

LONDON TOPOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY

Newsletter

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Tillemans river view

A *Prospect of Twickenham* (courtesy of the London Borough of Richmond upon Thames Art Collection). Alexander Pope's villa by the Thames features prominently in this attractive river view by Peter

Tillemans, of c.1725. The house has since been rebuilt but work is in hand to repair Pope's famous grotto. See p.7.

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Notes and News

The Society's **Annual General Meeting** will be held at 5.30 pm on Tuesday, 2 July 2019 at St Andrew Church Holborn – for details see the centre insert in this *Newsletter*. The Society continues to flourish, with over 1,200 members, and much active work in progress by our editor Sheila O'Connell. We are grateful also to our secretary Mike Wicksteed for all his work on the new website, which he explains below. Sadly, we have an unusually large number of deaths to report: our Vice President and former editor, Ann Saunders, our printer Graham Maney and several of our members. We also include an obituary of our Vice-President Iain Bain, whose death was announced in a previous *Newsletter*.

Obituaries

Ann Loreille Saunders, MBE, PhD, FSA

London historian, editor and lecturer died on 13 February 2019 at the age of 88.

Ann was closely involved with the London Topographical Society for many years. From 1980-2015 she was editor of the *London Topographical Record* (vols 24-31) and supervised the Society's annual publications during this period, among them the A-Z volumes on *Edwardian London* and *the London of Charles II*. Ann combined an editor's wise judgement and meticulous attention to detail with a broad knowledge of London. Her own books included a history of Regents Park (1969), the subject of her PhD and an area which she knew well from the time when (initially as Ann Cox-Johnson before her marriage to Bruce Saunders) she was Borough Archivist at Marylebone Public Library. The City of London was also a special interest. She contributed to as well as edited the LTS volume No. 152, *The Royal Exchange* (1997), and co-authored a *History of the Merchant Taylors' Company* (2004). *St Paul's, the story of a cathedral*, was published in 2001, new edition 2012. Her wide ranging knowledge of what London had to offer was demonstrated comprehensively by *The Art and Architecture of London*, 1994.

Ann lectured in many London educational establishments, was an Hon. Fellow of University College London and a governor of Bedford College. She served as President of both the Camden History Society and the St Marylebone Society, and was a Council Member of the Society of Antiquaries. Her interests extended into other spheres; from 1967-2008 she was Hon. Editor of the Costume Society. The recreations she listed in *Who's Who* reveal her energy and enthusiasms: 'reading, walking, embroidery, cooking, studying



London, going to exhibitions and theatres, visiting churches'.

Ann took a great interest in all her students and friends and made practical arrangements to further their studies and careers. Even in recent years when she had plenty to worry about with her own health, she would still recommend cures and offer to provide sustaining meals. She organised memberships and suggested useful contacts. She enhanced all our lives.

A fuller obituary will appear in the next volume of the *Record*.

Graham Maney

3 June 1941 – 6 December 2018

Graham's grandfather, W. S. Maney, had started a printing business back in 1900, and by the late 1980s, when I started working for the company, the business premises were in Harehills, Leeds. The offices and printworks were far from glamorous, but the books produced over the years were of the highest quality and Graham was involved at every stage of production: from meeting authors and editors, and discussing layouts, to checking printed sheets and bound copies. This one site in Leeds was responsible for the editing, reproduction, proofs, printing and binding of many superb volumes, including *The London Surveys of Ralph Treswell*, edited by John Schofield, and Jean Imray's *The Mercers' Hall*, edited by Ann Saunders.



The world of printing and publishing has changed enormously over the intervening years. What did not change was Graham's dedication to each and every publication, whether at Maney's or, later, Outset Services. Academic editors could rely on him to lead them through the production process, offering guidance whenever needed, from first meetings, often at a table covered in manuscripts and photographs, to the delivery of the books, and he was especially helpful to Ann Saunders in her final years as Editor. London Topographical Society members will recall that at each AGM, Graham would travel down to London for the day, keeping in contact with the book delivery van driver and guiding him to the hall, then unloading the books and helping with distribution to members. He was rewarded with a supper at a favourite fish restaurant within a ten-minute dash to Kings Cross, but his contribution was much greater.

Graham balanced his work life with an enthusiastic involvement in a variety of outdoor pursuits: from sailing and skiing to hill walking. His sailing took him to the Caribbean and the Mediterranean, in the company of family and friends. As for the walking – he was a member of several walking groups, and spent many happy hours in the Lake District and the Brecon Beacons, not to mention more recent walking holidays in North America and northern India.

After Graham left W. S. Maney in 1999, he joined the Bench, and served as a magistrate for 13 years, becoming Chairman of the Bench, and also mentoring new magistrates. Thereafter he joined the Prison Monitoring Board of Wetherby Young Offenders Institution, and a colleague wrote: "[Graham] made an excellent chairman for his three years and guided the team very thoughtfully... We also had some excellent post-meeting evening meals in Wetherby!"

Throughout his life, whether at work with W. S. Maney or Outset, walking in the Lakes, or sailing in the Mediterranean, three words seem apt: honesty, dedication and enthusiasm. He will be sorely missed by his colleagues, not only for his professional abilities, but also for his friendship.

– Linda Fisher

Iain Bain

1934 – 1918

Iain Bain, Vice President and former Council member of the London Topographical Society, became well known in his youth as a Scottish Hammer Champion, both at school and university, where he studied English. During his National Service he was involved in action both in Kenya and in Suez. His involvement in the world of printing and books began with a job with Unwin Brothers, followed by appointment as production manager at Bodley Head. From 1972-94 he was head of publications at the Tate Gallery. Special interests were the history of copperplate printing and the discovery of the original woodblocks and plates used by artists such as Gainsborough and Bewick; on the latter he became a world expert, and President of the Thomas Bewick Society. Among many other distinctions he was a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, a Fellow of the Royal Society of Arts, and President of the Printing Historical Society.

Joyce and Donald Cummings

Those of you who have been members for more than ten years will be sad to read that our AGM tea lady Joyce Cumming has also died. Before institutions started insisting that all refreshments served on their premises were supplied by their approved contractors, Joyce would provide a mountain of cakes herself and other members would bring their own offerings – buttered fruit loaf was always my favourite. Joyce and her husband Donald moved into the Sunrise home in Purley when Donald had a stroke in 2008. Donald's membership stopped then but the Society elected Joyce as an honorary member in recognition of her past contributions. When their son Andrew telephoned me to say Donald had died, I asked after Joyce and he told me that in fact Joyce had died a few years ago.

We also report the deaths of Peter Jefferson Smith, a stalwart of the Clapham Society, Sonia Crutchlow in Fulham and Ashley Barker, former GLC Surveyor of Buildings.

Our future publications

There is much to occupy our hardworking editor, Sheila O'Connell, and her helpers, which has required a little rearrangement of publication dates. The Society's 2019 publication will be Dorian Gerhold's fascinating study: *London Bridge and its houses, c.1209-1761*. It will be printed in a landscape format and contain 125 illustrations, including a number of reconstructions. Work continues on the ambitious *London Parish Maps* project, coordinated by Simon Morris, which is now scheduled for 2020. We hope that *The Record* Vol XXXII will also appear in 2020.

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Circumspice

Can you identify this rural scene? See p.6 for the answer.



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Our new website

Following a rather longer gestation period than expected, the Society's new website has now gone 'live'. The website's address hasn't changed and is still: www.londontopsoc.org

Our new website replaces one that served us extremely well for nearly a decade. A combination of the availability of new web technology and, more importantly, a lack of technical support for the old site meant that the need for a replacement had become inevitable.

Much of the content from our old site has been transferred across, although it's now presented in a different way. The aim has been to improve ease of navigation along with the provision of a modern and, I hope you agree, a more interesting appearance. Wait a few seconds and you can watch the map details change on the new homepage – click on the map and you can see the original; use your +/- button and the detail is amazing.

Apart from the opportunity to purchase

publications and manage membership, the website also offers up the prospect of expanding our knowledge of the historical aspects of the Society and its works.

The 'Complete List of LTS Publications' section is now more than a catalogue of our 181 publications. To my surprise, I discovered that many volumes of *The Topographical Record*, from 1901, and its predecessor the three-part *Illustrated Topographical Record of London*, from 1898, had been digitised by universities in America and – after a bit of to-ing and fro-ing – we are now able to read them online.

The work of identifying and linking to digitised copies of our publications is still on-going but a good start has been made.

So, the web viewer can now read the minutes from all the Society's early AGMs and see how close it came to closure after its first couple of decades. And read articles from *The Topographical Record* on the history of the Society such as 'The London Topographical Society: A Brief Account' [1980] by our then Hon. Secretary and current Vice President, Stephen Marks FSA, or 'Walter Godfrey – The Society's Chairman and Honorary Editor 1928-1960' [1965] by the late Marjorie B. Honeybourne who succeeded him as our Hon. Editor. Walter Godfrey was an amazing man who almost single-handedly kept the Society afloat during World War II.

Similarly, the old 'Related Links' has been expanded into a 'Websites with a London Focus' section, of which there are, not surprisingly, a large number. Slightly more surprisingly, maybe, is that those selected are interesting and informative.

From being able to view one of the Society's earliest publications, the fabulous *Kensington Turnpike Trust Plans 1811* [LTS No. 8, 1899-1903] on the British Library's website, to the *Vision of Britain through Time* set up by the University of Portsmouth, or *Britain From Above*, which includes the largest number of aerial photos of Britain taken before 1939, website users may find themselves glued to their screens for longer than they had anticipated.

Delving into this treasure trove on our new website has the potential to provide hours of fascinating – possibly unplanned – reading and viewing. Be warned!

– Mike Wicksteed

Links with other organisations

It is good to learn that the **Charles Close Society** was delighted with the response from LTS members to the special offer in our last *Newsletter* of a 1934 London Passenger Transport Map published by this society concerned with the maps and history of the Ordnance Survey (see charlesclosesociety.org). Another productive link we have made is with the **Historic Towns Trust**, who at our last AGM provided our members with copies of their newly revised map of Tudor London, in return for the grant to the Trust made by the LTS. If you would like to buy the fascinating Tudor London map as a gift for a friend, or if your appetite has been

whetted for interpretive historical (as opposed to historic) maps of other places, you may like to look at the website **Historictownsatlas.co.uk**. The atlases and maps cannot be ordered online, but you can order them from your local retailer by quoting their ISBNs. At under £10 the maps (recent ones include Winchester and Hull) are very good value. The atlases are much more expensive, but splendidly informative. The early volumes which are now out of print are available on line.

Exhibitions and Events

The Medieval Port of London Saturday May 18. Conference at the **Museum of London** organised by the Docklands History Society. Eight speakers will discuss the port, merchants, ships, waterfront buildings, the Hanseatic steelyard and the character of the Thames. To book a place see docklandshistorygroup.org.uk



Sir Thomas Gresham (1519-1579): Tudor, Trader, Shipper, Spy. Guildhall Library Exhibition, 3 June to mid-September

Sir Thomas Gresham is one of the most overlooked sixteenth century merchants and financiers. Gresham served four Tudor monarchs, managed to keep his head, and all the while made money. When he died, he was widely reputed to be the wealthiest man in Europe. He brought the idea of a 'bourse' to England from Antwerp, the Royal Exchange, as well as the 'shopping mall'.

This exhibition will celebrate the quincentenary of his birth, and coincides with the release of a major new biography by Tudor historian Dr John Guy.

Museum of London. The Museum's important new acquisition, the **Prévot panorama** of c.1815 which featured in our last *Newsletter*, is now on display, and can also be seen on the museum's web site: museumoflondon.org.uk

Secret Rivers: London's Historic Waterways Museum of London Docklands 24 May-27 October. Free exhibition exploring the stories of London's rivers, streams and brooks through art, archaeology, photography and film.

London Open Garden Squares weekend, 8-9 June, organised by the London Parks and Gardens Trust. With the purchase of a weekend ticket, you can explore a huge variety of gardens which are usually closed to the public – For details see opensquares.org.

Women traders in Cheapside, an outdoor exhibition, 21 September – 18 October 2019 (see also see p.9)

London Open House weekend. Visit some of London's best buildings. 21-22 September. See Londonopenhouse.org

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Changing London

Victoria Tower Gardens and the Holocaust Memorial

Victoria Tower Gardens is the open space next to the Thames just south of the Palace of Westminster, providing wonderful views of the Palace framed by large plane trees, as well as an area of calm in a busy part of Westminster. It has become a site of controversy since the then Prime Minister, David Cameron, announced in January 2016 (without any public consultation) that the UK's Holocaust Memorial would be built in the Gardens and the subsequent decision (without any announcement) that the Holocaust Learning Centre would be built there too. A planning application was submitted to Westminster City Council in December 2018. Many of the arguments both for and against the plans are rooted in the area's history.

The government argues that the Memorial and Learning Centre should be located next to Parliament. At first this was so that it would be 'a permanent statement of our values as a nation' (David Cameron, 2016). This was hard to defend, given the record of Parliament on Jewish refugees in the 1930s and its longer record of religious intolerance, and more recently the justification has been to encourage people to hold Parliament to account for its decisions, or (more vaguely) 'as a permanent reminder that political decisions have far-reaching consequences'. The problems for the government are that the UK Parliament had no direct role in the Holocaust, and that the main

principle embodied in Parliament is not protection from racial and religious hatred but that governments should be accountable, which has little relevance to the Holocaust. The other argument for the site is that the Gardens already contain several monuments to liberty and can become 'a Garden of our Nation's Conscience'. Unfortunately the three existing monuments are rather miscellaneous: one (the burghers of Calais) embodies the royal prerogative of mercy, one (the statue of Emmeline Pankhurst) is about political liberties within Britain, and one (the Buxton Memorial) commemorates the abolition of slavery overseas (but not the slaves themselves). The Holocaust Memorial, recording the murder of six million people elsewhere in Europe, will hardly form a coherent series with these.

Opponents of this use of the Gardens have consistently argued that the project is the right one but in the wrong place. They have emphasised the loss of green space, the transformation of the Gardens from park to sombre civic space, the probable damage to the mature trees, the blocking of views of the Palace of Westminster, the traffic and security implications, and the precedent set by commandeering an urban park for a government project.¹ Royal Parks has objected strongly. But there are also objections and obstacles which arise out of the history of the Gardens as an open space.

Research is currently in progress on the site occupied by the Gardens, and is likely to appear in due course in the Society's *Record*. The eastern part – roughly a third – of the Gardens was reclaimed from the Thames when the open space was created. The western part has a longer history.



Victoria Tower Gardens view⁵

Up to the Dissolution, the northern end of it was part of the Palace of Westminster, consisting mainly of gardens, the central part belonged to the Abbey, consisting of a slaughterhouse, a mill (opposite what is now Great College Street) and a close, and the southern part was marshland. After the Dissolution it all belonged to the Crown. Much new land was reclaimed in the late sixteenth century, and between 1597 and 1611 the Crown sold the whole area apart from the slaughterhouse. By the mid-seventeenth century there was a continuous row of wharves and houses.

Much of the land sold in 1611 was bought back by the Crown under an Act of 1837 and forms part the present Palace of Westminster. Worries about the fire risk from adjacent properties prompted an Act of 1867 under which the Crown acquired the properties as far south as what is now Great Peter Street. There was no clear plan for the future of this land, but in 1879 W. H. Smith donated £1000 towards laying it out as an open space, on condition that it remain an open space for ever, and the first part of the Gardens was created soon afterwards.

The southern part of the Gardens, on which the Holocaust Memorial and Learning Centre are proposed to be built, was acquired by London County Council under an Act of 1900. The LCC scheme involved widening and realigning Millbank, taking a small amount of land from the existing Gardens, and in return the Commissioner of Works, in whom that land was vested, insisted that the new land should be transferred to him (so that the whole of the Gardens would be under unified control) and that the Act should provide for the new land to remain an open space for ever.² Westminster Vestry (later Council) made a large financial contribution which was also conditional on the land remaining open. Consequently the Act provides that the land should remain 'a garden open to the public'.³ That part of the Act has never been repealed. Remarkably, the government remained unaware of it until very recently.⁴ What impact it will have on the government's project is not yet clear.

Objections can still made to the planning application, as it is not likely to be considered until June at the earliest, and they are helpful in demonstrating the extent of opposition. To carry weight they should concentrate on the planning aspects, such as those noted above. The planning application can be found here: tinyurl.com/SaveVTG

– Dorian Gerhold

Circumspice (see p.3)

It is a truth, which ought to be universally acknowledged among London Topographers, that the NEW RIVER is neither a river nor particularly new. Dating from 1613, it is an artificial waterway designed to bring fresh drinking water from springs in Hertfordshire to a City of London then dependent on increasingly polluted sources including the tidal Thames.

The water moved by gravity very gently, more or less following the 100ft contour; this meant that though the Hertfordshire springs and the city were only about 20 miles apart, the length of the meandering New River was almost twice that. The section shown in our picture, with one of the New River Company's twin 1830s reservoirs close behind it, makes the point. In its determination slavishly to follow the contour, the 'river' runs half a mile east from the north-east corner of Finsbury Park, then does a little pirouette and runs a similar distance south-west alongside the two reservoirs.

These still supply water to London, nowadays under the management of Thames Water, but this one – Stoke Newington West Reservoir – is also a place for boating; the east reservoir – renamed Woodberry Wetlands – is a London Wildlife Trust nature reserve, with myriad water-loving birds and boardwalks along the rushes. The LCC's 1940s Woodberry Down housing estate, replacing substantial nineteenth century houses built on what was the northern edge of London, has now in turn been largely replaced by a cluster of Berkeley Homes' glittering, glass-clad towers – all amid very civilised landscaping which, as it nears the New River, becomes decidedly rural.

The New River Path, with signposts topped with the letters 'NR', runs from Amwell in Hertfordshire to New River Head in Clearkewell. Much of the river in London is now in pipe or culvert, but round the Woodberry loop you walk alongside open water – except on one very muddy stretch you may (as I did) gracefully skid, and less gracefully sit down. Another feature to note is the Frumious Bandersnatch – a box of tricks which travels along a gantry and (apparently untouched by human hand) lowers claws to scoop up rubbish before it can enter and block the ensuing pipework. The Bandersnatches (there are at least two of them) do this discreetly and in near silence. Come to think of it, unlike Lewis Carroll's Bandersnatches, not frumious at all. But if you go there, watch out!

– Tony Aldous

Notes

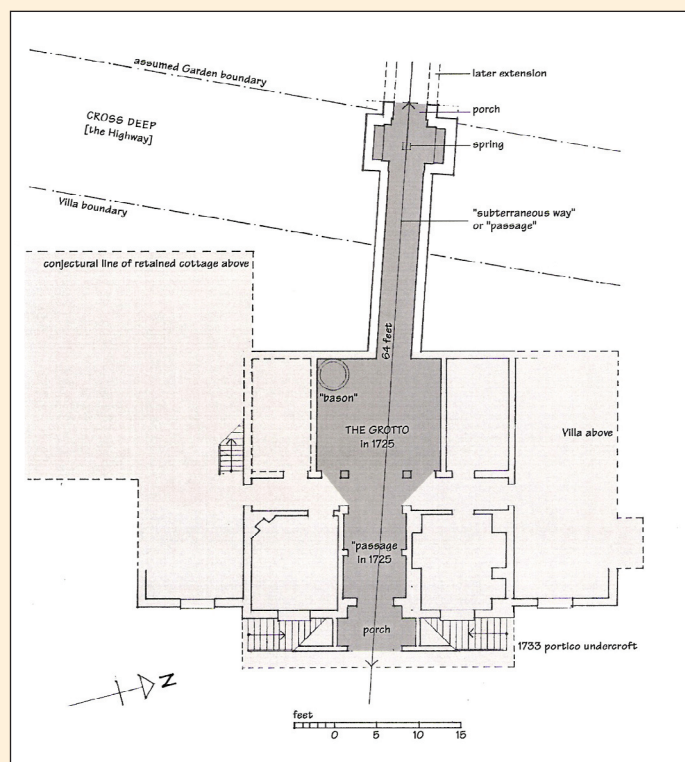
1. See www.savevictoriatowergardens.co.uk/
2. The papers are at London Metropolitan Archives, LCC/CL/IMP/01/048.
3. London County Council (Improvements) Act 1900, section 8 (1).
4. Parliamentary written answers, 229626.
5. Photograph by Andreas Praefcke – self-photographed, CC BY 3.0, commons. wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=15586567

The Newsletter Editor welcomes suggestions from readers for items in the Newsletter.
The deadline for contributions to the November Newsletter is 16 October 2019.
For contact details see the back page.

Alexander Pope's Grotto

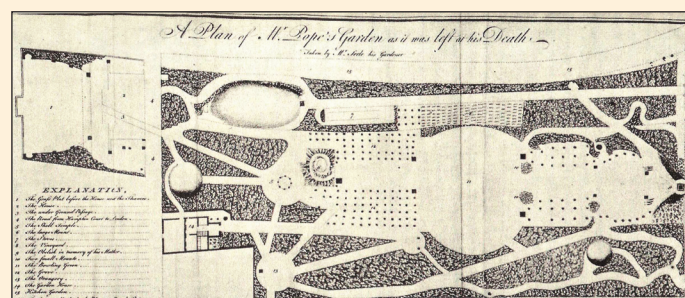
The house built by the poet Alexander Pope became one of the most famous of the eighteenth century rural villas on the banks of the Thames around Twickenham, appearing prominently in our cover picture. Although the house no longer exists, the famous grotto survives, built to provide a link between the house and Pope's much cherished garden. Robert Youngs, a Trustee of Pope's Grotto Preservation Trust, describes its character and the progress of the conservation work that will make it accessible to the public.

When Alexander Pope moved from Chiswick to Twickenham in 1719, he had recently completed and published his translation of Homer's Iliad. This had brought him considerable fame and fortune, allowing him to realise his vision of a garden with a classical landscape and a water-side Palladian villa. He began to build his villa in 1720.



Conjectural plan of Pope's Grotto in 1725

The villa was on the river side of Cross Deep, the main road from London to Hampton. The six rooms of the cellar were at ground-level facing the river road. To gain private access to his five-acre garden



Plan of the garden from *A plan of Mr Pope's garden*, 1745 by John Serle, published by Robert Dodsley

across the road, he obtained a licence to extend the centre two rooms of the cellar into a tunnel under the road and then he started laying out his five acre garden. At some point he decided to establish his first grotto, furnishing it with shells, mirror-glass, flints, iron ore and a lamp made of alabaster. In a 1725 letter to his friend Edward Blount he wrote: "When you shut the doors of this grotto it becomes a Camera Obscura. A lamp (of an orbicular figure of thin alabaster) is hung in the middle..." It is said that his camera obscura was able to project images of boats on the Thames on to a wall at the back of the grotto. Two sketches by William Kent show Pope in his grotto studying by the light of his lamp but Samuel Johnson was not impressed: "...Pope's excavation was requisite as an entrance to his garden, and, as some men try to be proud of their defects, he extracted an ornament from an inconvenience, and vanity produced a grotto where necessity enforced a passage."

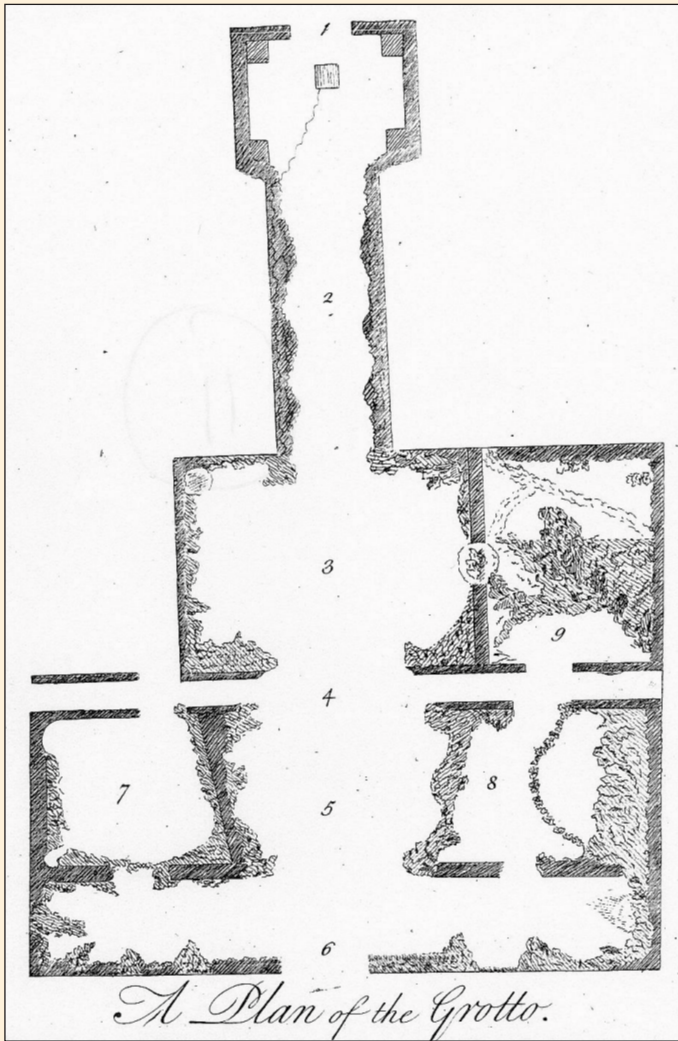
Pope had completed his villa by 1725 but was dissatisfied with its river frontage. In 1732, he commissioned Kent to design a more imposing front. Richard Boyle, 3rd Earl of Burlington, did not approve: "I have considered your front and am of opinion that my friend Kent has done all that he can, considering the place." This would have been the first sight that his many visitors would have had as they disembarked from their boat and led by Pope to his grotto and thence to his garden. This was the first complete garden in what we now call the English Landscape Garden style.



Pieter Rysbrack, *An Exact Draught and View of Mr Pope's House at Twickenham 1735*, courtesy of the London Borough of Richmond upon Thames Art Collection

Towards the end of 1739 Pope visited Hotwell Spa on the banks of the Avon. He became entranced by the geology of the gorge and its colours to such an extent that he resolved to redesign the grotto as a museum of mineralogy and mining. He began to decorate his grotto with ores, spars, fool's gold, stalactites, crystals, alabaster, snakestones and spongestone. At the end of each following season Pope claimed that he had finished his grotto, but he never did: he died on 30 May 1744 and is buried in the nave of St Mary's Church in Twickenham.

The villa, garden and grotto passed to Sir William Stanhope and then four further owners before



Plan of the grotto from *A plan of Mr Pope's garden*, 1745 by John Serle, published by Robert Dodsley

Baroness Howe of Langar moved in from a nearby property. However, she was so troubled by visitors demanding to see the famous house that she demolished it in 1808 and built a house next door – an act of wanton destruction for which she was named 'The Queen of the Goths'.

Fortunately for future generations, Baroness Howe had left the grotto intact to allow access to the garden across the road, as did subsequent owners. In the 270 years since Pope's death, the layout of his grotto has remained largely unchanged, though many of his minerals have been removed by souvenir hunters – a fate

which was predicted by Robert Dodsley in 1745: "Then, some small Gem, or shining Ore, Departing, each shall pilfer, in fond hope To please their Friends, on every distant Shore, Boasting a Relick from the Cave of Pope." Since then, the villa has been rebuilt, the tunnel has been lengthened to accommodate a wider road above and Pope's view of the river has been obscured by a 1930s brick building.

Ownership of the grotto passed to Radnor House School in 2010 when a trust was formed to promote interest in Alexander Pope and, most importantly, to conserve his grotto and to make it more accessible to the public. In 2015, the Trust commissioned a conservation management plan and a lighting plan, completed archaeological surveys, created detailed costings and obtained planning permission. Conservation and lighting work on the South chamber was completed in 2017, leaving the remainder of the grotto, about 80%, to be conserved when funds are available. At the time of writing, the Trust is applying to the National Lottery Heritage Fund for a grant to complete the conservation.

When finally conserved, the grotto, which is the last remaining part of this once-famous villa, will serve as a monument to one of the most influential literary figures of the eighteenth century and an instigator of the English landscape garden movement.

You can find more information about Pope, his grotto and our project on our website: popesgrotto.org.uk.

– Robert Youngs



The conserved South Chamber in 2018, courtesy of Damian Griffiths, Donald Insall Associates

City Women in the Eighteenth Century

Amy Louise Erickson, from Cambridge University History Faculty, writes about her research on eighteenth century women traders, which will be the subject of an outdoor exhibition in Cheapside in the autumn.

In the eighteenth century, as now, the area around Cheapside from St Paul's in the west to the Royal Exchange in the east was known for luxury goods. Unlike the shops today, however, in the eighteenth century most of those goods were made on the premises, and among the manufacturers and shop owners were thousands of women. They have been identified in the records of the Livery Companies and in the British Museum's collection of trade cards – those ornamented business cards which served to announce a business move or change of owner in the eighteenth century, but which would later dwindle into the text-only business cards we know today. One of the best known is the card that William Hogarth created for his sisters, Mary and Ann, when they moved their shop around the corner at St Bartholomew's Hospital: 'from the old Frock-shop the corner of the Long Walk facing the Cloysters, Removed to ye King's Arms, joyning to ye Little Britain-gate, near Long Walk'.



Mary & Ann Hogarth

from the old Frock-shop the corner of the Long Walk facing the Cloysters, Removed to y^e Kings Arms, joyning to y^e Little Britain-gate near Long Walk Sells y^e best & most Fashionable Ready Made Frocks, suits of Fustian, Ticken & Holland, stript Dimity & Flanel, Waistcoats, blue & canvas Frocks & blue coat Boys Dm, Likewise Fustians, Tickers, Hollands, white stript Dimitys, white & stript Flannels in y^e piece, by Wholesale or Retail, at Reasonable Rates.

© The Trustees of the British Museum

Women traded as printers, fan-makers, silversmiths, goldsmiths, and many other occupations. Textile and clothing trades made up the largest section of London's manufacturing industry, both male and female. The City of London required civic freedom of women as well as men to trade; it means that we can trace mistresses as well as masters more easily there than in all other English cities and towns which excluded women from the guilds, requiring payment of a fine to trade instead (the records of which have long since been lost). There were approximately 80 guilds or companies in London in the eighteenth century. But there were more occupations than companies, and the trade practised by guild members was not necessarily that of the company to which they belonged. The English system of coverture in marriage, whereby a wife lost her property and legal identity to her husband, meant that a married woman could not hold company membership separately from her husband. So the milliner Lucy Tyler traded under the authorisation of the Clockmakers' Company because her husband was a member of that company. Her apprentice Eleanor Mosley, one of six apprentices that Lucy took between 1715 and 1725, was duly enrolled in the Clockmakers' apprenticeship register and took the freedom of that company at age 24, remaining a member for the next 20 years while trading as a milliner in Gracechurch Street and taking seven of her own apprentices.

Milliners were elite clothing dealers and producers in the eighteenth century. 'Milliner' did not acquire its current meaning of hat maker until the end of the nineteenth century. Lower down the social scale were seamstresses and mantua makers, who kept that name long after the late seventeenth-century fashion for mantua dresses had passed. The 'dressmaker' only appeared in the nineteenth century.

Like Lucy Tyler and her husband, many couples followed different trades. When Mary Sleep married John Sansom in 1743, they created a trade card for their new household advertising his business of turner and handle maker and hers of fan maker. She was careful to note her training with her mother ('from Mrs Sleep's') because otherwise she lost the name recognition when she took her husband's surname, which was a peculiar English habit associated with coverture.

An exhibition on 'Women, Work, and the City of London' at the London Guildhall Library in the winter of 2018-19 showed some of the apprenticeship and freedom registers in which women like Mosley and the Sleepes were recorded. The upcoming exhibition will feature trade cards from the British Museum's collection belonging to local tradeswomen, enlarged on display stands in Paternoster Square and along the 700-metre length of Cheapside and Poultry to the Royal Exchange in the east. Views of Cheapside as it appeared two or three centuries ago will enable visitors to imagine the old street in which manufacturing as well as

The London Dock Company and Wapping Street, 1800-1810

Derek Morris follows his article in Newsletter 84 (May 2017) with further revealing details about the character of Wapping before the creation of the London Docks.

On the north bank of the Thames from Wapping to Limehouse were hundreds of enterprises that supplied mariners with essential services and materials: sails, ropes, masts, anchors, navigational instruments, victuals, and other necessities, together with pilots, seamen and sea captains, and Francis Holman's painting of the Wapping waterfront reflects the complexity of the properties erected there, together with their wharves and cranes. The London Dock Company (hereafter the LDC) had a well-thought out series of administrative processes which guided its purchase of properties in Wapping and St George-in-the-East, before the construction of the docks could begin in 1800, and an earlier article described the individual house owners in Virginia Street, which provided a new insight into the people and properties affected by the development of the London Docks.¹

The LDC archives contain a great deal of information on many aspects of trade and industrial premises, taverns, chapels, and other properties along the river bank in Wapping and Shadwell, and show that some very considerable businesses were being displaced by the construction of the docks.² In addition, the archive contains details of the annual sales and profits for a number of traders, including Richard Francis and Sons, hat makers at 86 Wapping, Richard Barry, a map and chart seller at 290 Wapping, and James Powell, a slop seller at 291 Wapping: information rarely surviving in eighteenth-century business accounts. The LDC was particularly concerned with property in and near Wapping Street, that ran along the north bank: land to be used for the two entrance basins at the Hermitage and Bell Dock.

The Hermitage Entrance to the London Docks

The LDC purchased 1 to 3 on the north side of Wapping Street, 363 to 367 Wapping Street, which backed on to the Thames, together with the Hermitage Dock, where the LDC benefited from over 550 years of development. As early as 1233 this was the site of the extensive Crash Mills, which took advantage of a stream that possibly rose near Well Close Square and ran through the Wapping Marsh to the Thames. By 1347 there were two water mills, and later in 1575 there was a mill house, wharf and dock.³

From 1665 to 1773, a site immediately to the north west of the Hermitage Dock (between the



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commerce was carried out, by women as well as men. Where possible, posters of trade cards will be displayed in shop windows when we know the exact location of a trader and it can be matched to a current building. This on-street exhibition will shine an entirely new light on women's economic role in the City.

For more on women traders in eighteenth-century London, my academic work appears in articles in *Continuity & Change*, *History Workshop Journal*, and *Eighteenth-Century Life*, and shorter notices in the *London Metropolitan Archives Newsletter* are freely available at:

www.cityoflondon.gov.uk/things-to-do/london-metropolitan-archives/the-collections/Pages/women-and-freedom.aspx and

www.cityoflondon.gov.uk/things-to-do/london-metropolitan-archives/the-collections/Pages/mrs-lma.aspx

For more information please contact:

Amy Erickson, ale25@cam.ac.uk or

Tijs Broeke, Common Councilman for Cheap Ward, Tijs.Broeke@cityoflondon.gov.uk

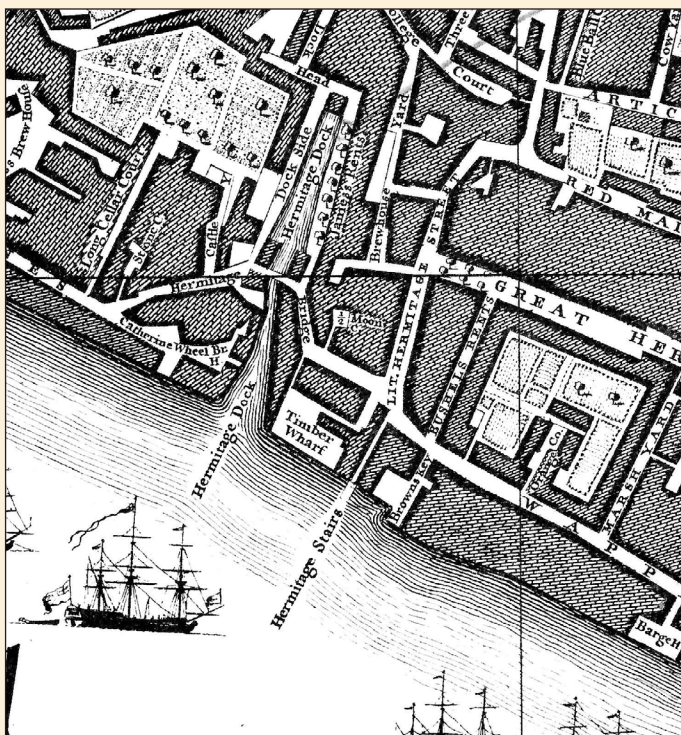
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A dockyard at Wapping by Francis Holman c.1780-4. Copyright: Tate Gallery London 2019

dock and what is now Stockholm Way) was occupied by the Hermitage Pothouse: one of the leading centres for the production of tin-glazed ware, (Delft ware): in London comparable with those in Lambeth and Southwark. Being the only large pothouse on the north bank of the Thames gave it advantages in certain markets.⁴



Hermitage Dock from Roque's map of London 1747

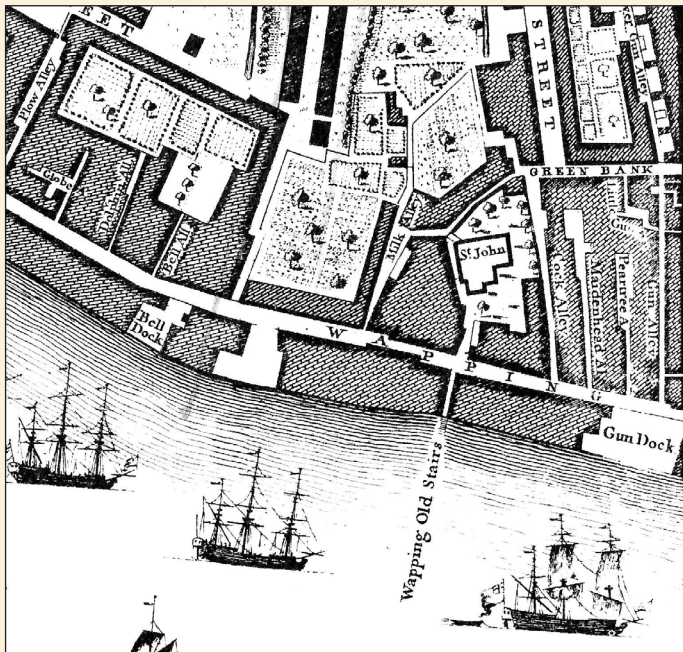
The freehold estate around the Hermitage Dock was sold in 1775, and consisted of several houses, several large warehouses, a large area of open ground near Hermitage Bridge together with a large and 'new commodious dock'. The dock was 208 feet long and between 34 feet and 40 feet wide. It was possible to contain two large lighters for the delivery of goods and the despatch of goods and materials. It was claimed that the estate was

"Suitable for company of merchants, traders or others who want to land and house goods, or the use of an extensive wharf, may unload their goods with cranes from the craft out of the dock. There is not a dock from London Bridge to Limehouse so eligible and convenient for business."

Following the closure of the Pothouse, part of the site was used for the foundry established about 1781. James Jones, a local founder, paid the land tax on the site from 1784 until 1799.⁵ By the time of the sale to the LDC in 1800 this had grown into one of the largest local industrial sites with 12 substantial warehouses, a crane house, stabling for 23 horses, an extensive iron foundry, a blacksmith's shop, mould rooms, a melting house, three counting houses, a new-built engine house, a foreman's house and five other houses. The value of this estate in 1800 was £14,400 and, unlike many other assessments, the LDC assessors came very close to owner's value with £13,772-5s-0d.⁶

The Bell Dock Entrance to the London Docks

Here the LDC purchased several blocks of houses in Wapping Street: 38 to 52, and 73 to 91, on the north side of the street, while 290 to 304, backed on to the Thames. Again a number of important businesses were displaced by the building of the docks.



Bell Dock from Rocque's map of London 1747

A Gunpowder Warehouse

Fire was a well-known hazard in the riverside parishes and the Ratcliff fire of 13 July 1794, began when a severe fire broke out at David Cloves' wharf, Cock Hill, Ratcliff. Flames spread from a pitch kettle to a barge laden with saltpetre and other government stores. The blowing up of the saltpetre barge caused flakes of fire to fall on the warehouses of the East India Company, which were destroyed. The flames continued to the houses, on both sides of the High Street and nearby streets, spreading to the ships and craft on the river, and consumed more houses than any fire since the Great Fire of London. At Whiting's wharf, sugar to the value of £40,000 was destroyed.⁷

It is therefore a surprise that the LDC found that William Taylor at 297 Wapping occupied a well-built counting house and a warehouse with a wharf used for landing and shipping of gunpowder.⁸

Traders and Shopkeepers

The LDC archive provides details not found elsewhere on the sales, expenses and profits on a wide range of trades in Wapping. One merchant of particular interest is James Powell, a slopseller at 291 Wapping, a very large, well-built house built in 1790 on the river side of Wapping Street. The property consisted of cellars, a large shop and counting house with a sitting room next to the Thames, over which was a kitchen. The first floor was described as a warehouse and on the second floor were two bed chambers and a dressing closet,

and there were three rooms in the attic; so a commodious property.⁹

Powell stated that the amount of goods sold between 1 October 1797 and 28 August 1800 totalled £45,472-19s-2d. As he was expecting a very large loss of trade he claimed

"Nett proceeds according to the established and general custom of the profession and which can be proved by actual documentary in balancing out stock annually at 15 per cent of £45,472-19s-2d. for £6,710-16s-0d."

From this total Powell deducted servants wages and rent of £930, indicating a large operation.

Others who claimed for expenses included George and James Oliver, anchor smiths and ironmongers. They had been in business for 60 years, and owned extensive housing, shops and warehouses on both sides of Wapping Street at 80 and 301. The latter property on the riverside had its own wharf and warehouses, and had 'been recently repaired in a very substantial manner'. They claimed £4,500 for compensation for injury and damage: based on a business, which for the past three years had produced net profits of £2,000 per annum.¹⁰ In 1803 they insured their property for £1,999.¹¹

Thomas Edwards, at 292 Wapping, was concerned that he would 'suffer the entire loss of my ship chandlery business, which is very extensive'. His particular concern was that he would be put to very great inconvenience and expense in procuring suitable premises for completing his government contract for 'supplying all his Majesty's Navy with colours'. He demanded £4,500 for loss of goodwill and loss of trade, and another £1,773 for his lease and costs of moving his stock and fitting up in new premises.¹² The LDC described a very substantial and well-built house with a five-storey warehouse behind, fitted out for a ship chandler's business. There was also an excellent dining room with a passage leading to a summer room overlooking the Thames: suggestive of a well settled business but only £3,500 was offered in compensation.

Edward Thornhill claimed on 76, a grocer's shop, and 77, a cook's shop. His claim is interesting for its detailed description of the fixtures in the interiors of his shop at 81 Wapping.¹³ These included:

"A deal painted counter with panelled back, four stout drawers in front with eight brass handles, a till drawer with lock and key

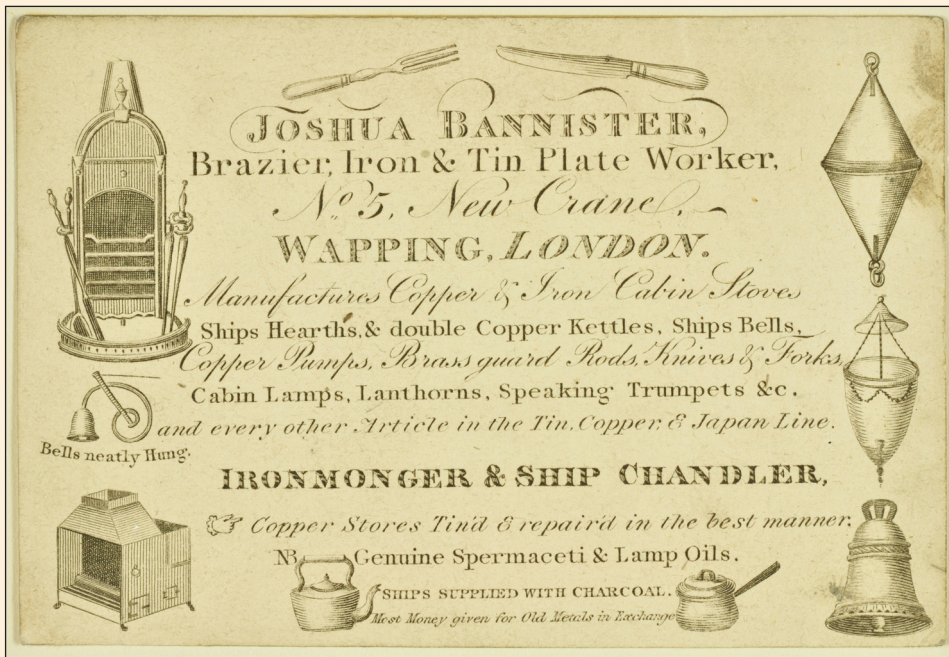
Five painted shelves in window with six turned columns and seven iron brackets

*Four stout shelves and supports behind counter
43 feet run of 17 small shelves*

A pair of neat folding panelled doors to parlour with nine squares of glass

14 stout deal rails across the shop with hooks, a 160 foot run"

Wapping is not normally associated with the textile trades, for in London the felt and hat makers were concentrated in Southwark and the silk



Joshua Bannister, Wapping, Tradecard. Copyright: Collage, London Metropolitan Archives

weavers were in Spitalfields, but Richard Francis and Sons, at 86 Wapping, were hat manufacturers in a considerable line of business. This was a well-built brick house with cellars, a ground-floor shop, parlour, back shop, with two rooms on both the first and second floors. The trade of hat making was estimated to produce £3,000 per annum. The original LDC offer was £77-18s-0d for the fixtures and £422-2s-0d for compensation. Evidentially there was some discussion about this low evaluation for a steady business, and subsequently the LDC offered an additional £250.¹⁴

Cheesemongers

There were hundreds of cheesemongers in London, and the most prominent were a tight knit group, in the City who clustered around Newgate, West Smithfield and Thames Street. There were also major cheesemongers in Shadwell, Wapping, and Whitechapel. Rather unusually the cheesemongers did not have their own livery company.¹⁵

The cheesemongers dealt with the three main cheese-making areas in the Cheshire Plain, Suffolk and North Wiltshire, and made great use of coastal shipping to move their products. An interesting aspect of their business was revealed in January 1793 when The Committee of Cheesemongers of London insured their warehouse on the banks of the River Dee near the Sluice House, Chester, for £500.¹⁶ Certainly, from the early eighteenth century the cheesemongers trading with Cheshire took advantage of the ships carrying lead as ballast from mines in Flintshire to London for the London Lead Company.¹⁷

The importance of the coastal trade featured in the submission to the LDC of Joseph Butler, a wholesale and retail cheesemonger at 295 and 296 Wapping, who described in detail his business decisions. At considerable expense he had converted four old dwellings into a wharf, a

dwelling house and warehouses. The wharf was entirely re-built from its foundations and he had erected a bacon stove and two cranes. The wharf enabled him to ship in and land a variety of articles, and his warehouses enabled him to conduct his

"business upon the most advantageous principles, which of course renders my profits equal to any in the same line. I also have a trade in timber and hay which provides very beneficial to me."

He estimated his profits from the wharf at £400 per annum, and the returns of his trade independent of the wharf as 'considerably upwards of £20,000'.¹⁸

Shadwell Wharf

Further downstream the LDC purchased the extensive Shadwell Wharf. This contained a counting house, cart sheds, stabling for 12 horses, and a well-built warehouse said to hold 300 chaldrons of coal, with lofts for 50 'loads' of hay; a load of hay being 36 trusses each of 56lb, probably



Anchor and Hope Inn, New Crane Street, Shadwell by J.T. Wilson 1870. Copyright: Collage, London Metropolitan Archives

destined for England's largest haymarket in Whitechapel.¹⁹ There were also a second warehouse, a house for a clerk but the timber wharfing needed repair. The owner William Isles also claimed on 48, 49, 50 and 51 Wapping Wall, and with a public house, the estate was valued at £1738-13s-4d.²⁰

Finally, and yet to be explored, are the taverns, chapels, and other properties purchased by the LDC. Where did all the displaced tradesmen and families move to: did they stay in the local area near their existing customers and friends or move further away?

– Derek Morris and Ken Cozens

Notes

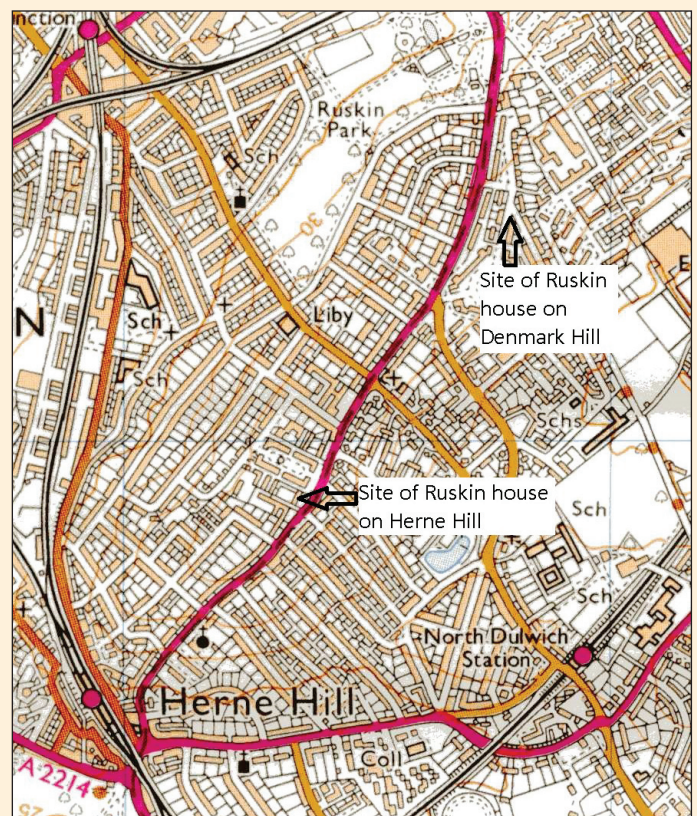
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Remembering Ruskin

This year sees the bicentenary of the birth of John Ruskin (1819–1900). Laurence Marsh looks at the great Victorian's legacy with particular reference to South London.

A vast 'fulfilment center' with an area of more than one million square feet to satisfy the needs of Amazon customers and staffed as much by robots as humans is not a place one would readily associate with John Ruskin. It stands on a greenfield site at the edge of Ruskin, Florida. The name was chosen by the founder of the town, who arrived, fired by Ruskinian ideals, seven years after the great Victorian's death. A greater affront to those ideals than this gargantuan shed is hard to imagine.

Closer to home the Ruskin name appears in countless forms, for streets, roads, closes, schools and colleges, not to mention pubs and nursing homes – though a connection to John Ruskin is not always easy to discern. Can he be linked, for example, to a short cul-de sac with recent brick-built bungalows at the edge of Frinton-on-Sea? Whereas a link to Ruskin is not in doubt for a Ruskin Walk and a Ruskin Park near the houses on Herne Hill and Denmark Hill where Ruskin lived from the age of four until leaving London for the Lake District 48 years later. The park, opened in 1907, was laid out over the 24 acres of a number of mansions and their gardens on Denmark Hill. Had it not been for local activism that secured public money, principally from the London County Council, and wrested the land from the hands of the private builder, there would today be yet more suburban streets. Such development Ruskin had



Map showing Ruskin Park and the site of the Ruskin houses



View over Ruskin Park (2019)

observed with increasing dismay as it encroached upon and in time destroyed the idyllic natural world of his childhood and youth and, to add insult to injury, provided serried ranks of polite villas and terraces with pale imitations of the architectural ornament whose virtues he had so persuasively championed in his own writing. But it was Ruskin's witnessing of the destructive power of urbanisation and industrial processes that also inspired him – in some of the best prose writing of the Victorian era – to propound ideas on, for example, respect for the environment and social justice that have found such resonance today. The resurgence of interest in those ideas in this bicentenary year would suggest that many in our own age still want to look to a great public intellectual for guidance.

Ruskin would surely have applauded the preservation of open space for public enjoyment. He was steeped from the earliest age in precepts of Christian duty and by nature immensely generous. By the time of his death he had given away, not least to the educational and social projects that he created or to collections such as the Ashmolean Museum and (what is now) Museums Sheffield, almost all the substantial fortune that he inherited along with the great number of artworks acquired by means of that fortune. Two films in recent years, *Effie* and *Mr Turner*, have simply recycled the endlessly repeated story of the ill-starred Ruskin marriage, or ridiculed Ruskin as a ludicrous aesthete – a particularly cruel slur given Ruskin's passionate devotion to Turner and his diligence as executor of the artist's estate. It is all the more

welcome therefore that this bicentenary year has prompted so many special events, exhibitions and new publications. They move away from dubious biography and focus on the ideas. It was Ruskin's ideas, not his personal life, that found admirers in readers such as Tolstoy, Proust and Gandhi.

In the same year that Ruskin, Florida, was founded and Ruskin Park in London was opened, John Ruskin's house at 28 Herne Hill, which he had given to his niece Joan Agnew, was shut up. The lease had expired. There was some talk of preserving the house, but nothing came of it. It was visited by Ruskin's disciple and industrious editor Edward Cook in 1912. He wrote how the house was 'much dilapidated... doomed to early demolition',



28 Herne Hill, Ruskin's home 1823–1842 and where he stayed when visiting London after moving to the Lake District. Demolished c.1925



The back garden at 28 Herne Hill, engraving by H. S. Ulrich after a drawing by Arthur Severn

though this was delayed by the First World War. It probably came down in 1925, the year that the LCC placed a plaque, that survives to this day, in the front garden of the houses that replaced the old house. But

nothing of what would have been familiar to Ruskin survives. London merchants and their families, keen to escape

the city and find – at least until the arrival of the railway – what was still rural seclusion, had started in the 1790s to line Herne Hill and Denmark Hill with agreeable villas, carriage drives and spacious grounds. Most had gone by 1914. The Ruskin house on Denmark Hill survived until 1947, when, along with its seven acres of garden and meadow, it was redeveloped as much needed post-war social housing. Finally, Ruskin's birthplace in Hunter Street, off Brunswick Square, was unceremoniously demolished in 1969. Ruskin would not have wanted any physical memorial to himself, regarding his written work and the institutions he had helped to establish as his true legacy. If Amazon's shed in Ruskin, Florida teaches us one thing it is how much can still be learned from that legacy.

The superb Ruskin exhibition at 2 Temple Place on the Thames Embankment ended on 22 April. Museums Sheffield, who provided most of the exhibits for the show, are staging a further exhibition, 'John Ruskin: Art and Wonder', at the Millennium Gallery Sheffield from 29 May to 15 September. Details of the many bicentennial Ruskin events, in London, across the country and overseas, can be found at www.ruskin200.com and ruskinto-day.org/calendar.

– Laurence Marsh



John Ruskin c1860



The house on Denmark Hill (later numbered 163), home of the Ruskin family from 1842–71, seen from the garden. Demolished 1947

Vinyl Revival

In 1870 Hayes was still 'a pleasant wayside village' in rural Middlesex, with brickmaking further south alongside the transport route of the Grand Union Canal. The 1860s arrival of the Great Western Railway triggered further growth in industrial activity. In 1907 the Gramophone Company (later EMI) began to develop a site between railway and canal. David Crawford explores what has happened since.

"A new eclectic quarter of London which is memorable for visitors and a draw for potential residents" is Historic England's assessment of the £250 million regeneration of the Old Vinyl Factory complex of former industrial buildings in Hayes, West London, by developers U+I. Visually striking offices, new homes, shops, places to eat and leisure space, accentuated by deft splashes of colour, have transformed what had for years been a scene of neglect.

The conservation body sees the outcome as "creating a new mixed-use place that is respectful of its rich musical heritage... and puts Hayes back on the map as a centre of innovation and technology".

The 7ha site is where Electrical and Musical Industries (EMI) – known worldwide for the His Master's Voice label – at one time turned out some 20 million records a year, including performances by pop groups including The Beatles, The Rolling Stones and Pink Floyd and made gramophones and gramophone cabinets.

The scheme is one of 15 highlighted in HE's 2017 publication *Translating Good Growth for London's Historic Environment*, which sets out to show that heritage is a fundamental component of achieving good growth. It comments that, "while none of the original buildings on site are listed, the design of office and industrial blocks in the distinctive Art Deco style of architects Wallis Gilbert and Partners



The regenerated Record Store with (right foreground) Gramophone Grove flanked by sculptured trumpets. Photo by Timothy Soar



The EMI plant from the air. Image copyright and courtesy of Cyient. www.cyient.com The Society is also grateful to the London Borough of Hillingdon Local Studies, Archives and Museum Service for sourcing and supplying the image

is testament to London's industrial architecture in the early to mid-twentieth century".

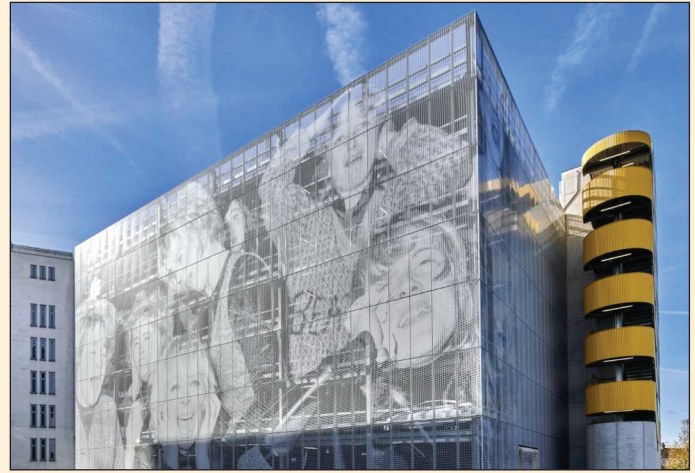
The development also brings a welcome counterweight to recent losses of much of the firm's output. (The 1980 demolition of its Firestone tyre factory on the Great West Road in Brentford, before it could be listed, helped to strengthen the official conservation process by spurring the listing of 150 examples of interwar architecture. It also highlighted the role of the Thirties [now Twentieth Century (C20) Society] – whose first serious case this was.)

EMI's ancestor, the Gramophone Company, began its life in 1897 as the UK partner of the US Gramophone Company, set up in 1892 by the German-American innovator Emile Berliner who had pioneered the recording of sound on vinyl discs rather than, as previously, on cylinders. It bought the Hayes site and started building on it in 1907. During the First World War the plant produced munitions and aircraft parts.

In 1927, with demand for its products soaring, the company invited architects Wallis, Gilbert & Partners to design them a more efficient complex with largely new buildings. Thomas Wallis, the son of a builder, had left the government's Office of Works in 1916, after three years as an architectural assistant, to set up his own practice. One of his aims was to exploit the potential of reinforced concrete in construction in collaboration with the US firm Trussed Concrete Steel (Truscon). (Gilbert has not yet been proven to have existed).

Wallis had gained useful experience while being involved in the country's First World War munitions factory building programme, where he learnt the fundamentals of planning for mass production and safety – laying the foundation for his firm's later pre-eminence in the industrial sector. Truscon was established in the UK in the 1900s to find UK markets for reinforced concrete construction techniques that had developed in the US. These used high-strength steel reinforcement bars to create buildings with large floorplates and windows that flooded the interiors with natural light – the 'daylight factory' model – not least in the interests of better working conditions.

The outcome drew the attention of George Orwell, who taught at a private school in Hayes as part of



The Beatlemania scream elevation of the Music Box carpark (photo courtesy of Studio Egret West)

his steady career progression from hotel dishwashing in Paris to authorial fame. In one of his few poems – *On a Ruined Farm near the His Master's Voice Gramophone Factory*, published in 1933 – he contrasts "the empty sties, the barns that stand Like tumbling skeletons" with "The factory-towers, white and clear Like distant, glittering cities seen From a ship's rail...", envisaging himself as being "Between two countries, both-ways torn". Otherwise, he was uncomplimentary to Hayes, writing to a friend that it was "one of the most God-forsaken places I have ever struck". (That was before 1984).

In the late 1970s, as cassette players were becoming increasingly popular with popular music fans, EMI merged with another electronics company, Thorn, and moved its vinyl production away from Hayes (although its R&D Centre, which had worked on developing stereophonic sound, the CT X-ray scanner and, during World War Two, airborne radar, remained until 1996). The site later became the London Gate business park, which was dominated by surface car parking – "a disconnected and gaping hole in the fabric of Hayes", in the view of the new scheme's masterplanners, Studio Egret West, who also commented that "the extraordinary history of music production was barely visible when we first visited".

The site had been bought in April 2011 by a predecessor company of U+I, who renamed it the Old Vinyl Factory. Hillingdon London Borough Council approved the master plan in November 2012.

The economic stimulus was the 2007 go ahead for the cross-London Elizabeth Line, with a planned stop at the existing station at Hayes and Harlington 200m away, bringing the West End within 20 minutes and Heathrow Airport within 10.

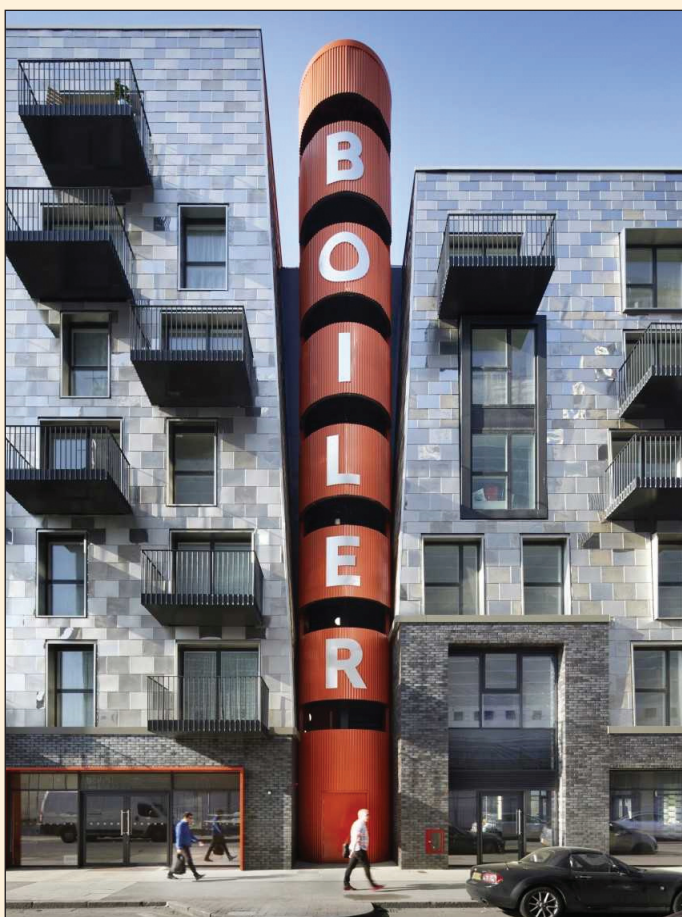
Operating within the masterplan, architects Allford Hall Monaghan Morris have reworked a number of the original structures. Commenting on the WG/Truscon legacy, partner Paul Monaghan notes that: "We're blessed with a lot of volume, large windows and atria – spaces you'd be hard pressed to find in many of today's newer office buildings."

Among those revived, the Record Store is now the home of the Central Research Laboratory, an incubator for technology innovators and start-ups, its name evoking EMI's former R&D centre. Close by, Studio Egret West have designed the Music Box, a seven-level staff carpark, clad in steel panels.

One of its elevations is perforated to create a computer-generated reproduction of the celebrated image of girls screaming at a Beatles concert, in a conscious departure from the typically bland façades of such buildings. Also designed by the same firm, the Boiler House pavilion of flats and studios, with its bold orange exterior staircase leading to rooftop gardens and allotments, evokes in its name the steam heating plant that once serviced the entire site; there are internal lifts.

A new three-screen cinema, the first in Hayes for some decades, and a live music venue reinforce the site's historic entertainment associations. These were also highlighted during the early stages of the development by a series of sessions recorded inside the now cavernous legacy buildings, featuring young musicians of today performing their own songs and covering classic ones.

The scheme's design strategy has earned commendation in a planning-stage review by the Design Council's Commission for Architecture and the Built Environment (CABE) team, requested by Studio Egret West in 2012. This noted the revelation of a *"hidden gem...still immersed with the aura of a key chapter of the British music industry. Huge white factory buildings with some Art Deco touch give the place the feel of a stage set"*.



The Boiler House (photo courtesy of Studio Egret West)

It also praised the scheme as one that *"highlights the central importance of the the public realm in place making"*, citing the role of the tree-lined Groove as the main walking route through the site, linking pedestrianised streets and spaces. Among these is Gramophone Grove, an outdoor oasis for people working in the Record Store to enjoy their coffees and lunches, waymarked by sculptures of four large green historic gramophone trumpets (see fig. on p.16).

A useful reference work is Skinner, Joan S. (1997) (Paperback). Form and fancy: factories and factory buildings by Wallis, Gilbert and Partner (First ed.). Liverpool University Press. ISBN 978 0 85323 622 1.

– David Crawford

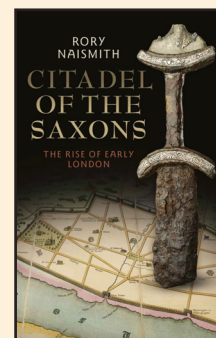
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Reviews

Citadel of the Saxons – the Rise of Early London

by Rory Naismith, 2019. I B Tauris, 195pp plus prelims, notes and index £20 HB
ISBN 978 1 78831 222 6

This short and attractive book tells us all there is to be known about the enigma of Saxon London; it is in fact one of the very few books devoted to this period. Written by Rory Naismith of King's College London, in fewer than 200 pages we are taken from the Roman Forum through the desolate marshland that swamped the former amphitheatre by the Guildhall, to the construction of the Norman White Tower. The speed of the narrative owes much to the sparsity of information, and the author has excelled in the scholarly art of extrapolation, creating an engaging account from what is all too often nothing more than a couple of coins, a shard of pottery and an isolated burial.



Let's start with the cover, which features William Darton's map *The City of London in the time of the Saxon dynasty, around the year one thousand*, published in 1810. Based on old descriptions, and with very little archaeological input, it shows neat linear streets leading off a notional central market square close to the modern Bank of England, a proto-St Paul's set in fine parkland and a diminutive royal palace lurking in the direction of Cripplegate. The intervening two centuries have yielded sufficient scholarship and further finds to modify this idealised antiquarian vista. The up-to-date sketch map on page 175 – worth a double-page spread yet barely two inches by four – reveals a picture somewhat closer to the likely reality: a block of settlement between Cheapside and Thames Street on something approaching a grid-iron plan, with spindly streets heading off towards the still-standing walls. No palace, no market, and an urban morphology that looks surprisingly familiar

because, as we learn, so complete was the abandonment of Roman London that the Anglo Saxon city laid out its own street plan which we have followed to this day.

What we have here is a tale of three Cities; the Roman City within the walls, this abandoned in favour of the new Anglo Saxon Lundenwic built to the west, and the eventual resettlement of the City-within-the-walls around the mid-ninth century, most likely in response to the growing threat of Viking raids. This was a new City with its own street pattern, but one wearing old clothes and keeping the Roman walls, and bearing a Roman name. This is, as the title states, the story of the Rise of Early London, focusing as much of the forces that led to this double transformation as on the details of what was there at any one time, for the reason, it seems, that there aren't that many details to go on. One point, though, is clear – the title is a bit of a misnomer. There never was a Citadel of the Saxons. This word conveys fort or stronghold; the City-within-the-Walls may have answered to this description, and indeed William delayed his entry into London after the Battle of Hastings by several months as he wound his way around the well-defended City. Wooden-built Saxon Lundenwic, though, was no citadel at all.

We begin the story, quite rightly, with Roman London surrounded by the walls built around the year 200. We have a rich and nuanced picture of this period, drawing on tombs, inscriptions, writing tablets and a wide range of artefacts sufficient to convey the passage of time as Roman London grew and developed. Recent excavations on the Bloomberg site, for example, show how a mill made way for smart housing, perhaps the earliest recorded instance of London gentrification. Then the fog descends, and for nearly 200 years from the end of the fourth century the absence of archaeological evidence points to depopulation and abandonment; who needed a Roman City when there was no longer a Roman administration based there?

The next glimmers of light occur around the beginning of the seventh century when we first meet references to a new London, capital of nowhere (except perhaps for the East Saxons) yet of some importance because it lay at the intersection of the warring kingdoms of the Heptarchy. The first archaeological evidence dating from the late seventh century shows that London was now located between the modern Lincoln's Inn Fields and Trafalgar Square, with the 'Wic' in its new name Lundenwic suggestive of a market town. We see this new London as a reflection of these territorial struggles, a location where nobles meet and events occur; there is insufficient evidence to convey the sense of place we have for Roman London. While we learn that by the year 680 there was a mint, a Cathedral and a King's Hall, too little is known about them to put any colour on the bare facts. The author describes this Lundenwic of wooden construction as a 'functional and no-nonsense kind of place' lacking public buildings yet

a place of burgeoning trade with France, Germany and the Norse and Low countries.

Fast forward to around 850 and we encounter the third new-but-old London, the functions of Lundenwic moving back within the old Roman walls as a result, the author believes, of recurrent fires, growing economic activity and the need to seek protection from Viking raids. For the first hundred years this resettlement was patchy and intermittent, concentrated between Cheapside and the Thames shoreline, considerably higher than today. Once again little is actually known, the author conceding that this is 'a period and a city mostly known from the post-holes of long-decayed wooden buildings'. There is little evidence of church building earlier than the year 1000, perhaps because these were wooden buildings with turfed roofs, as suggested by the intriguing reference to 'Gracechurch' meaning the church roofed with grass. Alongside the sparse records of single-storey wooden cabins there is circumstantial evidence of growing importance and prestige – references in manuscripts, records of royal visits and the discovery of ample London-minted coinage. These themes dominate the remainder of the narrative up to 1066; the comings and goings of kings and earls, thanes and alderman which speak of the importance and increasing centrality of London in the national life but with little to say about the city's physical structure and development. Altogether a well-written and engaging account, the first detailed work on Saxon London for many years and likely to remain the best until supplemented by future archaeological finds.

– Simon Morris

London's Waterfront 1100–1666: excavations in Thames Street, London, 1974–84

by John Schofield, Lyn Blackmore and Jacqui Pearce with Tony Dyson. Archaeopress. HB. £90
Available in print and open access
ISBN 978 1 78491 837 8

The book covers the mile-long Thames Street where four excavations in 1974-84 revealed its history. The findings from 1100-1666 are presented in this book. The buildings and property development on 16 properties south of Thames Street, on land reclaimed in many stages since the opening of the twelfth century, include part of the parish church of St Botolph Billingsgate. The many units of land reclamation are dated by dendrochronology, coins and documents. They have produced thousands of artefacts and several hundred kilos of native and foreign pottery. Highlights include the first academic analysis and assessment of a thirteenth- or fourteenth-century trumpet from Billingsgate, the earliest surviving straight trumpet in Europe; many pilgrim souvenirs; analysis of two drains of the seventeenth century from which suggestions can be made about use of rooms and spaces within documented buildings; and the proposal that one of the skeletons excavated from St Botolph's church is John Reynewell, mayor of London in 1426–7 and a notable figure in London's medieval history.

London Topographical Society

The London Topographical Society was founded in 1880 for the study and appreciation of London. It is a registered charity (No. 271590) with around 1,200 members. The Society remains true to the vision of its founders by making available maps, plans and views illustrating the history, growth and topographical development of London at all periods, and by publishing research in the London Topographical Record. Details of all publications can be found on the Society's website: www.londontopsoc.org

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