immense demand for new trading institutions, the incidence of grants of market privileges and the management of markets by their owners was heavily influenced by political factors, including patronage, warfare and the local interests of landowners.

The new history of St Paul's Cathedral, sponsored by the Dean and Chapter, makes steady progress. Several authors have already contributed drafts of their chapters, well in advance of the timetable. During the year Chris Faunch made an important contribution as research assistant to the history by investigating some of the less accessible sources and the immense collections of illustrative material, as she reports below.

Perry Gauci's book arising from his research at the Centre into 'English merchant culture, 1660-1720' will be published by the Oxford University Press in March 2001. A significant event of the year will be the publication, in December 2000, of Craig Spence's *London in the 1690s: A Social Atlas*, which presents an overview of the findings from one of the early large projects at the Centre and serves as an introduction to the substantial database drawn from tax records of the period. The database is available for consultation at the Centre.

Several of the Centre's applications for funding for future projects were unsuccessful. However, we continue to pursue our objective, in association with colleagues in institutions outside London, of promoting long-range interdisciplinary investigation of the interaction between regional, metropolitan and national identities up to the present. Another important area for development will be to make new sources for London history and related themes more widely available, along with data arising from former research at the Centre. Experience with the gazetteer of markets and fairs points to ways of doing this. There have been other developments too, on which it will be possible to report next year.

Following the intensive cluster of conferences and workshops organised in the summer of 1999, the Centre adopted a more extended programme for this year. We collaborated with the CORN (Comparative Rural History of the North Sea Area) group in organising a conference on food production and trading relations between town and country, held in Ghent in December 1999. In collaboration with the Corporation of London and the Museum of London we organised a conference in April 2000 — on the eve of the election of the new mayor of London — on the governance of London over the last thousand years. The

papers will be published in *The London Journal* in the summer of 2001, and in the meantime versions of the papers can be read on the Corporation's website, to which there is a link from the Centre's home page. In the same month we helped Ian Gadd and Patrick Wallis to organise a conference on 'Revisiting the Livery Companies of Early Modern London', the proceedings of which will be published in 2001. In September, in association with Moscow colleagues, we ran a session on metropolitan history at the International Congress on Urban History in Berlin. In October we organised an Anglo-Italian workshop, at which a group of historians from the University of Bologna presented their innovative, multi-media approach to reconstructing and investigating the medieval city, while on the English side historians explained and compared the approaches that had been adopted here and an analyst of urban form discussed London as a fractal entity. The regular seminar on Metropolitan History included a wide range of papers on aspects of marginality and the city.

As part of his writing programme, the Director finally managed to complete his extended, and challenging, task of surveying commerce and urbanisation throughout the whole of Europe, A.D. 1000–1200, as a contribution to the *Cambridge Medieval History*. He also lectured and published on many other themes, and served as a member of English Heritage's Urban Panel and its London Advisory Committee, of the International Commission for the History of Towns, of the Fabric Advisory Committee of St Paul's Cathedral, of the British Historic Towns Atlas Committee and as managing trustee of the London Journal.

The Centre welcomed many visitors during the year, including overseas visitors from Australia, Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Spain, Sweden, and the United States.

## 2. PROJECT REPORTS

### i METROPOLITAN MARKET NETWORKS c.1300–1600

This project has sought to answer questions concerning the development of efficient markets and the role of dominant cities in that process. Focusing on England between 1300 and 1600 and on the impact of London on its hinterland and more distant regions, the research has built upon the approaches used in previous studies based at the Centre (further information on ‘Feeding the City I and II’ and ‘Market networks in the London Region c.1400’ is available on the CMH website under ‘Research projects’). The final year of this particular three-year project, funded by the Economic and Social Research Council (Award No. R000237253), came to an end on 31 July 2000. The full results of the research will be presented in a book, with the provisional title *London and the Transformation of the English Economy: Market Networks in Transition, 1300–1600*, being written for publication by the Cambridge University Press in 2002.

The project had two principal components. One used the records of a sample of debt cases in the central Court of Common Pleas in cross-sectional analyses of commercial networks at three successive dates within the period. The cases originated in London, the counties of its immediate hinterland (Bedfordshire, Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Essex, Hertfordshire, Kent, Middlesex, Northamptonshire, Oxfordshire and Surrey) and the outlying counties of Devon, Staffordshire and Yorkshire. In addition to their coverage of these counties, the records provide an accurate picture of the activities of London creditors throughout the kingdom. The second component dealt with the evidence of grain (mainly wheat) prices, with the aim of estimating the degree of integration in the market for this important basic commodity.

Common Plea records are complex and vary considerably over time, but an important outcome of the research has been to demonstrate that they provide a robust basis for analysing changes in commercial networks over the long run. In order to make the best use of relevant information (including the occupations and places of residence of parties) substantial datasets for analysis were compiled from the rolls for the Michaelmas terms of 1329, 1424 and 1570. This information (from over 8,000 cases) was analysed and mapped. The occurrence and occupational profiles of debtors and creditors residing in particular towns, counties and regions were tabulated and the value of their debts analysed. Urban hinterlands were mapped, using both point and county-based values. The material is especially good for reconstructing the extent and density of London’s contacts, but also provides

comparable pictures for other towns, including Exeter and York. In addition, debt information from City of London records around 1300 and from the records of other towns at later dates was analysed in a similar fashion.

The price series are fragmentary and ‘low-grade’ by comparison with modern data, and thus constrained the types of analysis which could be undertaken. Nevertheless, useful series within the period 1277–1640 were compiled for London, Exeter, Canterbury, Chester and a range of bishopric of Winchester manors in southern England. Comparisons were drawn with series for Antwerp, Bruges and Douai. Statistical analysis of co-variation of detrended series (the standard method of measuring the degree of integration) was possible only for parts of some of the series. Other revealing exercises have included visual comparison of graphed series for pairs of places, and measurement of temporal and spatial variations in price volatility.

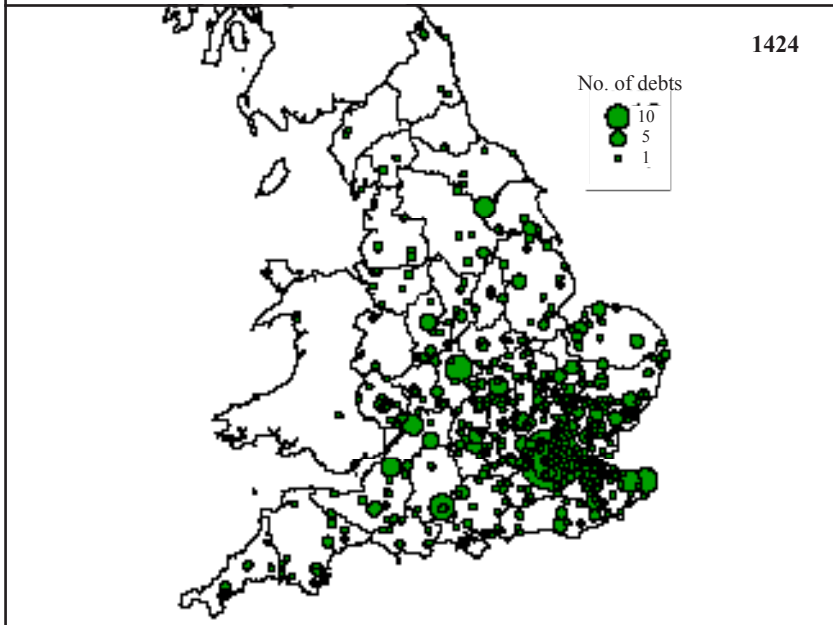
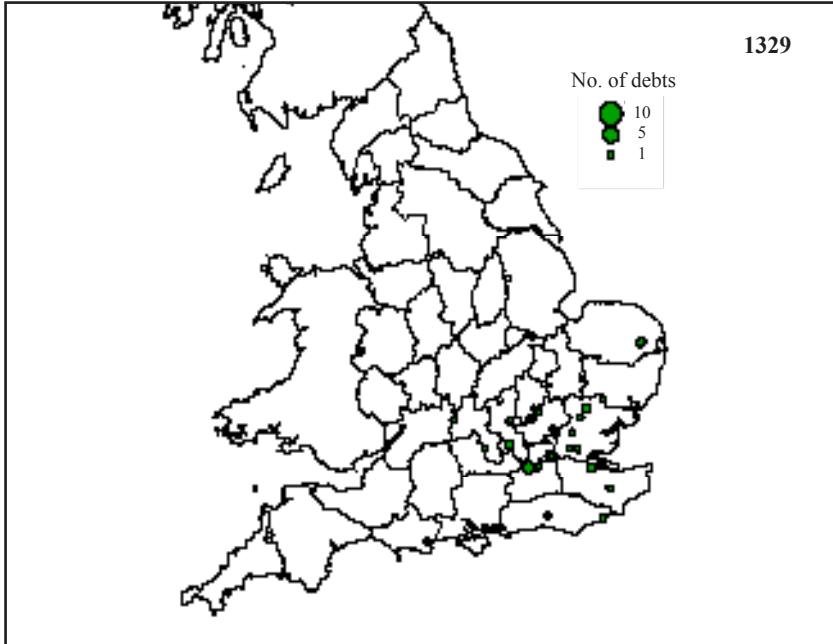
Some of the preliminary results of debt and price analysis appeared in James A. Galloway (ed), *Trade, Urban Hinterlands, and Market Integration c.1300–1600* — a volume in the CMH Working Papers Series published in May 2000 (copies available from the Institute of Historical Research’s bookshop, price £10) — along with contributions concerning related issues and other European regions from Richard Britnell, Franz Irsigler and Herbert Eiden, Pamela Nightingale and Christopher Dyer.

Overall, the results point to a regionally-differentiated pattern of change over the three centuries rather than a straightforward linear trend towards an integrated system focusing on London, although the steady increase in the relative wealth and influence of the metropolis is revealed. Several distinctive types of interaction between London, its immediate hinterland, and more distant regions have been identified, along with episodes in which some markets became less, rather than more, integrated. International markets, especially those linked by the English Channel and the southern part of the North Sea, had an important influence on these changes. To a large extent they worked through London thus contributing to the way in which the capital undermined the commercial independence of some provincial towns, but they seem also to have had direct and positive effects on Exeter and the South West. At the same time, the fall in interest rates over the period as a whole indicates a general improvement in the conditions of trade. The results thus constitute a case study in the evolution of commercial systems, emphasising the role of cumulative, small-scale change and of reactions to a changing commercial environment, rather than the significance of dramatic transition from one ‘system’ of production or distribution to another.



Despite London's great size in the early fourteenth century, its hinterland, as defined by intensive commercial interaction, appears to have been limited to the south-east and the Midlands. By 1424 that hinterland took in much of England, at a date significantly earlier than sometimes suggested. Further change by 1570 concerned the structure of that hinterland rather than its extent. The principal shifts evident between 1424 and 1570 include the increasing dependence of the territory immediately around London on the city itself, a decline in the relative intensity of contacts with counties to the south and east of London, a corresponding relative increase in contact with interior counties to the north and west, including Hertfordshire, Bedfordshire, Wiltshire and Warwickshire, and an increase in the proportion of debts contracted between inhabitants of the capital itself. There is also an increase evident in contacts between London and Yorkshire, Cheshire and Northumberland, although not apparently with other northern counties, while a relative decline in contacts with Devon and Cornwall is indicated (see Fig. 1). These changes, which on the whole contrast with the marked national shift in population and wealth in favour of the south-east between the fourteenth and sixteenth centuries, suggest that within that region there was a movement of business into London itself while, at least at some levels of commerce, more distant counties were becoming more important for Londoners than those in its immediate vicinity. In particular, London became a more dominant market for livestock and coal. In several regions Londoners had come to intervene directly in the market for local products, rather than operating through provincial centres and middlemen, as had been the case in 1424. In Exeter and Devon as a whole, however, the opposite took place. In the south-east, London seems to have become an increasingly dominant centre for retail trade.

These changes, associated with trade in a wide range of commodities including manufactured goods and raw materials for industry, were not straightforwardly reflected in measures of wheat price integration. Comparison of Exeter and London prices and their relation to fluctuations in the Exeter grain trade suggest that in the early fourteenth century both places were part of a relatively well-integrated coastal wheat market in which London may not have been dominant. That market rather may have centred upon Flanders and other parts of the near-Continent as well as embracing coastal districts of south-eastern and south-western England. Decline in aggregate demand for cereals after the Black Death may have precipitated a decline in the level of integration of coastal grain markets. The 1360s seem to have ushered in a period of generally greater price volatility at Exeter, suggestive of a less efficient and less well integrated market. This trend to increasing volatility at Exeter culminated in the 1430s, after which a notable decline is evident until the last decade of the fifteenth



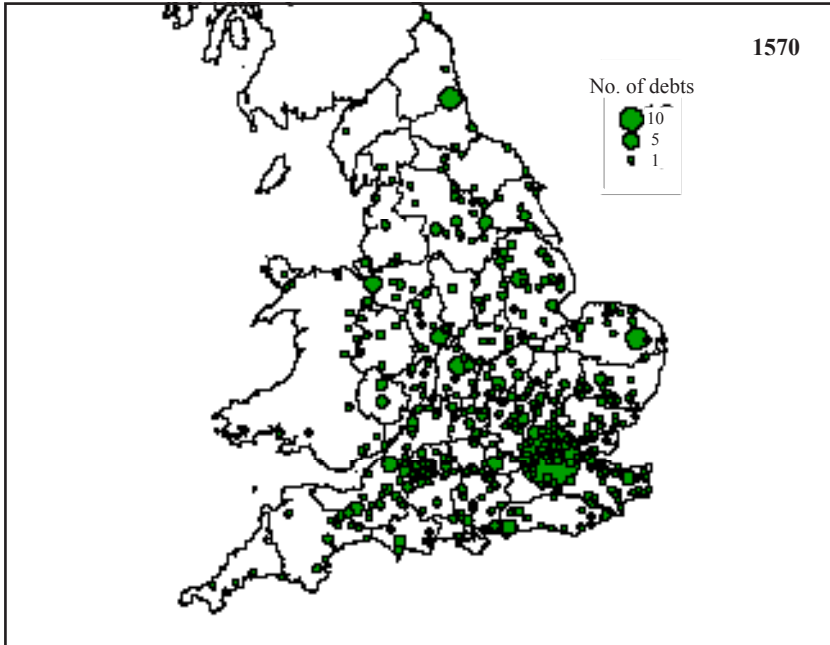


Fig 1. Debts owed to Londoners in 1329, 1424 and 1570

From cases in the court of Common Pleas. The sample for 1329 is small, but enlarging it by taking account of pleas of account (which at that date indicate commercial contact in the same way as pleas of debt) does not significantly alter the picture. The expansion, by 1424, of London's sphere of influence as a supplier of goods and credit is very striking. By 1570 it is apparent that London's contact with coal-producing areas in the North East and with textile producing areas in Yorkshire and in Wiltshire and Somerset had sharply increased, while direct contact with the city of York and with Devon and Cornwall had diminished (for different reasons in each case).

century, when volatility again increased. Both the rural and urban economies of Devon performed well in the fifteenth century — real improvements in market organisation may have been associated with this prosperity.

The apparently growing detachment of Exeter from a London-focused economy between 1424 and 1570 revealed by analysis of debt cautions against generalising from the Exeter data alone. Analysis of fifteenth-century prices from London (Westminster), Canterbury and Chester suggests that Exeter's decline in volatility was shared by other southern markets, but that in the north-west the picture may have been very different. The movement of prices in later fifteenth-century Chester appears more violent and erratic than at any of the other locations, which may, in the absence of clear evidence for changing measures or other

## ii      MARKETS AND FAIRS IN ENGLAND AND WALES TO AD 1516

The aim of this two-year project, which came to the end of its Economic and Social Research Council funding (Ref. No: R000237395) on 31 July, has been to produce a comprehensive survey of medieval markets and fairs.

The network of markets and fairs in medieval England was one of the densest and most highly developed in Europe. The development of weekly or daily markets and annual fairs reflects trends in population, settlement, commerce and economic specialisation. It also sheds light on the exercise of power, both by local lords and by kings who claimed the right to regulate trade. Moreover, it relates to the evolution of laws concerning trade and to the complex relationship between the practice of commerce and the legal framework within which it operated. However, despite the importance of these trading institutions, until now no comprehensive national survey of them has been available, and such lists as have been prepared for individual counties vary in quality. No comparable lists are available for Wales.

As detailed in previous *CMH Annual Reports* (1997–8, pp. 10–19; 1998–9, pp. 10–15), the survey has been arranged as a gazetteer covering the period from the seventh to the sixteenth century. Every reference to a market (*mercatum, forum*) or fair (*feria, nundinae*) in the source material has been recorded. This includes both prescriptive markets and fairs (generally the oldest, which were held by established custom) and granted markets and fairs, which were usually held by virtue of a royal charter. The Gazetteer is arranged by county, and then by place in alphabetical order.

The Gazetteer covers some 4,700 markets and fairs in England and Wales at over 2,100 places in England (more than 2,000 markets and nearly 2,500 fairs) and 139 places in Wales (103 markets and 137 fairs).

Standard information is provided for each place, including: an eight figure grid reference; whether the place was a borough or had a mint (it is assumed that in the Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman periods, such places operated as centres of trade and had a market); its assessed value in the 1334 lay subsidy; whether the market or fair survived in the sixteenth century (taken from Alan Everitt's list of markets c.1500 to 1640 in the *Agrarian History of England and Wales*, and from the list of fairs compiled in 1587 in W. Harrison, *The Description of England*); and references to fuller accounts of its history, particularly those in the *Victoria County History*.

Most of the markets and fairs covered are known because the right to hold them was granted by the king to individuals or to religious institutions. English kings had claimed this right to licence trading institutions by the late eleventh century, but do not appear to have successfully enforced this until the thirteenth century. From 1199 onwards, the grants were systematically recorded by the royal administration. From then until well into the fourteenth century there was a strong demand for grants of markets and fairs, reflecting economic growth and the desire of lords to manipulate and profit from trade in the districts where their estates lay. Subsequently, the number of grants fell sharply away and in addition, many of the markets and fairs which had been established earlier failed to survive. The Gazetteer identifies those markets and fairs which still existed about 1600. It contains as much information as possible regarding the establishment and operation of markets and fairs, within the confines of the sources used. The Gazetteer is derived mainly from extensive searches of printed primary sources concerning the royal administration (for example, Calendars of Charter Rolls, Close Rolls and Letters Close); similar sources have been used to trace the operation of the markets and fairs after the initial grants.

A substantial minority of markets and fairs were prescriptive. Held by established custom, they were often the most successful and long-lasting markets and fairs. Prescriptive markets were often sited in boroughs, or at places which had a mint in the Anglo-Saxon or Anglo-Norman period. The dates of boroughs and mints have been taken from standard secondary sources in order to provide a systematic overview of these early commercial sites. Often in such cases, the Gazetteer indicates that the first specific reference to a market dates from the thirteenth century, but that the place had been a borough or a mint for at least two centuries.

The information was compiled as a database, using the Idealist free-text software. The text of the Gazetteer can be generated automatically from this database. A selection of information from the database has also been transferred into a geographical information system. This truncated database is used for statistical and spatial analysis of markets and fairs according to region, date, and day of the week or season. It will be a powerful tool for investigating the evolution of commercial networks and local cycles of trade, as well as for establishing regional characteristics.

Preliminary analysis confirms the hypotheses suggested in previous county studies that the number of markets and fairs granted in the thirteenth century rose steadily. The numbers granted declined after the mid fourteenth century and remained low throughout the fifteenth century. This is in contrast to the situation in continental Europe, where the greatest increase in the number of

markets and fairs occurred after the Black Death, when royal rights to control the establishment of trading institutions were successfully asserted. Evidence from the Gazetteer indicates that the overall increase in grants in England during the thirteenth century was punctuated by a number of years in which an exceptionally large number of charters were issued.

The Gazetteer is a substantial document, which in hard copy will occupy some 500 closely-printed pages. It is hoped that the List and Index Society will publish it in book form. However, in order for Gazetteer to be accessible to as large and diverse an audience as possible, it was decided that an on-line version should be made available on the Internet.

The first part of the Gazetteer comprising nine counties (Derbyshire, Essex, Herefordshire, Middlesex, Rutland, Somerset, Sussex, Worcestershire and Yorkshire) went on-line at the end of November 2000 and can be accessed at <[www.history.ac.uk/cmh/gaz/gazweb2.html](http://www.history.ac.uk/cmh/gaz/gazweb2.html)>. Additional funding from English Heritage and The Aurelius Trust will enable the remaining English counties and

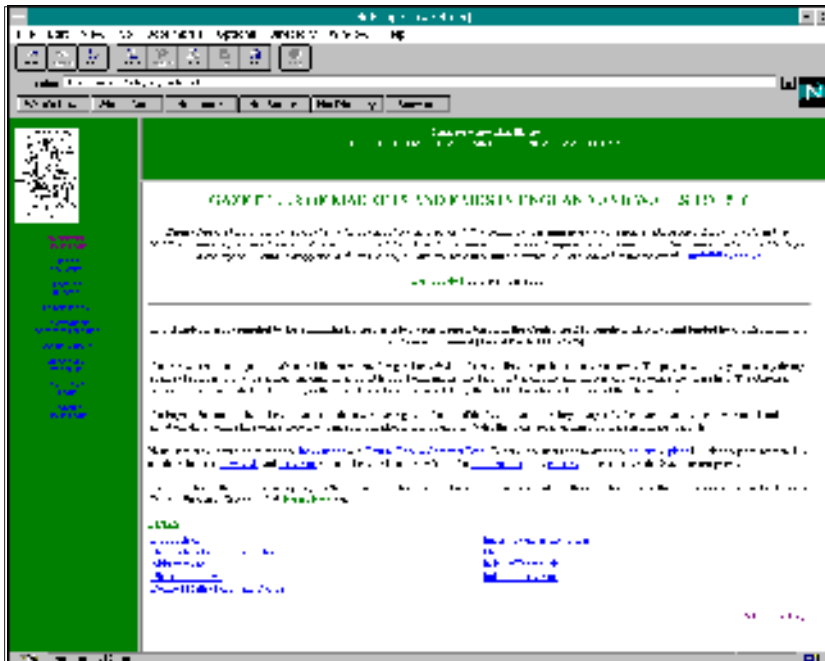


Fig 2. The Home Page of the On-Line Gazetteer of Markets and Fairs

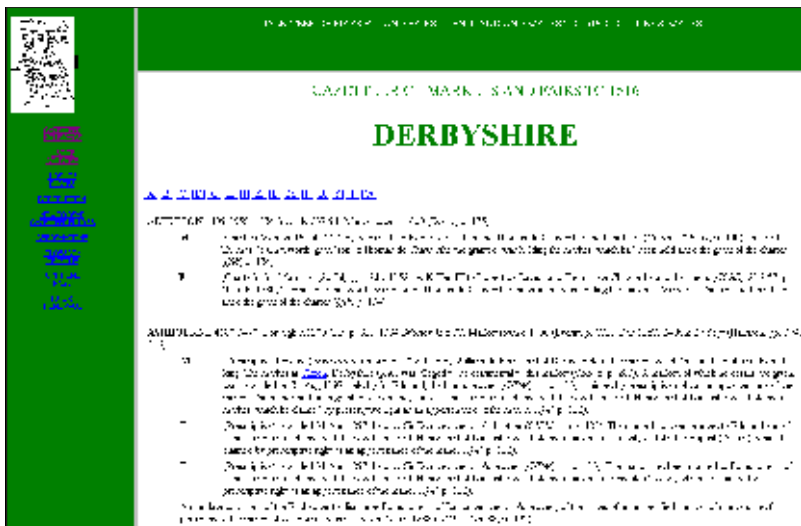


Fig. 3. Example of a Gazetteer entry

Wales to be added in 2001. An introduction, examples of how to read Gazetteer entries, a list of abbreviations and a glossary of terms used in the Gazetteer are also provided on-line, together with an index to places. Indexes to people and institutions will be added shortly. A further advantage of the on-line version is that it can be readily updated as further information on markets and fairs comes to hand.

It should be noted that the Gazetteer is not definitive and there is a great deal more information on medieval markets and fairs to be found in miscellaneous and unpublished sources. The Centre actively welcomes any corrections and new information from users.

The Gazetteer will become a primary research tool for historians, historical geographers, archaeologists and economists. It will also be a major reference work of value beyond the academic community, for example to those interested in local studies. It aims to provide as much information as possible regarding the establishment and operation of markets and fairs during the medieval period. The appeal of the Gazetteer will extend beyond those interested in that period, as the markets and fairs established at this time formed the core of the network which survived into the sixteenth century and beyond. It is also being used as a basis for a new project exploring Markets and Fairs in Thirteenth-Century England (see pp. 14–15, below).

iii      MARKETS AND FAIRS IN THIRTEENTH-CENTURY ENGLAND

This three year project, funded by the ESRC (no. R000239108) started on 1 November 2000. The research officer is Dr Samantha Letters, supervised by Dr Derek Keene; the advisors are Professor Richard Britnell and Dr David Carpenter.

The early development of markets and fairs is an issue of central significance in economic history and historical geography. The network of legally established markets and fairs in medieval England, almost all of them authorised by royal grant, was dense, highly developed and apparently originated earlier than in much of Europe. The already complex marketing network of England was supplemented during the thirteenth century by a great increase in the number of grants of markets and fairs. This project will examine the reasons for this increase, taking account of political and institutional factors as well as the economic ones which have dominated discussion in the past. Why these rights were granted, whether the markets and fairs were successful and how they were managed as part of a portfolio of lordly resources are central topics. The project builds upon the Centre's recently completed *Gazetteer of Markets and Fairs in England and Wales to 1516* (see pp. 10–13 above), using the evidence to study the establishment and operation of markets and fairs on a national scale for the first time.

The project will focus on two issues. Firstly, the spatial and temporal variation in the establishment of English markets and fairs, and the success of those institutions over the medieval period as a whole. This will comprise an overview, derived primarily from the *Gazetteer*, of the trends in the foundation of markets and fairs in England and Wales between *c.* 900 and 1516 and in their survival to *c.* 1600. The markets and fairs will be considered in the context of broad trends in economic activity, political control and the exercise of justice.

The second part of the project is the control and exploitation of markets and fairs by their owners and by royal authority during the period 1199–1272. The first and most important theme will be assessing the grants of markets and fairs in their political and economic context. Four key periods will be studied in detail: John's reign, the minority of Henry III, the 1250s and Edward II's reign. Work has begun on test case, looking at grants during the regency of William Marshall in 1216–19. The fifty grants made either involved new markets or fairs, or made changes to existing trading institutions. An attempt has been made to set each of these in its political context, by considering the loyalty of the recipient during the civil war and after, their position at court and relationship to the regent or to



the king. The grants have also been considered in their context 'on the ground', that is within the spatial and temporal network of existing markets and fairs. An additional factor to be considered is the impact of a movement against Sunday trading, promoted by the papacy, which was highly topical. Initial results indicate that many recipients of grants of markets and fairs were closely connected to the regent, suggesting that issues of patronage and the political context of grants will be a rewarding area for further research. The impact of the anti-Sunday trading movement also appears to have been significant. The effect of this on local market networks will be analysed over the next few months.

The second theme of the project will be to consider markets and fairs from the point of view of the individuals who owned them. The most important individual will be the king: as a major landlord, he directly controlled many trading institutions on his estates. This study will be the first to investigate the administration of markets on the royal demesne on a national scale. Few of the county studies of markets so far published deal with royal markets and fairs. The investigation will assess the chronology and location of markets and fairs on the royal demesne, and will consider how they fitted into existing networks of trade. The reasons for the establishment of these markets and fairs will be examined, including the provisioning of the royal household, their potential as a means to raise income and as status symbols. It is likely that this will concentrate on the 1230s and 1240s. The other major landlord to be studied will be Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester (1205–38).

Another theme will be the legal, administrative and financial restrictions on marketing enforced by the king. Overall, these changes increased the need for access to the king, who thus acquired new opportunities for patronage, and thus made the issue of grants a potential object of royal patronage. Key questions in this part of the study concern the degree to which John and Henry III exploited those opportunities, and the way in which additions and adjustments to the network of trading institutions reflect contemporary perceptions and practice in its operation.

The main focus of the project will be to produce a monograph. It is hoped that several papers will be given during the course of the project including one at the Thirteenth Century England conference at Durham in 2001. A page for the project has been set up on the CMH website and further news will be posted at [www.history.ac.uk/cmh/projects.html#mf13](http://www.history.ac.uk/cmh/projects.html#mf13).

## iv ST PAUL'S CATHEDRAL HISTORY, 604–2004

Last year we introduced our new project to produce a comprehensive history of St Paul's Cathedral, sponsored by the Dean and Chapter and to be published in 2004, when as an institution the cathedral will be 1,400 years old. Since then arrangements have been finalised with the authors of the chapters concerning music at the cathedral, making a total of forty-three authors in all. Work is progressing steadily with the chapters. Many new discoveries are being made and it is already clear that the project will promote further studies and publications after the history itself is completed. Drafts of most chapters are expected in Autumn 2001, but several have already been submitted.

There have been several meetings for contributors, some of a predominantly social character and others (no less social) focusing on particular themes or periods.

The project's research officer, Chris Faunch, completed her first year in August 2000, and her contract has been extended for twelve months in order that she can continue to identify source material. During the last year she has produced a number of reports on the archives which have led to some exciting discoveries and 're-discoveries' for contributors. These range from specialist papers on the state of the cathedral fabric and decoration to an early seventeenth-century list of printed books which had not been seen for many years. At the time of the last *Annual Report*, Chris had just completed reports on the St Paul's records at the Guildhall Library and in the Cathedral Library. Since then, she has investigated the Cathedral's fabric archive and visited a considerable number of other libraries, galleries and archive collections. She reported on the St Paul's project and archives to the London Archive Users' Forum.

In addition to the work undertaken on archival holdings, research this year has included more detailed work on particular papers and topics, sometimes in response to the specific requirements of contributors. Searches have produced information for the history on collections of estate maps, clergy, portraits of people connected with the cathedral, and key individual documents, such as visitation depositions, contracts, diary material (like Canon Hall's mentioned on p. 26) and drawings.

The history will be well illustrated, with about 400 images. An important focus of the research this year has concerned graphic material and we have begun to consult contributors over their requirements for illustrations. The aim is to co-ordinate the graphic content of the book and to use sequences of illustrations to express specific

arguments and themes concerning the cathedral and its activities. In many instances pictures will tell the story more effectively than words. In addition, there will be a chapter specifically devoted to artistic representations of the cathedral.

Subjects particularly rich in illustrative matter range from material issues such as the archaeology of the site, the architecture and engineering of the cathedral and precinct, monuments, decoration and estates, to the representation of public occasions, preaching and the social life of the environs. An overarching theme concerns the way in which the cathedral has been depicted as a place of worship and as a monument in its active and symbolic roles both in the city of London and in the wider national consciousness.

The cathedral's national role is particularly well represented over the last century, in moving as well as in static photographic images. The Imperial War Museum holds a good collection of relevant wartime footage. A group of authors made a highly successful visit to see it, with a view to selecting publishable stills. They include some of the most dramatic images of the raging fires in the Blitz and its devastating effect on the area around the cathedral, contrasting with the controlled formality of ceremonial occasions with their focus on officials, dignitaries and clergy entering and leaving the building. The British Film Institute holds additional significant footage dating from the end of the nineteenth century to the end of the twentieth. This material, yet to be viewed by the authors, has a broader range and includes, in addition to coverage of formal occasions, more interpretative and provocative analyses of the cathedral, both as a building and a religious space.

Graphic sources which provide a coherent record of significant events in the calendar of worship, date back well before the age of photography to the building of the post-fire cathedral. Two are shown here. The first such record of a state occasion, drawn and engraved by Robert Trevitt (Fig. 4), commemorates a service of General Thanksgiving on 31 December 1706 attended by Queen Anne, well before the official completion of the new cathedral in 1711. A key early representation of the new Wren cathedral, by an engraver known to the architect, it indicates the early decorative scheme and the liturgical and seating arrangements.<sup>1</sup> Some thirty years later, Jacobus de Schley's view of the same interior space was published in Bernard Picart's *Ceremonies et coutumes religieuses de tous les peuples du monde* (1736). This engraving (Fig. 5), entitled

<sup>1</sup> Teresa Sladen stresses the importance of the engraving for decorative detail, which she will be discussing in her chapter on decoration 1708–1914.

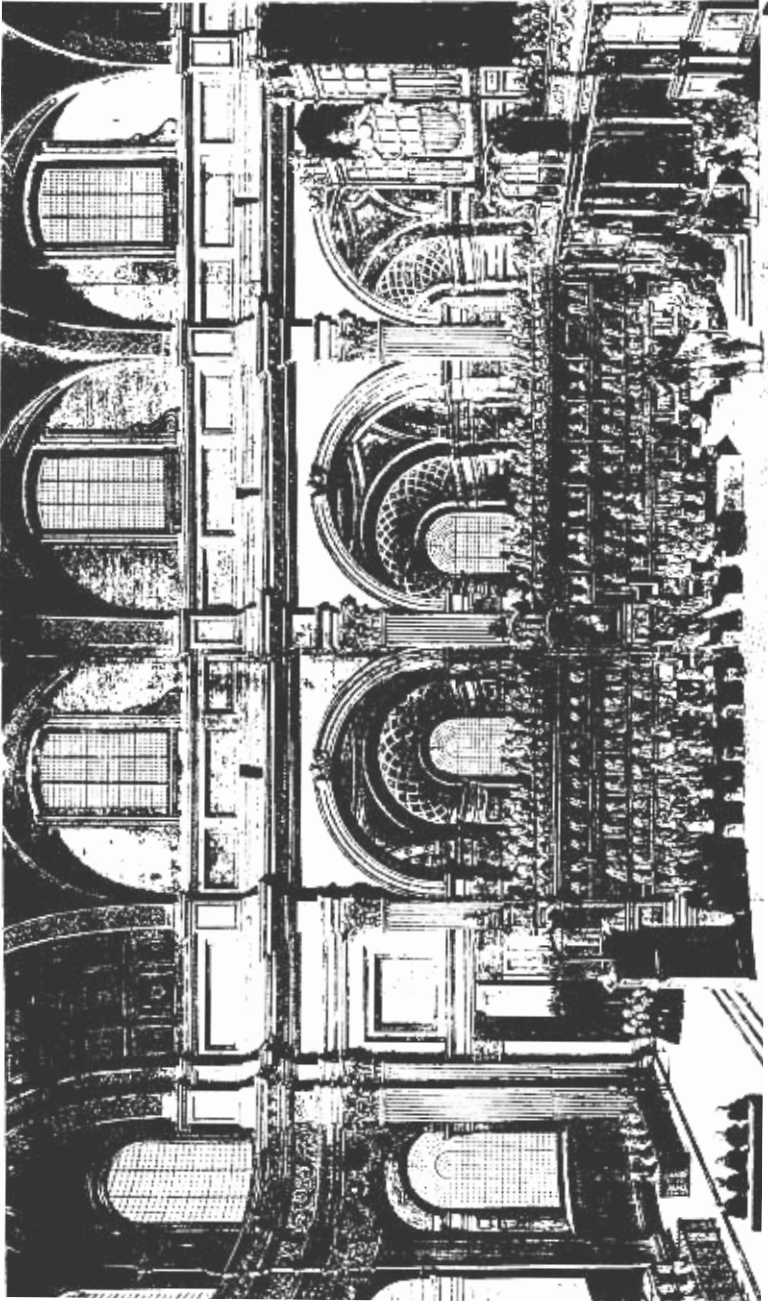


Fig. 4. Thomas Treviti, coloured engraving of the choir of St Paul's during the General Thanksgiving of 31 December 1706  
(Reproduced by kind permission of the Department of Prints and Drawings, Guildhall Library, Corporation of London)

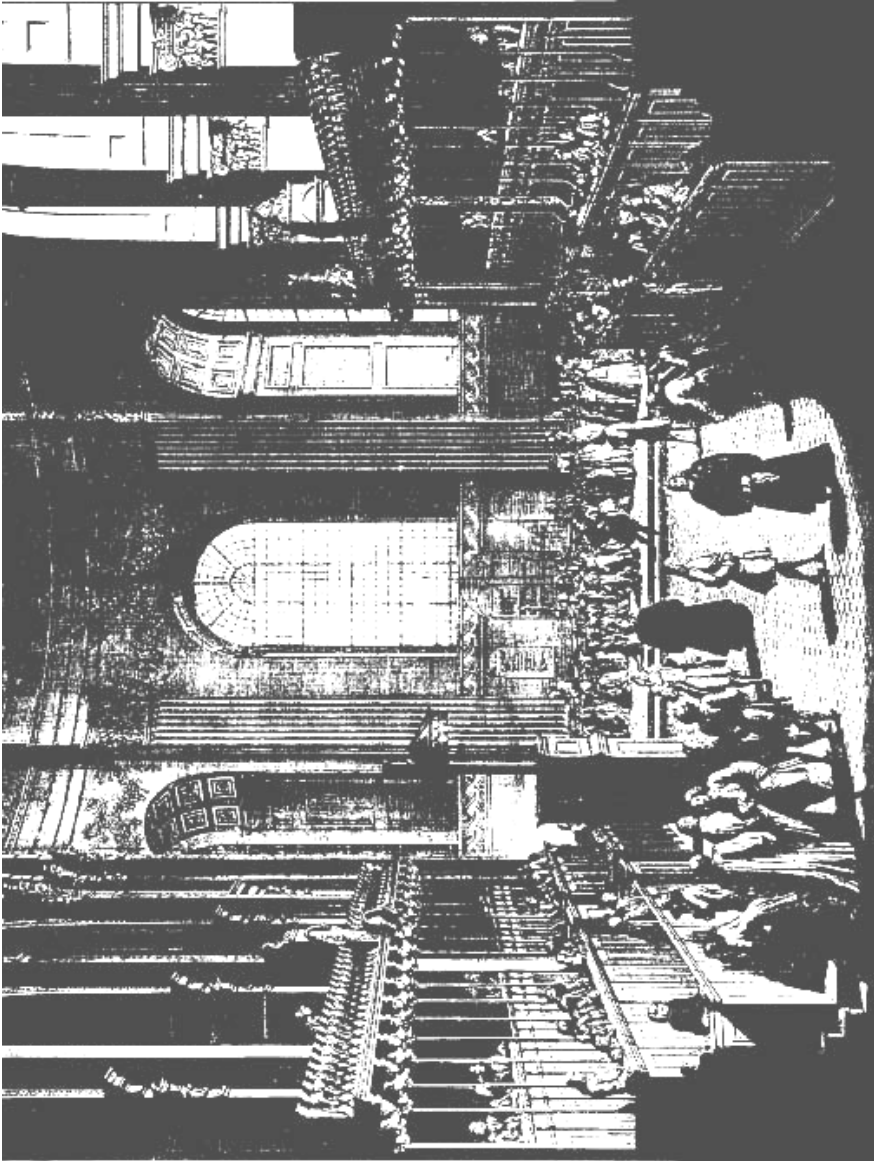


Fig. 5. J. Schley, 'La Communion des Anglicans à Saint Paul', 1734  
(Reproduced by kind permission of the Department of Prints and Drawings, Guildhall Library, Corporation of London)

‘La Communion des Anglicans à Saint Paul’, shows many of the same details, but on a much less formal occasion. Clergy and others stroll and converse with each other on the floor of choir, while others nearby are at prayer or kneel at the communion rail to accept the wafer. The prevailing atmosphere appears to be one of conviviality, rather than solemnity. This is a rare eighteenth-century image in that it shows the administration of one of the sacraments of the church through the eyes of its beholder. There are several other early views of the interior of the post-fire cathedral, but they concentrate on the more secular spaces to the west of the choir and the figures shown to provide scale are not engaged in worship or ceremonial. With the nineteenth-century and later photographic record it becomes possible again to provide a coherent visual history of the liturgical space and how it was used and altered over a substantial period of time.

In addition to the graphic material, there is no lack of written commentary on the building from the end of the seventeenth century, most particularly from visitors to London. As Sutton Nicholls’s view of 1695 shows (Fig. 6) much of the fabric of the new cathedral was concealed from view by fences and scaffolding during the long period of construction. Many of the early tourists’ remarks were informed as much by engravings as by sight of the structure, and not all those engravings were accurate. Zacharias Conrad Von Uffenbach, who visited St Paul’s on the 14 June 1710, was a perceptive commentator and had this to say about the interior and the west front:

...we went down into the church, for which no admiration can be too great. It is easier to make it out from the drawings and engravings that we bought of it than to describe it in words. It is extraordinarily tall and long, and on that account appears somewhat narrow, excepting for the part under the dome.

It is also extraordinarily light. The chancel was not yet finished and was full of scaffolding, since they were making mouldings above the vaulting. It will be quite matchless. It is panelled all round with wood, which is elegantly carved and gilded. The organ stands in front of the chancel. At the main entrance are tremendous oak doors, which open so easily that a child could push them. Outside the doors are some uncommonly fine and large steps, which are as wide as the main facade of the church; the two side doors are not so large. But all this can be seen much better from the engravings.<sup>2</sup>

One theme in the history concerns the way in which both visitors and regular users or neighbours of the cathedral perceived it, both in terms of its architecture and as a liturgical and social space. Long after Von Uffenbach, Molly Hughes

<sup>2</sup> W. H. Quarrell and Margaret Mare (trans. and ed.), *London in 1710 from the travels of Zacharias Conrad von Uffenbach* (London, 1934), 34–5.

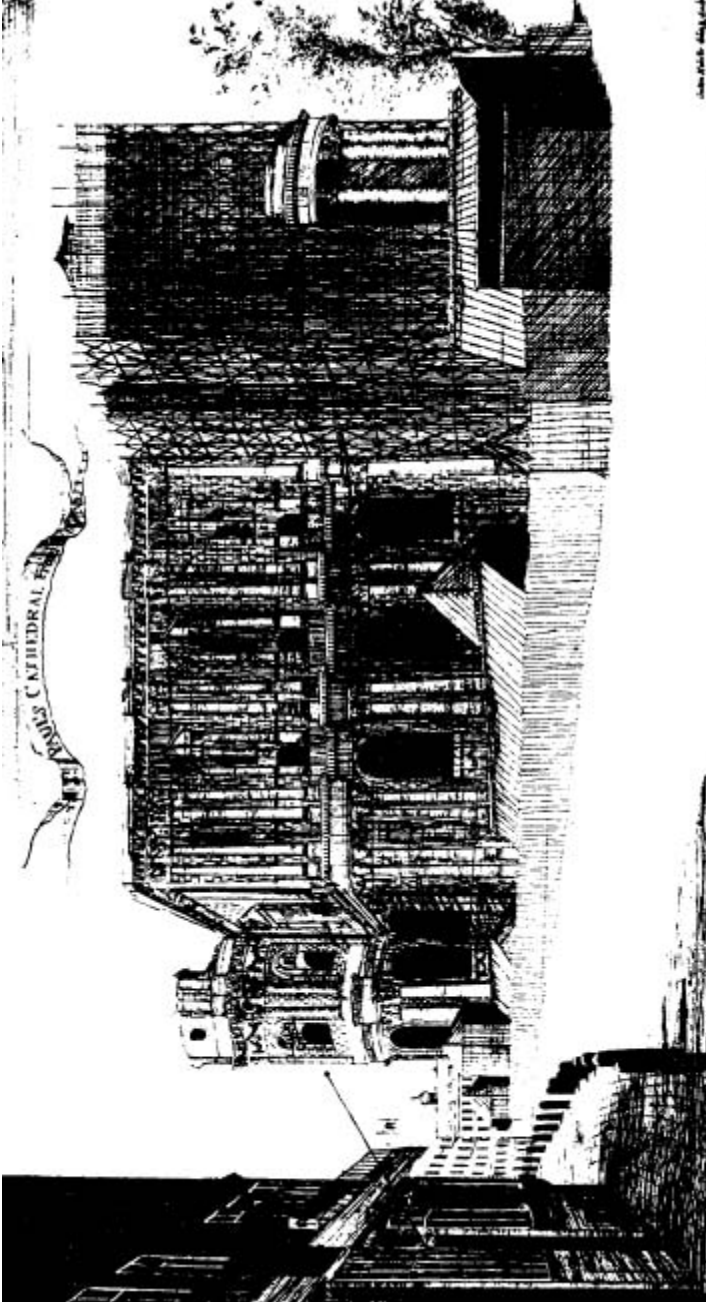


Fig. 6. Copy of Sutton Nicholls's engraving of 1695 showing the exterior of the cathedral under scaffolding (Reproduced by kind permission of the Department of Prints and Drawings, Guildhall Library, Corporation of London)

attended services regularly in the cathedral as a little girl during the 1870s. Her reminiscences, written down in the 1930s, present a refreshing perspective on the public persona of the cathedral at a time of immense upheaval, both within St Paul's and at the heart of the Anglican Church. Molly's comments were not charged with an awareness of the issues and debates of the period, but her acute and intelligent observations, perhaps occasionally informed by adult hindsight, unveil them with remarkable clarity.

At first Molly considered the physical discomfort and the entertainments that children concocted to relieve it:

My back still aches in memory of those long services. Nothing was spared us — the whole of the 'Dearly beloved', never an omission of the Litany, always the full ante-Communion Service, involving a sermon of unbelievable length. The seats and kneeling-boards were constructed for grown-ups,... and a child had the greatest difficulty in keeping an upright kneeling position all through the long intoned Litany. We found some alleviations even here. How would the officiating priest take the fence in intoning 'uncharitableness'? Canon Milman was our delight over this, because he used to quaver forth '-table' all by itself and leave a long pause of suspense before he could reach the high note of '-ness'. After this we looked forward to beating down Satan under our feet, partly because it seemed a nice final thing to do, and partly because it was the half-way mark...

But the service was by no means simply a test of stamina:

I have wondered since those days why we all took those long walks through dull streets, and endured those long services. Not from pious or educative motives. It must have been simply for the inspiring music that burst from that organ and that choir. It was worth all the endurance, even of the Litany. No footling sentimental hymns, but Te Deums, Psalms, Creeds, Introits, and Kyries that intoxicated us. During one boy's solo my father was so excited that his fist came thump down on his neighbour's shoulder...

Moreover, she recognised very clearly the implications of preaching to the worshippers at St Paul's:

Sermons, of course, were on the endurance side... To the preacher it was the chance of a lifetime. He would never again 'address London'. We got to be a little sorry for him as he went up the steps, conducted by the melancholy-looking verger who certainly must have given him a gloomy foreboding of his reception by 'London'. He did not know how his voice would carry under the dome, and we took joy in seeing whether he would bawl, or roar like any sucking dove...<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> M.V. Hughes, *A London Family 1870–1900* (Oxford, 1991), 68–71.



## ST PAUL'S CATHEDRAL HISTORY

These are a few examples of the way in which graphic and textual discourses — from foreigners' perceptions of architectural magnificence and of the English at worship to the young child attempting to make sense of the intricacies of late-nineteenth-century Anglicanism — can interact in the historical narrative of the cathedral, as a building on the landscape, a place of worship, and a site for cultural exchange.

All these inter-related issues will be explored in the new history of St Paul's which will be a timely addition to the ever-extending corpus of modern cathedral studies.

v BIBLIOGRAPHICAL AND INFORMATION SERVICES

Heather Creaton, the Centre's Deputy Director, is responsible for this aspect of its activities.

a) CHECKLIST OF UNPUBLISHED DIARIES ABOUT LONDON

With a total of 948 diaries on the database the collecting process is now almost finished and the introduction to the volume is in draft. It is impossible to ensure that such a checklist is complete because the manuscripts are so widely scattered, but every effort has been made to cover the holdings of as many repositories as possible, both in the UK and abroad. The text will go to the London Record Society's editors in 2001 and we hope that the volume will appear later in the year. Its content has already proved useful to other CMH researchers. Among the most interesting 'finds' over the last year have been:

- The diary of **Georg Wallin**, a Swedish theology student who rounded off a Continental tour with a few months in England in the spring and summer of 1710. He was a diligent sightseer in London, exploring the city while improving his English. On his arrival:

... together with my companions, took a carriage for ½ Crown and went to our lodgings at Madame Benoit's near Westminster in Suffolk Street. I stayed there for 9 days and had a good landlady, until I, on Mag. Er. Alstrin's recommendation, took my permanent residence 'in the Sugerloaf at Mrs Gaslin at Minories', where I found an extremely pleasant company, a widow with 8 ladies, that knew well how to take care of strangers and particularly the Swedes, who have always stayed there. The chief of all benefits was that here one had a desirable opportunity to learn English, as the girls themselves pushed one to study and handed out homework just as in a school...

As for the living conditions and the food, I didn't follow any particular diet ... unless you call it a diet that I was forced to eat meat every day. At Madame Benoit's the meal cost 18p. and there one dined well and in a splendid company, but after I came to the Minories, I became a vagrant and had to go around looking for bread. At first I had many problems, as I couldn't speak any English, for once I went to the 'Crown', but since they didn't understand me, nor I them, I left again. I did have all around me and in every street chophouses and eating-houses, but there I could rarely get anything but raw meat after the English manner. Therefore I went mostly to the Exchange where I could have all I wanted for 8, sometimes 9 or 10p. or when wanting a treat, for 1 sh. In the evenings I didn't keep a table, but simply lived on bread and butter and a pint of English beer, Nottingham or Stout."

Wallin was struck by London's transport system, and also by the English Sunday:

But since the road home was quite long and tiresome, I took a boat across the Thames to the Old Swan. I cannot begin to say how astonished I was on this occasion, the first time I went down to the water. There came more than 30 men towards me, all of them with their hands and hats in the air, making a loud cry as if they were going to eat me. But their words were ‘Scullert, Oars’, thereby asking me if I wanted one or two oarsmen. For one you pay 3, but for 2 men 6p. In this matter, there is an extremely good system in England, a certain fare being set and no one daring to ask for more in fear of large fines. But in Holland there is an obvious and shameless thieving going on, since if you don’t make sure of the price beforehand, they will always demand as much as they like, and no one dares to say anything against it. Every street in London is full of carriages, all of which are numbered, and they will take you from one place to another, but they are somewhat more expensive. However, on Sundays you don’t travel by carriage or boat, because everything is then so quiet, that if London on other days is a noisy world, it is then like a holy Jerusalem. The same is true for all of England, yes it is impossible to get something to eat outside your house, because all the eating houses and taverns are closed, and if good friends hadn’t invited me into their hovels, I would have had to make every Sunday a day of fasting. You cannot hear any singing, music or playing, because such things are — regardless of the occasion — prohibited, and any violation will be heavily punished.

He enjoyed the theatre too, but not to the neglect of his religious duties:

Together with Mag. Er. Alstrin I spent 18p. on a visit to the English opera on the evening of June 3rd. I had not visited the opera since leaving Dresden. It was beautiful to behold, because they presented whole fortresses, attacks and perfect noises of war, underground prisons, castles, temples and everything looked both splendid and pleasant. The persons did not seem fictitious, but quite in the same condition as they were presented. The audience did not seem to consider it a fable or a story, but the real thing, with many examples of small sufferings as well as of great joy. On the 9th *ejusdem*, the second day of Pentecost, upon the request of the congregation, I delivered the sermon in the Swedish church. My subject was John 3, ‘*Sic Deus dilexit mundum*’. In the congregation were Count Gyllenborg and other prominent persons. This church was founded in February *auctoribus in primis* by Mr Jonas Alberg and Carl Brander, who used to be members of the Danish congregation, but after war broke out between Sweden and Denmark the Swedes could no longer bear hearing prayers for their enemy, or to take part in prayers against their dear Fatherland, so they left. They were given permission by the Queen to start their own church and appointed Mag. Hegert as their vicar, seeking the support of the diocese of Skara. May God bless their Christian undertaking! On the 6th of July I also partook of Communion here.

Wallin’s comments on many aspects of London life are vivid and clear:

There are an enormous number of bookshops, but hardly any have foreign books. They particularly sell small books, published daily, which you find in every box and

corner and are also sold in every street and alley by old hags, boys and such rabble, amid much turmoil and shouting... From here I turn to the coffee houses, which the stranger shouldn't miss, partly because of the opportunity to hear some news, but also to learn the English language better...

While I am on the subject of coffee houses, I remember a funny custom they have there, as well as in other public rooms and taverns. When you leave everyone in the house rises and they form a line all the way to the door, shouting as loudly as they can one after the other: 'Welcome Sir, very welcome, welcome Sir'.<sup>1</sup>

- The diary of **Canon W.J. Hall** of St Paul's cathedral. Much of the diary is about his work at St Paul's and his family life, but it also contains some interesting social comment:

18 November 1881: Attended a discussion at the working men's hall in Eltham. I think these little mock parliaments do harm. They foster disputatiousness, and puff the leaders up with the most wonderful self-conceit. They tend also to discontent, for every little class grievance is here emphasised and kept in a state of irritation. The envy too of the poor against the rich here finds expression and fortifies itself by securing recruits. Amuse the people & keep them good humoured, but do not put weapons in their hands which may make them masters of the country.

- The diary of **Mrs F.D. Moore**, a rector's wife from Hampshire. In April 1890 she was staying in London with her husband, Frewen, on their way to Germany to consult a specialist about his eye problems. Like so many visitors, their schedule was packed.

Thursday May 1. SS Philip & James. Woke soon after 4 & was up between 5 & 6. The view from our window was splendid, looking down on Buckingham Palace with its greenery of trees, sentinels pacing up & down & if Her Majesty had been at home we could see her get into her carriage & rolled in her wraps. In the distance St George's Hospital looks a grand building too. On going down stairs at 8, sent off a Telegram & then when a 4-wheel was called, we all 3 drove to the 8.30 Celebration at St Paul's Knightsbridge. Mr Montagu Villiers was celebrant & the service was in the small side chapel, many communicants & we were glad of this last Communion together on this special day, our Philip's birthday & before leaving England. By a little after 9 we were back at the Hotel, breakfasted & then to our rooms till 10.30, when Selina & I walked to St Paul's for the 11 am High Celebration — a grand service, lovely choir voices, 12 boys — no men, except the Precentor & clergy. It lasted till 12. Then followed a CBS Ward Meeting for which I also staid.... Only saw Daphne & her girls for a moment as they were having a hurried lunch to go off

<sup>1</sup> Stadsbiblioteket Linköpings Stifts-och Landsbibliotek G 14a:2. I am indebted to Mr B. Nilsson of Linköpings universitetsbibliotek for the transcription and translation from the Swedish.

April 1895 Eli Rose 34 Hazelwood Road Walthamstow Essex

Mon 1<sup>st</sup> I went up to London this morning by the 5.25 train to Liverpool Street Station. Then I walk from there to Bedford Court Mansions Near Bedford Square that is 40 minutes walk.

Tues 2<sup>nd</sup> I am doing a bit of scaffolding at the Bedford Court Mansions with Alfred Hamilton. Working with the plasterer.

Wed 3<sup>rd</sup> Ditto. My Brother William had a piano come down to see for Kattie.

Thurs 4<sup>th</sup> I am working at the Bedford Court Mansions.

Fri 5<sup>th</sup> Ditto.

Sat 6<sup>th</sup> The men on the works were I am working collected for tea to day 7. - 4 This evening I have been up High Street to pay my union club money. And I went into a little shop and bought a Scarfe at 4 the day wife bought 2 pairs of boots at farkers one pair for Daise price 2-11 & one pair for Jennie's price 2-6 I just called in my Brother William and had a slice of ginger wine and a bit of cake has it was his wife's birthday she was 41 years old.

Sunday 7<sup>th</sup> Daise & wife have been to the Cemetery this afternoon to see the grave were our dear little boy Lays. This evening Daise & Kattie has been to St. Michael Church Walthamstow Essex.

Fig. 7. The diary of Eli Rose (1895)  
 (Waltham Forest Archives (Acc 8662),  
 reproduced by kind permission of Mrs M.A. Shaw)

to the Kilburn Orphanage Bazaar, where they had a stall of animals, kittens, birds etc & had to feed them before Bazaar opened in the afternoon... [Went] to see the Bazaar & specially the 'Live Animals' stall where we found Ernest. Then W took me in carriage to Buckingham Palace Road Hotel & left me there to rest & write till F & Selina came in. F returned delighted with "the most interesting SPG Meeting he had ever been at" - representative Missionaries from all parts of the world had spoken of their work & a negro among them, & it was charming. I rejoiced he had this to lift the veil of depression that hangs so heavily on him...<sup>2</sup>

- Lastly, I was pleased to find out about the diary of a builder's labourer from Walthamstow. **Eli Rose** kept an informative account of his daily life in 1895, written in a very clear hand, as the sample page (Fig. 7) shows.

#### b) RESEARCH IN PROGRESS ON THE HISTORY OF LONDON

The Centre maintains a register of research in progress on London history, which can be consulted on the web site. Up to date information about research work of all kinds concerning any part of Greater London would be welcome, as it is difficult to ensure that the list remains accurate.

#### c) SUPPLEMENT TO THE BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PRINTED WORKS ON LONDON HISTORY TO 1939

Slow progress was made in gathering material for this supplement this year because of pressure of other work. Possible sources of funding for its advance were explored, however, and it is hoped that the supplement can be continued and presented in electronic form before long.

#### d) OTHER DUTIES

As usual the Deputy Director organised a course for new postgraduate students in the spring term, an 'Introduction to Sources for Historical Research', with classes and visits; she also took part in the Institute's 'Sources and Methods' courses during the year. She attended meetings of the British Records Association Council, the Royal Society of Arts' History, Records and Collections Committee, and the London Archives Regional Council.

<sup>2</sup> Wigan Archives EHC 139. I am grateful to Ms J.L. Revill, the archivist, for this transcription.

## **APPENDICES**

### **I**

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*Deputy Director (and Editor of Bibliography):* HEATHER CREATON, B.A., M.Phil. (London), A.L.A.

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Markets and Fairs in England and Wales to AD1540 and Markets and Fairs in Thirteenth-Century England

*Researcher:* SAMANTHA LETTERS, B.A., Ph.D. (London)

History of St Paul's Cathedral 604–2004

*Researcher:* CHRISTINE FAUNCH, B.A., Ph.D. (Exeter)

HEATHER CREATON runs a regular introductory course for new postgraduate students as well as doing her bibliographical and information work. She is Vice-Chairman of the British Records Association and helped to organise their 1998 and 1999 conferences on records for the history of law and order, and on travel and tourism respectively. She is also Hon. Secretary of the London Record Society and serves on the Royal Society of Arts' History Panel. CHRIS FAUNCH's research interests are in church monuments and the built environment, the subject of her Ph.D. JIM GALLOWAY's main research interests lie within medieval historical geography and economic history, including migration, urban development and trade. His Ph.D. thesis examined the Colchester region 1310–1560. DEREK KEENE has written extensively on the society, economy, topography and archaeology of medieval and early modern towns, and especially on Winchester and London; he retired as a member of the Royal Commission on the Historical Monuments of England in February 1999 and is a member of the International Commission for the History of Towns and of the Fabric Committee of St Paul's Cathedral. He is also a trustee of the *London Journal*. SAMANTHA LETTERS's main research interests are medieval markets and fairs and also the political and social history of thirteenth-century England. Her PhD thesis was

on the Seagrave family *c.*1189 to 1295. MARGARET MURPHY is engaged in research on urban provisioning and regional trade. She is also maintaining her interests in medieval Irish history through recent conference papers and teaching. Apart from grappling with the Centre's computers, publications and administration, OLWEN MYHILL's main historical interest is the impact of religious nonconformity on rural society in the nineteenth century.

#### IV

##### VISITING RESEARCH FELLOWS

- ANGEL ALLOZA, B.A., M.A., Ph.D. (Universidad Autonoma de Madrid)  
'Urbanization, social change and crime: a comparative view of Paris, Madrid, London and Amsterdam during the eighteenth century' (to 31 December 1999)
- DAVID M. MITCHELL, B.Sc., Ph.D., M.I.C.E., 'Textile trades in early modern London' and 'Cultural history of dining in England, 1500–1700'
- GRAHAM I. TWIGG, B.Sc., Ph.D. 'Epidemics and the plague in London'

#### V

##### POSTGRADUATE STUDENT

- CRAIG A. BAILEY, B.A. (Connecticut), M.A. (Maynooth), 'The Irish middle classes in London, 1780–1840' (Ph.D.)

#### VI

##### CONFERENCE AND SEMINAR PAPERS

Chris Fauch:

'Records of St Paul's Cathedral', at the London Archives Users' Forum, November 2000.

Jim Galloway:

'Metropolitan food and fuel supply in medieval England: regional and international contexts', CORN conference, Ghent, December 1999.

Derek Keene:

‘Crisis management in London’s food supply, 1250–1500’, conference on town and country relations, University of Ghent, December 1999;

‘London Bridge and the identity of the city’, conference on ‘I ponti: forma e costruzione dall’antico all’architettura del Ferro’, Istituto Universitario di Architettura di Venezia, January 2000;

‘New thoughts on the royal palace in Pre-Conquest London’, Presidential Address, London and Middlesex Archaeological Society, February 2000;

‘Historical approaches to European metropolises: archives and comparative history’, Summit DACE (Modello di Descrizione degli Archivi storici dell Capitali Europee), Rome, March 2000;

‘Roots and branches of power, 1000–1300’, conference on ‘Governing London: lessons from 1000 years’, London, April 2000;

‘Cities in medieval Europe’, conference in global history on the theme ‘Regimes for the generation of useful and reliable knowledge in Europe and Asia, 1365–1815’, Windsor, April 2000;

‘Changing spaces in late fourteenth-century London’, International Chaucer Congress, London, July 2000;

‘Chaucer’s London’, contribution to Radio 3 programme, October 2000;

‘Medieval London and other towns: interpreting the reconstructions’, Anglo-Italian workshop on ‘Reconstructing medieval cities’, Institute of Historical Research, London, October 2000;

[with L. Wright], ‘Strange things in the city: place-names and representation in medieval London’, Metropolitan History Seminar, Institute of Historical Research, October 2000;

‘Industrial organisation in English towns, 600–1200’, University of Leicester, October 2000;

‘London Bridge and the identity of the medieval city’, Annual Local History Conference, Museum of London, November 2000;

Extended commentaries on ‘La “nation Florentine” à Rome pendant la Renaissance’ and on ‘Foreigners and city-dwellers in an imperial city: the case of Rudolphine Prague, 1583–1612’, at European Science Foundation Workshop on ‘Cities and Cultural Exchanges’, Venice, December 2000.

## VII

### PUBLICATIONS

Angel ALLOZA, *La vara quebrada de la justicia: un estudio histórico sobre la delincuencia madrileña entre los siglos XVI y XVIII* (Madrid, 2000), 277pp.

James A. GALLOWAY, 'Metropolitan market networks: London's economic hinterland in the later Middle Ages', *London and Middlesex Archaeological Society Transactions*, 50 (1999), pp. 91–8.

James A. GALLOWAY, 'One market or many? London and the grain trade of England', in J.A. Galloway (ed.), *Trade, Urban Hinterlands and Market Integration c.1300–1600* (Centre for Metropolitan History Working Papers No. 3, 2000), pp. 23–42.

Derek KEENE, 'Angleterre: introduction' and 'Du seuil de la Cité à la formation d'une économie morale: l'environnement hanséatique à Londres, entre XIIIe et XVIIe siècle', in J. Bottin and D. Calabi (eds.), *Les étrangers dans la ville: minorités et espace urbain du bas Moyen Âge à l'époque moderne* (Paris, 1999), pp. 405–7, 409–24.

Derek KEENE, 'The medieval urban landscape, A.D. 900–1540', in P. Waller (ed.), *The English Urban Landscape* (Oxford University Press, 2000), pp. 74–98.

Derek KEENE, 'Changes in London's economic hinterland as indicated by debt cases in the Court of Common Pleas', in J.A. Galloway (ed.), *Trade, Urban Hinterlands and Market Integration c.1300–1600* (Centre for Metropolitan History Working Papers No. 3, 2000), pp. 59–82.

Derek KEENE, 'Material London in time and space', in Lena Cowen Orlin (ed.), *Material London ca. 1600* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), pp. 55–74.

Derek KEENE, 'London: metropolis and capital, A.D. 600–1530', in A. Sohn and H. Weber (eds.), *Hauptstädte und Global Cities im Kontext der Globalisierung an der Schwelle zum 21. Jahrhundert* (Bochum, 2000), pp. 29–56.

Derek KEENE, 'Historical approaches to European metropolises: archives and comparative history', in *Atti del Summit DACE (Modello di Descrizione degli Archivi storici delle Capitale Europee)* (Bergamo, 2000), pp. 51–9.

Derek KEENE, 'Metropolitan values: migration, mobility and cultural norms, 1300–1700', in L. Wright (ed.), *The Development of Standard English, 1300–1800* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 93–114.

Samantha LETTERS, *Gazetteer of Markets and Fairs in England and Wales to AD 1516: the counties of Derbyshire, Essex, Herefordshire, Middlesex, Rutland,*

## APPENDICES

*Somerset, Sussex, Worcestershire, and Yorkshire* (Centre for Metropolitan History, 2000: url: <http://www.history.ac.uk/cmh/gaz/gazweb2.html>).

David MITCHELL, 'Linen damasks of the early 16th century from written sources', in Regula Schorta (ed.), *Leinendamaste. Produktionszentren und Sammlungen* (Riggisberger Berichte 7; Abegg-Stiftung Riggisberg, 1999), pp. 179–200.

David MITCHELL, 'Marks, Manwarings and Moore: the use of the "AM in monogram" mark 1650–1700', *Silver Society Journal*, 11 (Autumn 1999), pp. 168–77.

David MITCHELL, 'James Hales and his fustians with works, 1496', in David Mitchell and Milton Sondag 'Printed Fustians: 1490–1600', *Bulletin du CIETA* (Centre International d'étude des textiles anciens), no. 77 (2000), pp. 99–107.

David MITCHELL, "'To Alderman Backwells for the Candlesticks for Mr Coventry": the manufacture and sale of plate and jewellery at the Unicorn, Lombard Street 1663–1672', *Silver Society Journal*, 12 (Autumn 2000), pp. 111–24.

## VIII

### SEMINAR ON METROPOLITAN HISTORY

October 1999–March 2000

(Wednesdays, fortnightly, 5.30 pm, at the Institute of Historical Research)

#### *Marginality and the city*

'Exploring the suburbs of twentieth-century London', Sally Alexander (Goldsmiths College), John Bold and Tanis Hinchcliffe (Westminster University), Derek Keene (CMH)

'On the margins of the middle class? Women's wealth in London, 1800–1850', David Green (King's College London)

'Patterns of marginality: Indian seamen in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century London', Shompa Lahiri (Queen Mary and Westfield College)

'The rise of cities in north-west Europe', Adriaan Verhulst (University of Ghent)

'On the medical margin: John St. John Long of Harley Street, 1830–4', Craig Bailey (CMH and King's College London)

'Happy Hunting Grounds? The paradoxical spaces of sexual citizenship in metropolitan London: 1918–1959', Matt Houlbrook (University of Essex)

- ‘Underground in London and Paris, 1815–1939’, David Pike (American University, Washington)
- ‘Forgotten geographies: spaces of black identity in nineteenth-century London’, Caroline Bressey (UCL)
- ‘The resources of the marginal: George Gissing, fiction and late nineteenth-century London’, William Greenslade (West of England University)

## IX

### SOURCES OF FUNDING

Projects: The Dean & Chapter of St Paul’s Cathedral  
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