

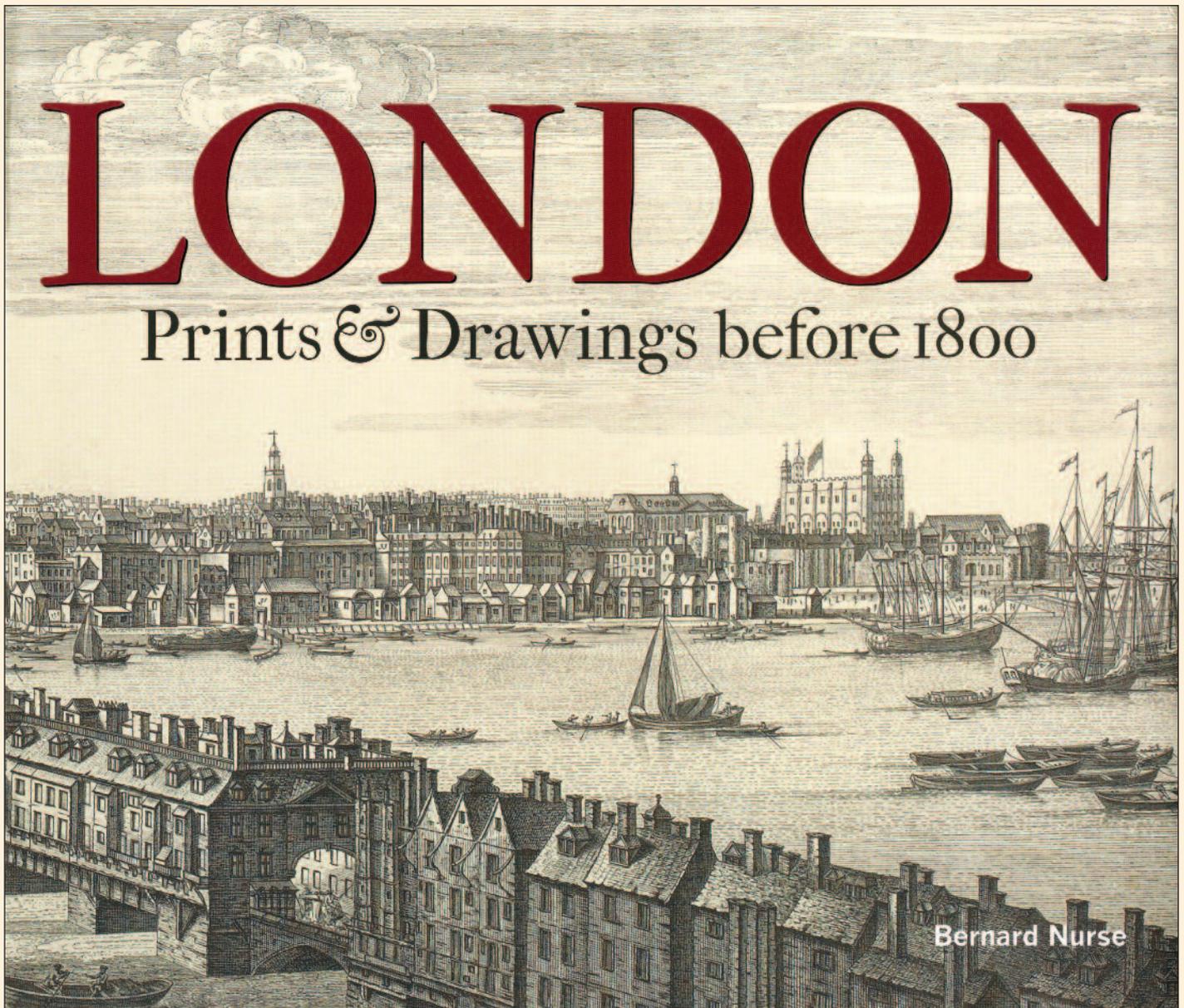
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LONDON TOPOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY

Newsletter

Number 84
May 2017



The 117th Annual General Meeting of the London Topographical Society will be held on Thursday 6 July 2017 at Queen Mary College, Mile End Road at 5.45pm. For details see the pull out section in the

centre of this *Newsletter*.

The illustration above is of this year's publication, *London Prints and Drawings before 1800* by Bernard Nurse. (See p.2).

Notes and News

This year's publication

As members will know, the publication of the Society's annual publication is generally timed to coincide with the AGM. This year's arrangements require the following special note from our treasurer Roger Cline, who organises the distribution.

Because London Prints and Drawings before 1800 is a joint publication with the Bodleian Library, it is already available for sale to the public. The book has LTS on the spine and the full Society name on the title page, so remember your member's entitlement to a free copy before you spend £30 on another copy. Those of you who do not normally attend the AGM may find you receive the book before the AGM. You will of course still be entitled to attend the AGM if you are able to do so but your name will have already been crossed off the distribution list. If you cannot attend the AGM but would like to collect your copy from me, please email me before the AGM to arrange a convenient time. This year we are using a courier for deliveries and the courier would like to have your telephone number to ensure the delivery can be made when you are at home. If you will not be attending the AGM, please telephone or email the Treasurer to supply your telephone number. If you encounter his answering machine do give your postcode as well as your name so we get things right in spite of having members with similar names.

The book contains over a hundred images of maps, drawings and prints of London selected by our member Bernard Nurse from the collection of Richard Gough (1735-1809). The bulk of Gough's extensive library was sold after his death in two auctions lasting a total of 23 days, but he left to the University of Oxford "all my manuscripts, printed books, and pamphlets, prints and drawings, maps, copperplates relating to British Topography". The Bodleian Library received over 4,000 volumes and large numbers of individual maps, prints and drawings sent in packing cases from Gough's house in Enfield. The wealth of London material in the collection is little known and the Society is pleased to be able to join with the Bodleian Library in this joint publication.

Bernard Nurse, who will be speaking about his work on the book at the AGM, was for many years the Librarian of the Society of Antiquaries at Burlington House. Previously he worked in the Southwark and Tower Hamlets's local history libraries and in the Guildhall Library.

Stephen Humphreys, 1952-2016. We are sorry to record the death of Stephen Humphreys, who died in December 2016. He was a much valued archivist of Southwark Council from 1979-2010, and well known for his books on the local area, including *The Story of Rotherhithe*, and most recently, *Elephant and Castle: a history*, 2010, a well-researched account of the area in which he had grown up. He was made a Freeman of the Borough in 2012.

The British Film Institute. Members will no doubt be interested to see some of the results of our grants to the British Film Institute (BFI) to assist in the preservation and digitisation of some of the earliest and most interesting images of London on film. We now have our own area on the BFI Player website, accessible at <http://player.bfi.org.uk/collections/the-london-topographical-society/>. Be warned, looking at some of these carefully restored film clips can become addictive – and more clips will be added over time.

A further proposal, currently being deliberated by your Council, is to make a selection of some 40 or 50 of these clips, totalling two or three hours in all, available on a twin DVD set to be given out free to members as an additional publication – perhaps in 2019. The archive film, some of it exclusive to the DVD set, together with a booklet of essays and contextual material, would chart the changing face of London from the 1890s onwards. It would include not only some of the material digitised with our support and some of the material identified by our members, but further archive film from the BFI's broader *Britain on Film* project. The films will be themed by the BFI curators to cover such topics as (working list) *Life on the River*, *Meet the Londoners*, *London on the Move*, *Lungs of London* (parks and greens), *London at Work* and *London at Leisure*. The price to non-members would be set at £19.99. Council would welcome any feedback or comment from members on this proposal.

The screenshot shows the BFI Player interface. On the left is a navigation sidebar with 'BFIPLAYER' at the top, followed by 'SEARCH', 'BFI PLAYER + MENU', 'NEW', 'POPULAR', 'GENRES', 'COLLECTIONS', 'BRITAIN ON FILM', 'COMING SOON', 'PLAYLISTS', 'SIGN UP / IN', and another 'PLAYLISTS' section. The main content area has a header 'CHOOSE ANOTHER COLLECTION' and a large blue banner for 'THE LONDON TOPOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY'. Below this is a video player showing a black and white historical scene of Trafalgar Square. The video title is 'London Street Scenes - Trafalgar Square 1910' and the description reads: 'Spot the changes and continuities in this majestic Edwardian panorama of Trafalgar Square. 1 mins / United Kingdom'.

Circumspice

What is the subject of this fountain and where is it? For the answer see p.13.



Exhibitions

The Londoners, London Metropolitan Archives 6 February – 4 July.

Studied portraits and casual snapshots, from fifteenth century drawings to recent colour photographs illustrate countless Londoners as they went about their business, from labourers to nightwatchmen, waitresses to wrestlers.

Tunnel, the archaeology of Crossrail. Museum of Docklands. 10 February – 3 September.

8000 years of human history: Mesolithic tool makers, Romans with iron-shod horses, victims of the great Plague – all feature in the discoveries made during the largest engineering project underway in Europe.

Threatened Places

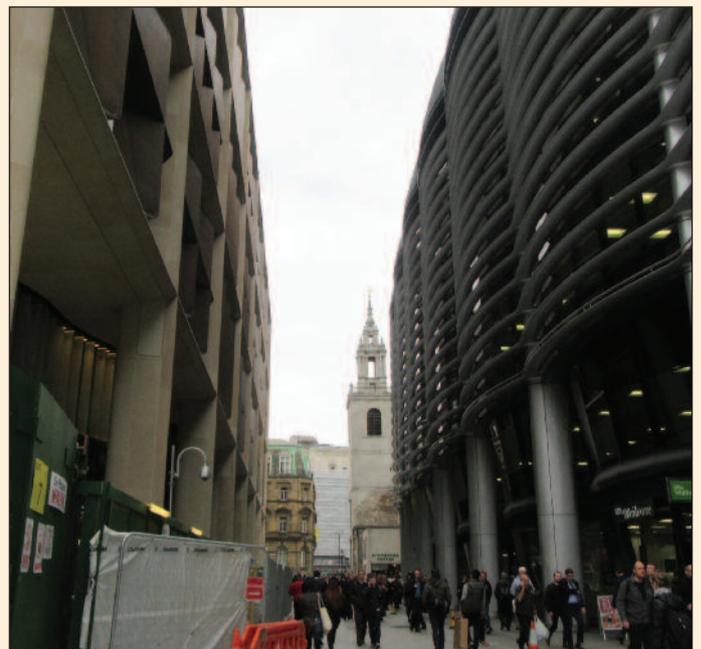
The proposal to build a Holocaust memorial in **Victoria Tower Gardens**, the small, peaceful park immediately south of the Houses of Parliament, has aroused considerable concern – not over the idea of the memorial, but over its location. The London Parks and Gardens Trust have written an eloquent response, pointing out that this area of the World Heritage site is already designated a ‘zone of monumental saturation’(!). The proposed memorial, with an anticipated one million visitors a year, although largely underground, would drastically alter the character of the only green space in this neighbourhood. A petition seeking support for finding an alternative site, led by Sir Peter Bazalgette, former chair of the Arts Council, can be found at change.org/p/Sir Peter Bazalgette .

Harmondsworth Tithe Barn This Grade I listed barn, the rare survival of a timber-framed building on a cathedral scale, built by Winchester College in the early fifteenth century, would lie only a few metres away from the northwest runway proposed for Heathrow Airport. In addition the airport expansion would involve the total demolition of 21 other listed buildings and destruction or damage to over 100 archaeological remains. The case for the airport is to be debated in Parliament toward the end of this year. Meanwhile take the opportunity to visit this impressive building on the 2nd and 4th Sunday of the months, from April-October, 10.00-5.00. It is managed by the Friends of Harmondsworth Barn for English Heritage, and entry is free.

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Changing London

The LTS Council currently meets near Cannon Street station and so, every few months, can observe the changes overtaking **Walbrook**, the narrow street opposite the station, named from the river that now lies underground. The east side is almost entirely taken up by the ‘radiator-grille architecture’ of ‘The Walbrook’, Foster & Partners’ ‘bulbous armadillo-like groundscraper’ (see Alec Forshaw’s *New City*). Beyond it, left over from another era, can be glimpsed the slender profile of the tower of Wren’s St Stephen Walbrook. The west side of Walbrook, now nearing completion, is also by Fosters (after the rejection of an earlier design by Jean Nouvel), part of the larger redevelopment site known as Walbrook Square, stretching to Queen Victoria Street. Facing Walbrook there is an attempt to break down the bulk by recessing the lower floors and angling their windows. But for most pedestrians the aspect that makes for a more humane environment may not be the architectural aesthetics but the fact that this is now a pedestrian



street with sandwich and coffee shops housed in the ground floor of the armadillo.

For a different architectural experience you can walk up to St Stephen's and see how the spire is lightly framed by the ethereal glass tower of Rothschild's New Court to the east (by Rem Koolhaas 2012). The church was built on a tight site, hence the lack of windows and the rough wall on the south side, which in the seventeenth century butted up against a warehouse built after the Great Fire by the merchant John Pollexfen. His own mansion lay beyond, surviving into the nineteenth century. The tiny twentieth century building in seventeenth century style which now occupies part of its site once belonged to Peter Palumbo (Baron Palumbo of Walbrook), enthusiast for modern architecture and unsuccessful advocate for a glass tower by Mies van der Rohe opposite the Royal Exchange. But 50 years ago the City was not yet ready for such a novelty.



Old into New

Finding a new use for purpose-designed structures worthy of preservation can result in some surprising and ingenious solutions, as David Crawford demonstrates in an article in this issue.



Design Museum from Holland Park;

Converting one museum into another of a different type might seem rather simpler, but can also be problematic. An example is the Design Museum. When established at Shad Thames on the South Bank in November 1962, the brainchild of Terence Conran (founder of Habitat in 1964), its location was still off the beaten track. Fifty years later it had outgrown its original building, and in November 2016 moved to a new home, the 'tent in the park' built in 1957-61 on the edge of Holland Park by Robert Matthew, Johnson-Marshall & Partners for the erstwhile Commonwealth Institute. A useful little book, *The Story of the Design Museum* edited



Design Museum, the new galleried central stair hall

by Tom Wilson, provides brief histories of both organisations (Phaidon 2016, £9.95). Before its alterations, it was the sweep of the novel hyperbolic – parabola – roof which was the dominant feature, spreading tent-like above the different levels which housed the contributions from the individual Commonwealth countries. The transformation by the architect John Pawson has inserted a grand central staircase hall providing access to the displays in the upper galleries, from which only sections of the great roof are visible. Nevertheless it is good to see a viable solution for this listed building, even if it is at the expense also of the original landscaped surrounding. We await with interest the fate of the West Smithfield market buildings, about to be transformed by the competition winners Stanton Williams into a new home for the Museum of London. An informative history of these Victorian structures with an explanation of their innovative ‘Phoenix columns’ can be found on the Museum’s website: museumoflondon.org.uk/discover/transforming-smithfield-market.



Purchasing Property in East London in the early nineteenth century: The London Dock Company in the 1800s

Derek Morris is currently researching the impact of the building of the London Docks on the riverside settlements of Wapping and Shadwell. He gives us here a first sight of the wealth of information that exists in the archives of the Port of London Authority.

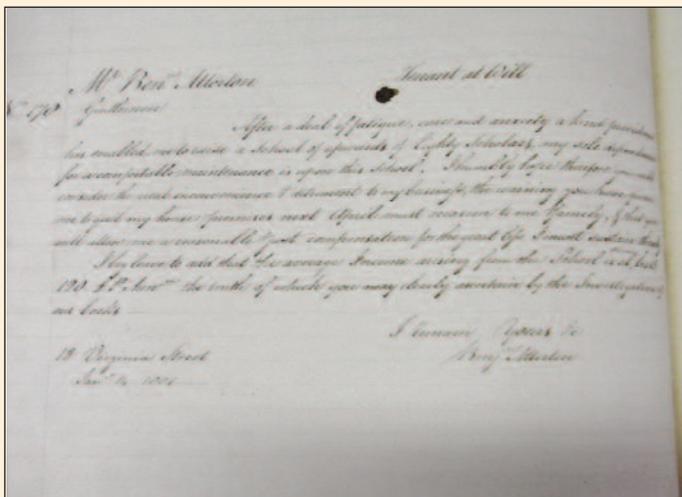
From the time of the Dissolution of the Monasteries, if not earlier, to the construction of HS2, organisations and individuals have needed a method to estimate the value of a wide range of properties. This was the problem that the London Dock Company (hereafter LDC) faced in 1800 with

its proposal to build extensive docks, covering some 20 acres, with the capacity of holding up to 390 ships, on the north bank of the Thames at Wapping. The proposed site, in close proximity to the legal quays and the city, meant that the area already had a well-established community who were not remotely interested in vacating their homes and business premises.¹ Objectors calculated that up to 2,000 houses would have to be demolished, and long-established businesses along the river’s edge would be displaced or destroyed. Existing infrastructure in the wider area would also be affected.

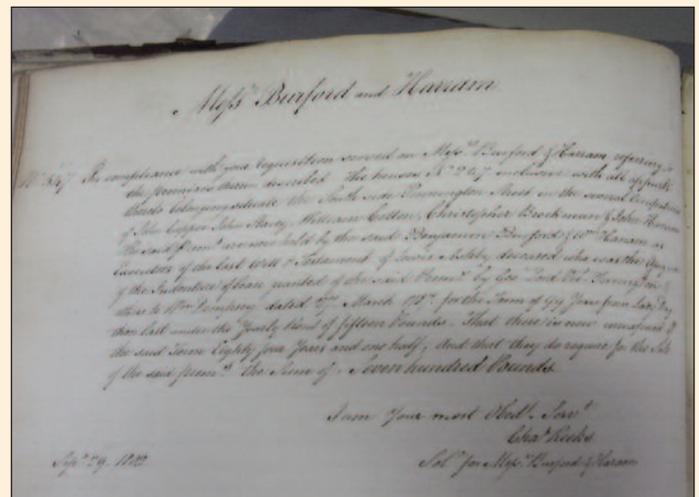
The process can be studied in detail because the LDC’s estimates of the value of the property that they were purchasing have survived, together with the evaluators’ descriptions. They provide a uniquely detailed picture of the old riverside district of Shadwell, which, like Wapping, Ratcliff and Limehouse, was once densely built over with small houses, though not excessively crowded. The value of this LDC archive is that, as Peter Guillery has observed: “Not a splinter of seventeenth-century Shadwell survives, the heart of the early district having been displaced by nineteenth-century extension of the London Docks.”²

The Process of Evaluation

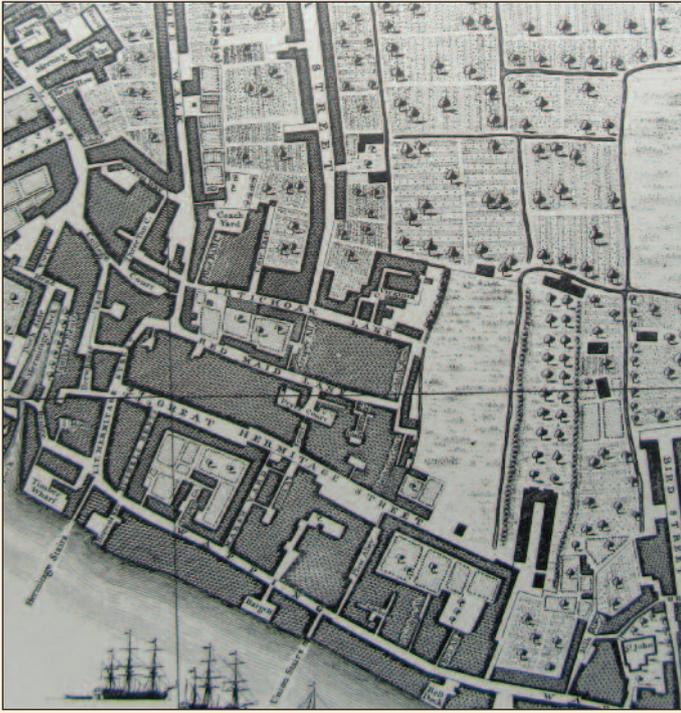
The surviving archives indicate that the evaluation was well-organised. Every property owner was invited (using sequentially numbered letters) to submit their estimate of the value of their property. The LDC’s evaluators then began the inspection, recording every detail that affected the value: the number, location and description of cellars, rooms and garrets, the state of repair (but not the plan layout), and details of leases. Then, using the concept of ‘present value’, the LDC submitted their offer to the owner. Inevitably the LDC’s evaluation was lower than that of the owner. The LDC applied a standard method for evaluating all the property that they proposed to purchase, thus avoiding any suggestion of bias. Whilst the LDC applied the ‘years of purchase’ method to the rental streams, the assessors also took notice of various costs that



A typical evaluation of property in St George-in-the East



Correspondence on a valuation



The Shadwell area on Rocque's map (1750)

a property owner could realistically charge against this income stream, especially payments of land tax, water and pavement charges.

There was a wide spectrum of property owners: some had a shared interest in a single property, others owned a large number of properties, including the executors of Mary Bowes-Lyon, as part of her extensive estate in Shadwell was affected.³ There were complications with the conflicting interests of mortgagees, freeholders, copyholders, lease holders and sub-tenants, all claiming some compensation. In late eighteenth-century London perhaps only 15 to 20 per cent owned the freehold of their homes: 'buy to let' is not a new phenomenon. It is not clear if the LDC found the owner of every property and sometimes several people claimed to own a particular property. There were three claims for a house in Gravel Lane.⁴ Mrs Paar claimed the freehold of the front part and both Raine's Hospital and Charles Bennett claimed the freehold of the whole.

The property owners who rented their property out on long leases, aimed to recover from the LDC the full loss of income. However, the traditional method of valuing future income streams as a present capital sum is to multiply the average expected annual cash-flow by a multiple, known as 'years' purchase': a process of discounting. For example, in selling to a third party a property leased to a tenant under a 99 year lease at £100 per annum, a deal might be struck at '20 years' purchase', which would value the lease at 20 times £100, i.e., £2000, not £9,900.

The Property Owners' Evaluations

The archives contain copies of the letters in which the property owners justified their (usually inflated) valuations. The well-known John Harriott (of Thames Marine Police fame) and other trustees of a

'Soup House Charitable Institution' at 65 Pennington Street made "a unanimous claim for a complete re-installment in the immediate vicinity or otherwise the advance of £1,800 to enable them to provide equal accommodation upon any convenient spot they may perceive". This letter identifies the cash flow problems that were met, particularly, as with the larger establishments it would take time to locate a new site, and build or adapt an existing property to their requirements. The LDC was not concerned with such expenses.⁵

Mr Matthews, in Lower Turning, Shadwell, related:

"I beg to state that I carry on the trade of baker and corn chandler [and] have a lease of six years unexpired at a rent of £18 per annum. I carry on a considerable trade depending entirely on the neighbourhood and [am] totally desolate of a situation to continue my trade. I have made use of proper means to ascertain my loss and... [so] I claim £1,100."

The LDC evaluated his business on the assumption (presumably after some discussion) on his production of 26 sacks of flour per week at 8s 6d per sack, for 40 weeks in a year, giving a yearly income of £442. After including additional incomes and various deductions for 'his own time' and wages, the LDC's final offer was £400 and not the demanded £1,100.⁶

Mr Thomas Burgess in response to Notice 202 observed:

*"That for a period of 30 years I have been enabled to support my family with credit to myself, and that by my present removal I am reduced to the necessity of embarking in a fresh connection, which at my time of life, and the present state of things, renders my future expectations extremely precarious..."*⁷

The oblique reference to the war with the French was in every one's mind, and the LDC's Treasury Committee from time to time reported that building progress was slow as "labourers [were] being called away on National Service".⁸

Mr Herbert, a ropemaker wrote:

*"That it has been a great expense to me making the ground fit for my trade, and in leaving it, and the great disappointment my customers will have that dwelleth near the premises will make it prove greatly to my disadvantage, it will put me in great expense, loss of trade and trouble to furnish another ground..."*⁹

Benjamin Atterton responded to Notice 178 with the comment:

*"That after a deal of fatigue, care and anxiety a kind providence has enabled me to raise a school of upwards of 80 scholars, my sole dependence for a comfortable maintenance is upon this school, ...and that you will allow me a reasonable and just compensation for the great loss I will sustain thereby..."*¹⁰

This is the first time that this school has been noted in any archive.

Virginia Street

The two main streets in the parish of St George-in-the-East affected by the docks were Virginia Street, at its western end, and Broad Street at its eastern end. Also affected was the south side of Pennington Street, which was “laid out on the north edge of a marsh in 1678-80... an unusually large development of small houses, each evidentially comprising three rooms”.¹¹

Examples from Virginia Street illustrate the evaluation process. The long north-south street is clearly visible on Rocque’s map. There were some 130 properties, the majority were of the ‘two-room plan type’ described by Guillery:¹² two-up and two-down, with privies, washrooms, coal sheds, and ‘summer houses’ in the back yards. The plots were typically 12-15 feet or so wide and 72 feet deep. The surveyors also noted if the stairs extended to the garret, and the status of the basements. For each property the LDC recorded the length of the lease, the surviving period and the rent.

Some typical examples demonstrate the wealth of the information that has survived, and the wide variation in state of repair.¹³

No. 1, Virginia Street. Mrs Sutton’s interest (shop in her occupation), old brick tenement, ground floor shop and small room. In a bad state. Rent £6.

No. 36, Virginia Street. Lately been new and back-fronted but the inside is in an indifferent state.

No. 42, Virginia Street. The cellars of house being under water reduced the value of this house.

No. 44, Virginia Street. Indifferent state of repair but may last the lease without any substantial repairs. Rent £13-13s-0d.

No. 89, Virginia Street. Public house, cellars, kitchen, parlour, tap room, wash house, three rooms first floor, two garrets. Rent £21.

No. 99, Virginia Street. An old brick house with cellars, front parlour, back parlour, small middle room, kitchen, stable, washhouse, first floor large front room, four back rooms, second floor two very large garrets. Rent £25.

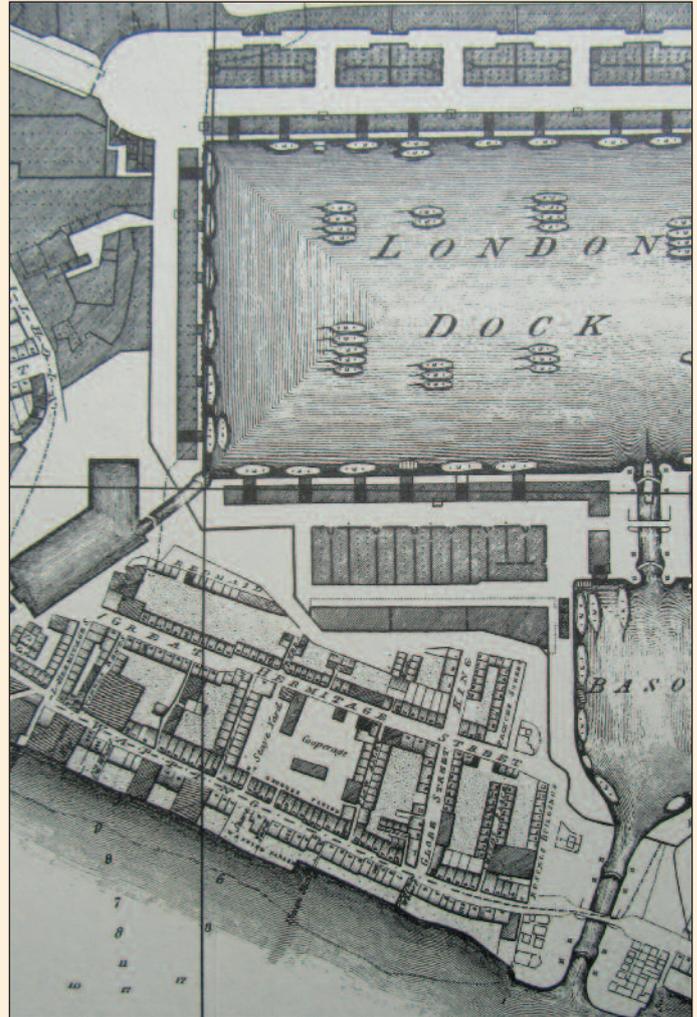
Nos. 101-104, Virginia Street. These houses are extremely old and much out of repair. The timbers in many instances, particularly on the ground floor, are decayed and some of the walls have been under-pinned. Might stand for 25 years but then not worth repairing. Rent £12.

No. 116, Virginia Street. Tolerable well-built house. Rent £16-6s-6d.

Nos. 121, Virginia Street. This two-up and two-down house had a seven-stall stable, and a carriage shed, but as in a very bad repair £100 was deducted from the valuation. Rent £43.

In addition to the public houses in the street, there were shops, a carpenter’s shop, a slaughter house, a counting house, and a coal yard.

A study of just one street provides a new insight into the people and properties affected by the development of the London Docks.



Shadwell after the creation of London Docks, from Horwood’s map (1819)

Still to be studied are the remaining properties (chapels, industrial premises, taverns and houses) not covered by this paper. A final question is 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

Notes

1. F. Rule, *London’s Docklands: A History of the Lost Quarter*, 2000, p.13
2. P. Guillery, *The Small House in Eighteenth Century London, A Social and Architectural History*, 2004, pp.21, 41, 43, 64. Figures 16, 22, 30, 32, 43
3. D. Morris and K. Cozens, *Sailortown, 1600-1800*, 2014, pp.9-10
4. MoLD, Port of London Authority Archive, Museum of London Docklands, PLA/LDC/2/1/1, p.165
5. MoLD, PLA/LDC/2/1/1, p. 172; D. Morris and K. Cozens, *Sailortown, 1600-1800*, 2014, pp.164-168
6. MoLD, PLA/LDC/2/1/2, p.117
7. MoLD, PLA/LDC/2/1/1, p.122
8. MoLD, PLA/LDC/1/3/1, p.53, 18 November 1803
9. MoLD, PLA/LDC/2/1/1, p.132
10. MoLD, PLA/LDC/2/1/1, p.152
11. Guillery, p.52
12. Guillery, p.64
13. MoLD, PLA/LDC/2/1/1

Radical politics in the 1640s: locating the Whalebone

Dorian Gerhold investigates a mysterious meeting place in the seventeenth-century City.

The Levellers of the 1640s can fairly be described as Britain's first political party. They flourished briefly from 1646 to 1649, following the defeat of Charles I in the first Civil War, and were strongest in London and parts of the New Model Army, but were crushed by Oliver Cromwell and other army leaders in 1649. Their wide-ranging aims, set out most clearly in *The agreement of the people* (1647) included the sovereignty of the people, a wider franchise, equality before the law and religious toleration. They campaigned using petitions, pamphlets and meetings. The name was a hostile one used mainly by their enemies, implying that they sought to reduce everyone to the same level by confiscating property.¹

It is well known that the Levellers' most important meeting place was the Whalebone in London. Here, for example, is the leading Leveller, John Lilburne, setting out how he had sought to promote the 'Large Petition' in 1648:

"As soon as I and some other of my true and faithfull comrades had caused some thousands of that petition to be printed, I did the best I could to set up constant meetings in severall places in Southwark to promote the petition ... I laboured the most I could to set up the like meetings in London; and for that end, diverse cordial, honest, faithful, and noun substantive [*sic*] English-men met openly at the WHALEBONE behind the Exchange, where by common consent, we chuse out a committee, or a certaine number of faithful understanding men ... to withdraw into the next roome, to forme a method, how to promote it in every ward in the City, and out-parishes, and also in every county in the kingdome; and for the more vigorous carrying it one [*sic*], we nominated ... two or three treasurers, and a proportion of collectors, to gather up our voluntary contributions."²

Lilburne also stated that the ten or twelve 'commissioners' for promoting the petition, of which he was one, "had their constant meetings on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays in the evening at the Whalebone; and the other three dayes at Southwark, Wapping, and other places, with their friends".³

None of the many writings on the Levellers identify the site of the Whalebone, and the purpose of this note is to do so. Richard Overton, another Leveller leader, wrote a pamphlet in 1649 referring in its title to 'the citizens of London usually meeting at the Whale-bone in Lothbury behind the Royal Exchange, commonly (though unjustly) styled Levellers'.⁴ (The curious reference to 'behind the Royal Exchange', which was several blocks away, seems to indicate that anything further from the Thames was 'behind'.) In May 1649 Henry Ireton

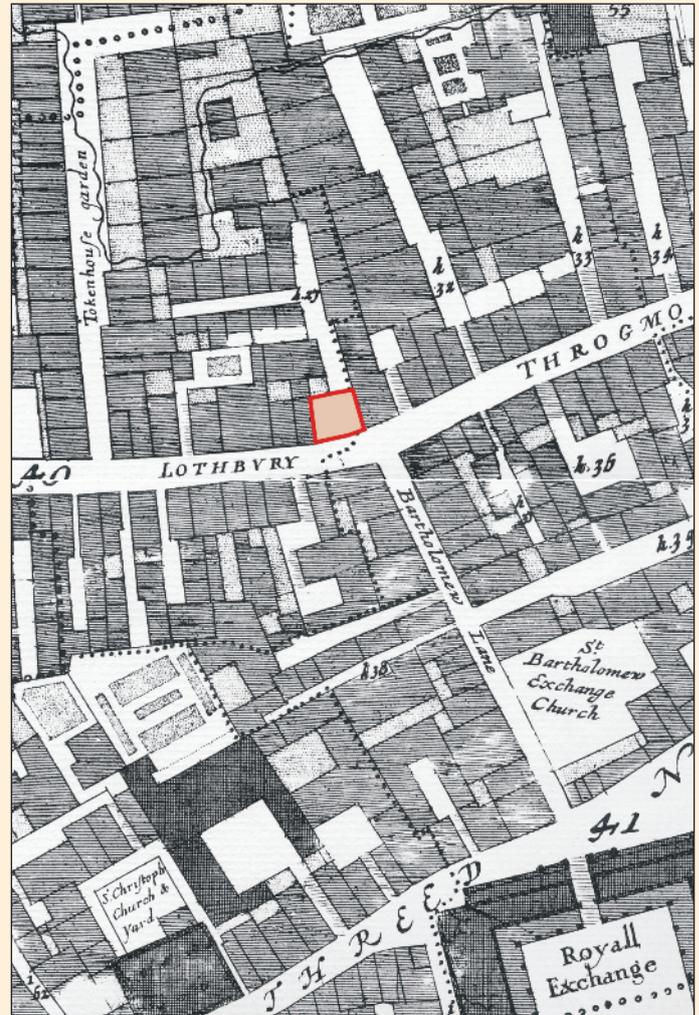
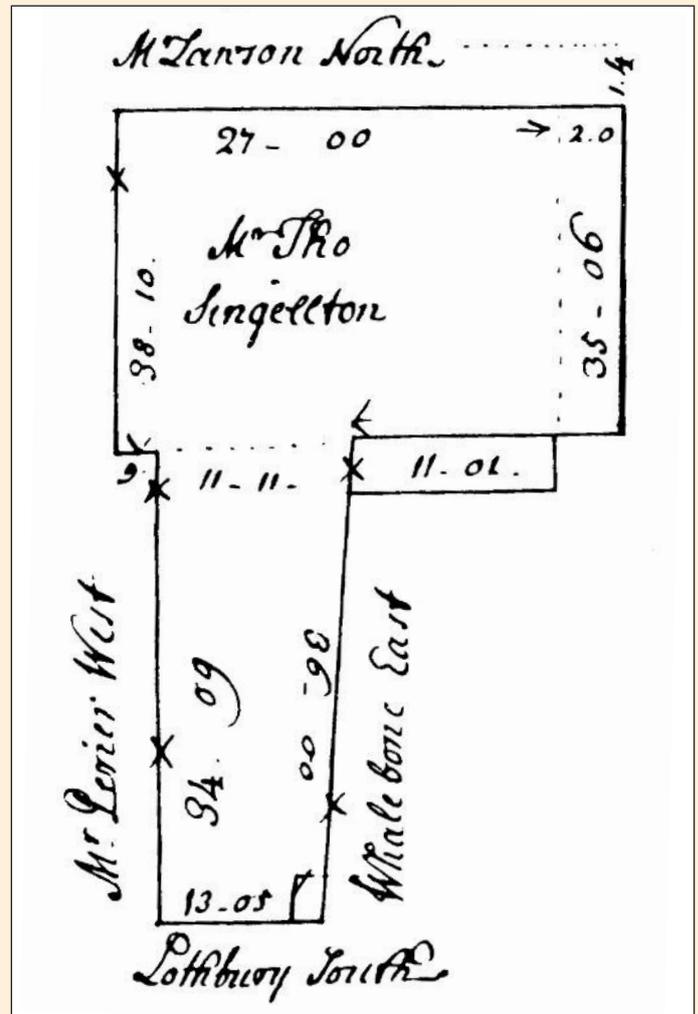
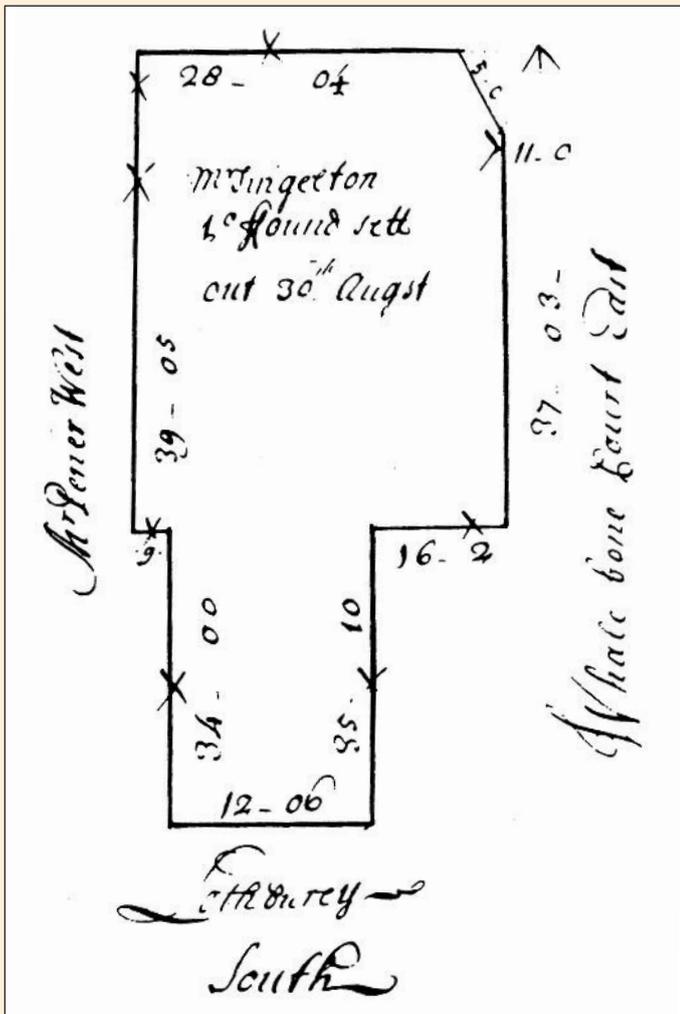


Fig. 1. Part of Ogilby and Morgan's map of 1676, including Lothbury and the Royal Exchange. The Whalebone is marked in red. The alley heading north from the Whalebone was Whalebone Court

and Arthur Haselrig were said to have 'employed many spies at severall meetings (especially) at the Whale-bone in Lothbury', with the aim of having Lilburne and others hung for treason.⁵ Fire Court records discussed below place the Whalebone in St Margaret Lothbury parish, and in Lothbury in that parish on Ogilby and Morgan's map is an alley called Whalebone Court, almost opposite Bartholomew Lane, the street which now abuts west on the Bank of England (Fig. 1). This fixes the approximate position.

In 1651 the Whalebone was let by Ozias Churchman to William Spire for 21 years, and in about 1664 his widow Ann Spire obtained an extension of the lease from John Lawson, who had obtained an interest in the property from Ozias's heir, Sir John Churchman.⁶ William Spire duly appears in the parish rate lists from 1650 (slightly before the lease) to 1664, and Ann Spire does so in 1665.⁷ William Spire was probably the man of that name described as a citizen and cook in a deed of 1655.⁸ After the Whalebone was destroyed in the Great Fire the Fire Court decided that, in return for rebuilding it (at an estimated cost of £400), Ann Spire's term should be extended to 51 years from 1666 and her rent be reduced. The plan made when Ann Spire had the foundations staked out in



Figs. 2 and 3. Plans of the plot west and north of the Whalebone, drawn on 26 July (left) and 30 August (right) 1669

January 1668 has not survived, but two plans made in July and August 1667 for Thomas Singleton, her neighbour to the west and north, have (Figs. 2 and 3). They clearly relate to the same property, though the measurements and shape differ slightly, for reasons which are unclear. The earlier one describes the site as being in Lothbury 'behinde the Whalebon', and indicates that the Whalebone was on its east side. The later one refers to Whalebone Court rather than the Whalebone.⁹ The Whalebone was therefore immediately west of Whalebone Court, and Ogilby and Morgan's map shows that its upper floors continued over the Court. It was a substantial building, with 12 hearths in 1662/63.¹⁰

Knowing that the Whalebone was the property immediately west of and over Whalebone Court means that the site can be identified easily on Ogilby and Morgan's map (Fig. 1) and on the ward map of 1858.¹¹ Using the latter the site can be plotted on later Ordnance Survey maps. It was 40 Lothbury by 1858,¹² and now forms part of 41 Lothbury, an office block which was the headquarters of National Westminster Bank and its predecessors for most of the twentieth century.¹³ The Whalebone was directly opposite Bartholomew Lane, including the site of the main entrance to 41 Lothbury (Fig. 4). Lothbury was widened in the nineteenth century and the Whalebone's site

included part of what is now the pavement. Whalebone Court was still so called in 1813, but was Bank Chambers by 1835 and had gone by 1873.¹⁴

There is no indication in the Fire Court's decision of any change in the size of the Whalebone's plot after 1651. It is possible that it was more extensive in the 1640s, as Whalebone Court, which passed under it, seems to have been created at about that time¹⁵ and the length of the lease obtained by John Lawson (61 years) indicates a building lease. On the other hand, the main purpose of Whalebone Court was apparently to give access to an alley of houses behind the Lothbury properties, so the Whalebone may have lost only the space for the passage, if anything. Though modern writers have referred to it as an inn or a tavern, it seems to have been neither of those things; its known occupants were cooks rather than innholders or vintners.

The Whalebone can be traced back through the poor rates to 1642. Francis Spire was the occupant in the crucial years 1647 to 1649. His relationship to William is unknown, and he does not feature in the story of the Levellers, so why they chose to use the Whalebone is unknown. Before him, in 1645-46, the occupant was 'Smith the cooke', who may have been the same as Walter Smith, the occupant in 1642-43.¹⁶ After 1649 the Whalebone apparently maintained a radical tradition. In 1662 the plotter

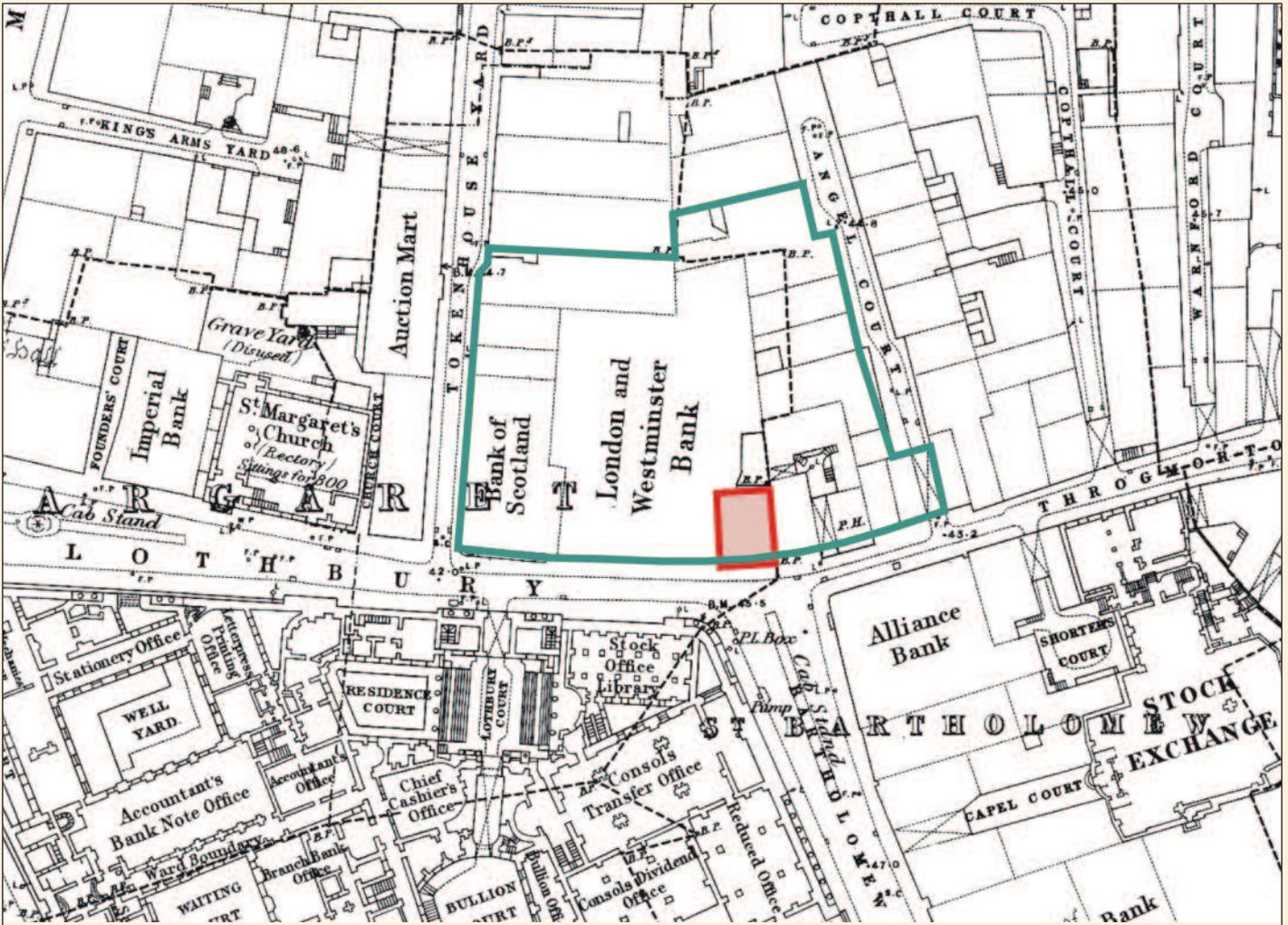


Fig. 4. Detail from the Ordnance Survey map of 1873. The Whalebone is marked in red. The green line is the outline of the existing office block known as 41 Lothbury

Thomas Tonge, a Fifth Monarchist, had meetings at several places, including 'the Whalebone behind the Exchange', and in 1664 it was said that 'a council of old Rumping members is held at Mr. Speers', the Whalebone, Lothbury'.¹⁷ The Cutlers' Company used the Whalebone in 1689,¹⁸ but that is the last reference so far found.

– Dorian Gerhold

Notes

1. See H.N. Brailsford, *The Levellers and the English Revolution* (1961); Pauline Gregg, *Free-born John: a biography of John Lilburne* (1961); Andrew Sharp (ed.), *The English Levellers* (1998).
2. John Lilburne, *An impeachment of high treason against Oliver Cromwell and his son in law Henry Ireton Esquires* (1649), pp.21-22 in letter to Cornelius Holland. Capitalisation is modernised here and italics removed.
3. William Haller and Godfrey Davies (eds.), *The Leveller tracts 1647-1653* (1944), pp.98, 100.
4. Richard Overton, *The baiting of the great bull of Bashan* (1649). There is a similar reference in the full title of Richard Overton, *Overton's defiance of the Act of Pardon* (1649).
5. *Mercurius Pragmaticus*, 8-15 May 1649.
6. Philip Jones, *The Fire Court*, vol. 2 (1970), p.11.
7. Edwin Freshfield (ed.), *The vestry minute book of the parish of St Margaret Lothbury* (1887), *passim*.
8. LMA, CLA/023/DW/01/329, No. 22. This records Spire's purchase of a house formerly belonging to the Dean and Chapter of St Paul's abutting on one belonging to Ozias Churchman.
9. *Survey of building sites in the City of London after the Great Fire of 1666*, vol. 1 (LTS No. 103, 1967), p.44; *ibid.*, vol. 4 (LTS No. 98, 1962), ff. 174, 183.
10. Matthew Davies *et al* (eds.), *London and Middlesex 1666 hearth tax*, British Record Society hearth tax series, vol. 9 (2014), p.1761.
11. LMA, COLWD/03/026.
12. It was No. 39 in 1835 (Freshfield, *Vestry minute book*, plan of 1835).
13. For the history of the site from 1834 to 1984, see http://www.gla.ac.uk/media/media_399724_en.pdf.
14. Horwood's map; Freshfield, *Vestry minute book*, plan of 1835; OS map of 1873.
15. Freshfield, *Vestry minute book*, p.xxxv.
16. *Ibid.*, *passim*.
17. William Hill, *A brief narrative of that stupendous tragedie* (1662), p.31; T.B. Howell, *A complete collection of state trials*, vol. 6 (1816), col. 250; *Calendar of state papers domestic, 1663-64*, p.566.
18. Charles Welch, *History of the Cutlers' Company of London*, vol. 2 (1923), p.325.

A new theatre in the round: a transformation at the Brunel Museum

David Crawford continues his exploration of unexpected uses of historic engineering achievements.

As this issue of the *LTS Newsletter* went to press, one of London's more unusual performance spaces was gearing up to stage a summer-treat rendition, by Pop Up Opera on 6 and 7 June 2017, of Cimarosa's late eighteenth-century comic opera *Il Matrimonio Segreto*. This will be the latest in a series of events hosted by the Brunel Museum's Grand Entrance Hall in Rotherhithe, a circular underground chamber half the size of Shakespeare's Globe, since it reopened in March 2016.

It occupies what was built as the southern of two shafts dug out to give access for work, which started in 1825, on the Thames Tunnel between Rotherhithe and Wapping, the world's first bore below a navigable waterway.

The tunnel was planned in order to move goods between London's northern and southern docks in horse-drawn wagons rather than by using boats, which would interfere with the movements of the thousands of ships arriving in or leaving the Thames to load or unload cargo. It was the first project undertaken by the engineer Marc Brunel,

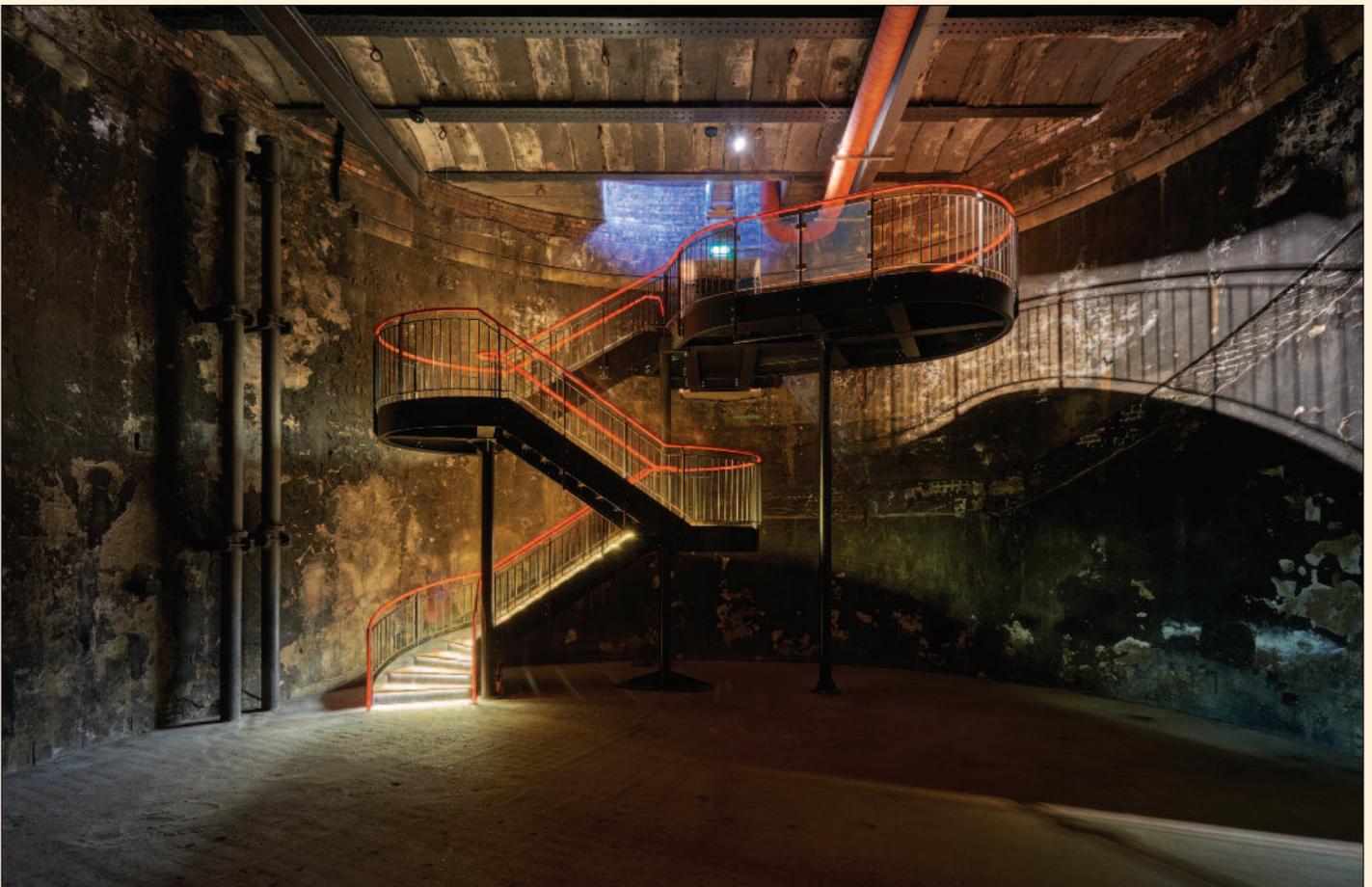
and the only one worked on by him and his son Isambard together.

The first stage was to create a shaft on the Rotherhithe side to give access for the digging of the tunnel. Because of initial problems in securing funding and land for operations at Wapping, the whole length was driven northwards from Rotherhithe. (A corresponding shaft built later eventually became the site of Wapping Underground Station.)

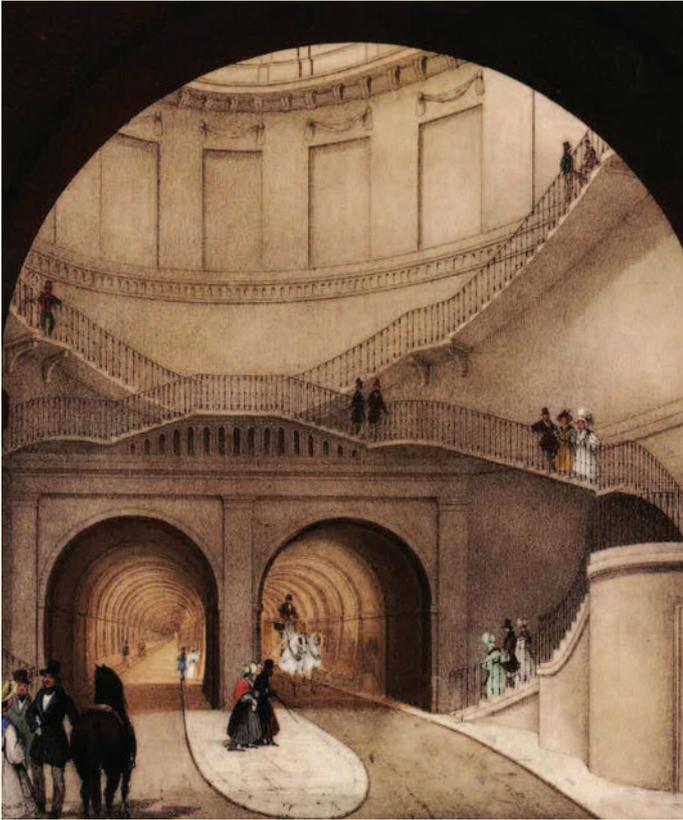
The traditional method was to dig out a shaft and line its walls with bricks, which meant suspending work in order to drive underpinnings into the sides at regular intervals to keep the lining in place. Marc Brunel's innovation was to build, on the intended site, the outer double walls of what was in effect a circular brick tower and then allow this to sink slowly into the soft riverbank ground under its own, 1000 tonne-plus weight, as it rose. Watching the downward progress of the sinking shaft, described as being akin to using a huge pastrycutter, became a popular attraction for visitors.

The tower, which took three weeks to build, consisted of outer and inner surfaces of bricks, with the cavity filled with cement and rubble. It stood almost 13m high and was 15.25m in diameter, built on a 25tonne iron hoop with a similar hoop placed on top, the two being joined by iron rods running vertically through the cavity.

Mounted on the upper hoop was a platform supporting a steam engine, which both pumped



The new steel staircase contrasts with the unadorned inner wall of the shaft (image, Raftery+Lowe)



The completed shaft as the entrance to Victorian amusements (image, Brunel Museum)

away water met by the sinking structure and hauled up bucketloads of earth being excavated by hand from inside it. When it reached the desired depth (aided by additional weight being laden onto the overhead platform), navvies continued to work inside to dig down further to build permanent foundations beneath the walls.

They left a gap for a tunnelling shield, created by Brunel and the pioneering mechanical engineer Henry Maudslay. Their joint innovation became the ancestor of the Greathead shield, the standard boring device for the rest of the century and beyond.

At one point during the construction of the tunnel, a structural collapse allowed the river to break through and kill six men. The seventh would have been the young Isambard Kingdom Brunel, who was washed high enough up the shaft for a foreman to be able to drag him to safety by his coat collar.

The Wapping shaft was built using the same method. Both

were originally intended to support heavy spiral ramps, to give access for the intended horsedrawn wagons; but this plan was abandoned on grounds of cost. Instead, the tunnel was opened up to pedestrians using lightweight staircases to reach what became an underwater entertainments area, including a shopping arcade, banqueting hall, funfair and – for a time – brothels.

In 1869, the tunnel found a more purposeful – and, as per the original intention, transport-oriented – role, as the central link of the new East London railway line, now part of the London Overground network. Its Rotherhithe entrance then closed to the public and became a ventilation shaft for the then steam-hauled trains.

During World War Two, the trains by then being electrically-powered, the shaft was roofed over using concrete jack arches to protect the line from being bombed. It remained inaccessible until Transport for London (TfL) began work on integrating the line into London Overground, reopening it in 2010.

In the course of modifying the tunnel to accommodate new rolling stock, TfL built, pro bono, a new concrete floor for the shaft, making it again useable as, initially, extra gallery exhibition space for the next-door Brunel Museum. This occupies Brunel's former engine house, now a scheduled ancient monument, which was built to house steam-powered pumps as a permanent means of dealing with any ingress of water into the completed tunnel. TfL owns the shaft and the Museum leases it.

The transformation of the shaft is the work of architects Tate Harmer. A pedestrian ramp now curves around the outside of the building, leading down to a new entrance door cut into the brick lining and giving access to an industrial-type



A recent performance under way in the Grand Entrance Hall (image, Jack Hobhouse)

internal steel staircase supported by pillars. This structure is freestanding from the shaft walls, but supports an internally cantilevered mezzanine-level viewing platform, extending out into the shaft, whose smoke-darkened interior has been left undecorated to recall its industrial heritage.

The architects had to design the staircase on the 'ship in a bottle' principle. Comments Tate Harmer's Laurence Pinn: "We worked very closely with the steel fabricators to ensure that none of the components was larger than the new doorway, and that all were light enough to be hand-winchd through into the shaft on arriving on site. We also co-ordinated the design of the internal building services into the staircase."

The scope for using the space for performances as well as exhibitions became clear because, according to Pinn: "the acoustic characteristics of the shaft are evident as soon as you enter it. In conversations with consulting engineers Buro Happold, from whom we took advice, they said that the space shares similarities with circular singing halls of the past." The staircase also supports bars for rigging theatrical lighting.

The conversion has been carried out within the National Heritage Landmarks Partnership Scheme, with support from the Association of Independent Museums and an award programme run by waste management company Biffa.

The hall, now Grade II* listed, is an impressive – albeit small-scale – addition to London's tally of circular performance spaces. Among these are not only Shakespeare's Globe – Sam Wanamaker's reconstruction of the original 'Wooden O', which opened in 1977 – but also the ovoid Albert Hall (opened in 1871) and the Camden Round House (the conversion – in its present form – dating from 1997) – of a structure built in 1847 for repairing and reversing steam rail locomotives after their arrival in London).

The Buildings of England London 3: North West cites a delightfully vernacular antecedent for the plan of the Albert Hall in an 1888 comment on its being built "on the familiar curves of the common bandstand". More formally, the lineage of circular performance spaces stretches back to the amphitheatres and games arenas built by the Greeks and Romans. (The remains of London's amphitheatre emerged during the 1985 reconstruction of the City of London's Guildhall Art Gallery.)

During the day, the Grand Entrance Hall is open for heritage lectures and visits (some arriving by river). Its roof garden offers a venue for cocktails on Friday and Saturday evenings.

– David Crawford

Circumspice (see p.3)

This over-the-top confection of Italian statuary stands in a Thameside garden in Twickenham and dates from 1906, but its display of naked water nymphs (the Oceanides), cavorting among its cascades, continues to delight local children (who drag their parents thither), while mystifying or amusing their elders. It has, however, surprisingly direct connections with today's world of international investment and the fate of a once-key sector of the British economy – steel.

To find it you must go round the back of York House, the listed c.17/c.18 mansion which now houses Richmond upon Thames council's headquarters, cross the garden to a picturesque arched bridge over a sunken lane, and then look not ahead to the river but to the right. The statuary was originally ordered from Italy by the financier Whitaker Wright for his garden in Surrey, but in 1904 he was found guilty of fraud and died unexpectedly.

The group at Twickenham, all in Carrara marble and still in their unopened packing cases, were retrieved by the new owner of York House, Indian industrialist Sir Ratan Tata. He paid £600 for them and used them to screen a not-very-pretty warehouse. He and his wife Navajbai held splendid parties where the guests, drifting across the lawn and over the high-arched bridge, would encounter instead this prefabricated vista-stopper of aquatic delights.

Ratan was the second son of Jamsetji Tata, Parsee founder of a trading and industrial empire that is today a powerful multi-national conglomerate. After Jamsetji's death in 1904, his two sons took over the firm's management with the elder brother Dorabji as chairman; but increasingly Ratan (influenced by Gandhi and immensely rich in his own right) turned his energies to philanthropy, with relief of poverty, archaeology and the arts as prime beneficiaries. For this he was knighted in 1916. By this time he was living in England, having come here for health reasons. He died in 1918 at St Ives, Cornwall, aged just 41; his widow sold house and gardens to Twickenham urban district council. More recently they suffered from neglect and vandalism, but were saved and restored by the efforts of two local amenity groups, the York House Society and the Twickenham Society

But the Tata empire which Ratan Tata helped to establish lives on. It has grown into a huge multinational conglomerate covering power generation, hotels, car-making and steel production. In 2007, led by another Ratan Tata, it swallowed Corus, Anglo-Dutch successor to British Steel. At the time of writing, Tata wants to offload its UK steel interests but must grapple with (that pitfall of hoped-for disposals!) its UK firm's inadequately funded pension pot. What must those cavorting Twickenham deities make of that?

– Tony Aldous

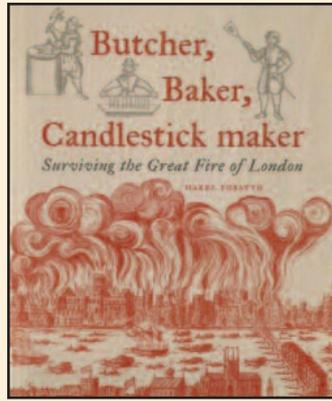
The Newsletter Editor welcomes suggestions from readers for items in the Newsletter.

The deadline for contributions to the November Newsletter is 16 October 2017. For contact details see the back page.

Reviews

Butcher, Baker, Candlestick maker. Surviving the Great Fire of London by Hazel Forsyth. IB Tauris/Museum of London, 2016, 240pp, numerous illustrations. ISBN 978 1 78453 748 7, paperback, £20

Hazel Forsyth, senior curator at the Museum of London, has written a fascinating and unusual account of the aftermath of The Great Fire of London. Basically, she has assessed its impact on the operation of 31 Livery Companies and the changes on their trade and subsequent role, which of course were very predominant in the day to day life of the City of London. Their hold on their trades was absolute, and the book contains many records and stories that have been aired publicly for the first time, due to Hazel's privileged position in having had access to so many surviving documents and Livery Company records.



In the November 2016 *LTS Newsletter*, Ian Doolittle analysed the generally accepted estimate – 13,200 – of the number of houses destroyed in The Great Fire. Both Hazel and Ian accept this figure, but Hazel has taken the analysis further by assessing the financial impact within the confines of the City of London. What is perhaps not so well-known and appreciated is the fact the Livery Companies themselves owned most of the residential property in the City, and some 90% of the tenants lost their homes. For several years, many had to camp out in Moorfields and Spitalfields. Thus the Livery Companies lost their rent, which was a substantial part of their income, and this caused problems over the rebuilding. The 13,000 homes burnt down in the Great Fire were in addition to St Paul's Cathedral, The Royal Exchange, the Custom House, parts of Guildhall, schools, as well as 87 churches, and even some of the City gates.

From all this chaos, a new infrastructure quickly emerged, controlled by the City of London, enabling rebuilding, and general reassessment of manufacturing and business enterprises. Several Livery Companies had to reinvent themselves, and clusters of sheds, booths and tents were erected in prominent places in the City for trade to continue. For example, the Mercers Company adopted a new way to stretch and dry cloth by using a frame and 'tenterhooks', in an area behind Leman Street, still known as 'Tenterground'.

The Fire itself destroyed much of the City's reserves of food and wood for fires, together with other items that were to be exported, which added to the immediate logistic nightmare. Suffice to

say, that the Court of Common Council coped well. It is also well established that very few people (perhaps as few as one dozen) died in the Great Fire, whereas about 20% of the City's population had died in the Great Plague the previous year – indeed the heat of the Great Fire killed all the rats in the sewers, which greatly helped the authorities to cope in the short term. Nevertheless, the legacy of the Great Fire dominated London's activity for many years, bringing on the emergence of more structured trading activities, especially in shipping, insurance and banking, which led to the great expansion in the eighteenth century with the Roman walls being taken down.

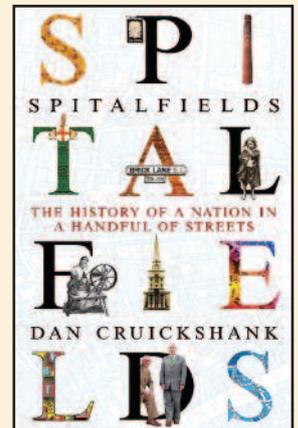
Thomas Farriner, in whose bakery the fire had started, was neither fined nor *excommunicated from the Bakers' Company*, and was able to resume his trade soon after the Great Fire. The real cause will never be known, yet it probably has become London's most well-known event in its 2,000 years of existence.

This is a very good read, full of facts and anecdotes, evidenced by wide-ranging research.

– Robin Michaelson

Spitalfields, The History of a Nation in a Handful of Streets by Dan Cruickshank, Random House Books, 2016. xvi, 763 pages, colour ills. ISBN 978 1 84794 707 9. £25, hardback also available as an eBook

This might appear a familiar narrative, but to his account of Huguenot, Jewish and Asian migration, Cruickshank adds a whole new beginning for the locality's history. Part 1 'A World of Outsiders' takes us back to the time of the Roman cemetery beside Ermine (Bishopsgate) Street and the medieval Priory and Hospital of St Mary. His main themes are houses and people and he brings to life the families who developed properties on the priory site, such as William Wyld, (Candle House), Stephan Vaughan, Sir Edmund Huddleston and the master gunner from the Tower. Cruickshank pays tribute to the archaeologists from the Museum of London (MOLA) who excavated these sites and their publication *The Spitalfields Suburb 1539 – c.1880* (reviewed in the *May Newsletter* 2016.) Here are property histories and plans of many pre-Fire houses (including those of the above owners) together with construction details such as timber framing, garderobes, fireplaces, and cesspits, wells and yards. The post-Fire houses ranged from the grand ones in Spital Square to the standard two roomed plans of brick



houses in surrounding streets. Basements were sometimes developed in a novel way – by simply raising the surrounding street levels with Fire debris from the City.

Cruickshank, by contrast, through his handful of closely observed streets of standing houses (he himself is a long term resident of Elder Street) introduces us in Part 2 ‘A Land of Silk’ to members of the Huguenot mercantile community, notably the Ogiers at 19 Princelet Street, the Sabatiers, Pilon and several others, using evidence from the 1743, 1759 and 1767 Land Taxes. In the absence of any detailed account of Huguenot daily life in Spitalfields he uses evidence from wills and other documentary sources together with archaeological finds to build up a picture of their homes, and describes both inside and out with typical expertise. Similarly he analyses the census returns of 1841 – 1911 to trace the residents of Elder Street and in so doing tracks the demise there of the silk weaving industry. Even by about 1862 the house of Peter Abraham and Esther Ogier at 19 Princelet Street had become a synagogue for Russian and Polish Jews by building a double height hall in the garden, long before the waves of refugees from Zsarist oppression arrived. One benefactor’s family name, Rothschild, still visible on the synagogue’s balcony, was to play a prominent part in assisting poor migrants by erecting housing called Rothschilds Buildings in 1887. The synagogue closed in the late 1960s but the garret remained the home of the reclusive David Rodinsky. Bought by the Spitalfields Historic Buildings Trust in the early 1980s it is now the Museum of Immigration and Diversity.

The first Asians arrived after the war and in time adapted buildings for their own needs notably the former L’Eglise Neuve on the corner of Fournier Street and Brick Lane which had been a synagogue from the late nineteenth century.

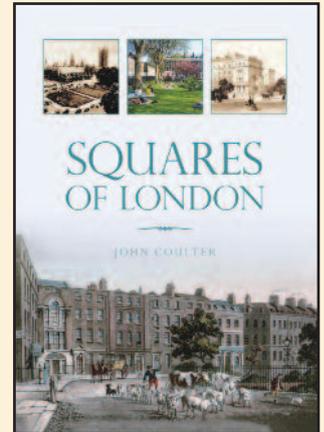
Following the post war years of neglect and decay the achievements of the Spitalfields Historic Buildings Trust in buying up and repairing properties in the 1970s and 80s is inspirational. And as a result of this success Spitalfields has become attractive to artists and others who shared the Trust’s vision (Gilbert and George moved to Fournier Street in the 1970s). But with the rise in property values the neighbourhood now faces one of its greatest threats as high rise buildings dominate the skyline and encroach upon the fragile terraces.

In Part 4 ‘Decay and Recovery’ Cruickshank reviews the present position by means of an ‘inventory’ or walk, ‘to discover the fate of many of the buildings, streets and places described in this book’. But this is not in the past tense – what drives him are the threats from massive ‘commercial architecture’ that have no place in the historic environment – and the need for constant vigilance in the face of the ‘quest for profit’.

– Rosemary Weinstein

Squares of London by John Coulter, The History Press 2016, 587pp, 400 ills; ISBN 978 0 75096 068 7. £50

This is an alphabetical catalogue of 578 squares in Greater London; some, but not all, are illustrated, with an interesting mixture of old and recent views. As one might expect, squares are most frequent in the older built up areas: Westminster has 76, Tower Hamlets 75.5, Southwark 72. Those who associate squares with London’s smart west end may be surprised to find that only 40.5 are in Kensington and Chelsea.



But what is a square? The book includes spaces which have been *called* squares at some time; some of them are jumped-up courtyards which were never formally laid out; others which appear to be squares were never named as such, for example the very first formal example, Covent Garden. The book includes those which have vanished or been rebuilt, for example the much fought over Tolmers Square north of Euston Road, but omits new squares built after 1900 (thus Hampstead Garden Suburb does not feature).

To name a development as a ‘Square’ was a way of emphasising gentility, but it clearly did not always work: ‘Carfax Square’ at Clapham, built in the 1870s, was ‘an instant slum’. Curiosities such as this will intrigue readers chiefly familiar with the respectable examples discussed in the standard work by E. Beresford Chancellor (1907), who found squares in north-east and south London ‘of little interest’. The strength of this substantial book, a labour of love by the former Lewisham Local Studies Librarian, is indeed its comprehensive approach to less studied parts of south and east London. Names can reveal surprising details: Grafton Square, Clapham, was developed by an Irish member of the West Suffolk militia, who named the square after his commanding officer, the Duke of Grafton.

The book has no maps, so one cannot explore the context in which each square was developed, and how far they were centrepieces of larger schemes. A short introduction considers the changing fortune of the square: its decline in popularity after 1900; its rise through gentrification in the 1960s. There is scope for more on this and many other aspects: perusing this book should stimulate plenty of questions. There is an index of notable residents, architects, builders and developers, and a select bibliography.

– Bridget Cherry

The first Clapham Saints: a London village

1600-1720 by Timothy Walker, 2016. 272 +viii pp; ISBN 978 0 95671 631 6. £15 plus postage (www.claphamhistorian.com)

This is not a standard village history, as it is mainly concerned with the inhabitants of Clapham's larger houses. Nor does it have much to say about local topography and architecture, apart from the gradual spread of houses from the old village centre to the edges of the Common. Instead it is an exemplary survey of the wealthier occupants of one of the villages nearest to London. Clapham's advantages, apart from closeness to London, included pure, healthy air and good views. The number of large houses increased from perhaps seven in 1628 to about 70 by 1720, and they were consistently about a third of all the houses there.

Helped by the survival of rate books from 1638 onwards, the author diligently tracks down the 300 or so better-off residents and their families, their relationships with each other and their private, public and commercial lives, setting them firmly in context. From about the 1630s they were almost exclusively merchants, especially merchants trading to North America, as opposed to the officials of various kinds found earlier. More than that, they were largely puritan and later Nonconformist; hence the book's title. A hostile observer in 1684 described Clapham as 'a kind of Whig-warren'. A fifth of all London's Presbyterian and Independent office-holders between 1685 and 1715 were Clapham residents. Another notable feature is that Clapham's wealthy almost always had links with other local residents before moving there. Few of them are now well-known except Samuel Pepys, who, unusually, was neither a merchant nor a Nonconformist. Ironically, in view of Clapham's later connection with the campaign against the slave trade, some of them were involved in that trade. The author demonstrates (through the dates of attendance at meetings and parish register entries) that the houses were not mere summer houses but were generally occupied for at least part of the winter; by 1670 some of their occupants no longer had London residences at all and were commuters, especially to City parishes near London Bridge. There are chapters on the parish community, possessions and expenditure, and marriage and families.

Clapham was probably exceptional in that it specialised in one kind of wealthy occupant; it had commuters rather than just summer houses; its inhabitants had a distinct religious hue; and they formed a community of interconnected families. There is much scope for comparative research, especially where rate lists survive. The author suggests that the only close comparisons were Hackney and Stoke Newington; the wealthy of other parishes, such as Putney, were more of a mixture of aristocrats, merchants and others, were too far from London to be commuters, and did not form a close-knit community. After about 1720, Clapham

itself changed its character, with more bankers and lawyers and more varied religious views. The so-called Clapham Sect formed only a minority and some inhabitants were hostile to what they saw as 'disgusting earnestness'.

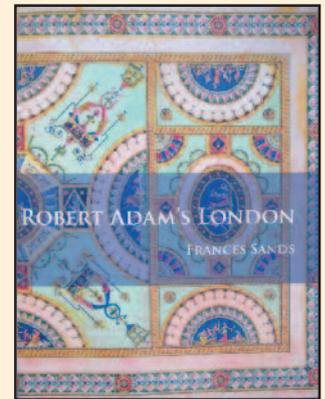
There is a thorough index (though annoyingly divided by period), together with footnotes and a discussion of sources. The book is by far the most thorough analysis of the seventeenth-century elite in any of the villages around London, and makes an important contribution to understanding the varying character of those villages.

– *Dorian Gerhold*

Robert Adam's London by Frances Sands.

Archaeopress Publishing 2016 142pp, 104 figs. ISBN 978 1 78491 462 2. £25

This is the book of a recent exhibition at Sir John Soane's Museum, a worthwhile record of an interesting assemblage of drawings relating to Adam's work in London over the period 1759-80. Topographers will appreciate the pages from Horwood's map marked up with examples of Adam's work, from which one can quickly see that the densest concentration lay in the fashionable west end, north and south of Piccadilly, where Adam enjoyed the patronage of leading aristocratic families keen to follow the fashion for his elegant interpretations of the classical style inspired by his travels in Italy and Dalmatia. There was work elsewhere as well – notably in Marylebone, then on the fringe of built up London, where Robert and James Adam acted as developers in and around Portland Place, and in Portman Square, where No. 20 has one of Adam's most complete surviving schemes of decoration.



The drawings (all illustrated) are discussed in chronological order with useful details of patron, building history, and subsequent fate. A strength of the selection is that it includes both examples of the regrettably large quantity of work that has disappeared, and intriguing schemes that were not carried out. The sole site marked south of the river turns out to be an unexecuted design for the King's Bench Prison, with a boldly castellated curtain wall. For Lloyd's coffee house in the City Adam designed the grandest of basilicas, elaborately ornamented, but the underwriters preferred to hire rooms in the Royal Exchange. The illustrations include many examples of his intricate and delicately coloured ceiling designs; while bearing a recognisable family likeness, all are intriguingly different. The same is true of his house plans, cleverly contrived to provide suites of rooms of different shapes within limited space. His lost

theatre interior at Drury Lane, an unexecuted grand classical range for Lincoln's Inn, numerous chimneypieces and furniture designs, all serve to demonstrate his versatility. Robert Adam died in 1792; the popularity of the Adam style had waned by the early nineteenth century and eventually in 1833 the family succeeded in selling the 8000-strong office drawings collection to Sir John Soane, which has happily ensured their preservation and availability for the researcher.

– Bridget Cherry

Mr Barry's War. Rebuilding the Houses of Parliament after the Great Fire of 1834

by Caroline Shenton, Oxford University Press, 2016. 288pp and 8pp colour illustrations, 40 black and white illustrations; select bibliography. ISBN 978 0 19870 719 6. £25

After the Houses of Parliament burned down on 16 October 1834 (considered in Dr Shenton's previous book, see *Newsletter* 75, p.12) the government's inclination to entrust the rebuilding to a safe pair of hands was overwhelmed by demands for an open competition to find the best design. A royal commission set out terms, specifying that the style of the new building be Gothic or Elizabethan (believed to be national English styles). That competition was won by Charles Barry (1795-1860). Established as the leading architect of his generation by his Travellers' Clubhouse, Pall Mall (1830-32), which entrenched the Renaissance *palazzo* as a model for English public buildings, and his competence in the Gothic style proved by his King Edward VI's Grammar School, Birmingham (1832-7), his victory in the Westminster competition was widely expected.

Nevertheless, it was controversial: to convert the victory into a commission was the essential move in the quarter-century struggle that Dr Shenton has termed 'Mr Barry's War'. Skilful in digesting the numerous reports of select committees that over the years scrutinised the character and progress of the works and in synthesising modern scholarship relating to the rebuilding saga, she describes the war's vicissitudes in a very readable manner.

The competition entry, curiously lost (though there are tracings from the 1840s, not reproduced here), was Barry's design, but the submitted drawings were the penmanship of a master of Gothic detail, Augustus Welby Pugin (1812-52). Barry had employed Pugin on furnishings (as on p.36, not 'designs', as on p.39) for the Birmingham school. The competition rules had specified nothing about cost, a vital factor, for 'economy' was a key catchword for the new Whig government and its Radical allies. So in making drawings from which the cost could be estimated, Barry needed to lessen the exuberance of detail: hence his remember the motto 'simplex etc' to draughtsman Pugin. But economy contended with magnificence, and Parliamentarians, in general, wanted an appropriate home for the legislature of the world's

leading nation. And Parliament was the client, not government. Barry had – for several years – a free hand in perfecting his design. Shenton reproduces several of his designs, but without dating them, so it is uncertain what stage they represent.

Barry's war was not a straightforward chronological struggle: he found himself waging several wars on different fronts simultaneously. The severest, most prolonged struggle was over the ventilation of the two Houses, battling with an assertive scientist, Dr David Boswell Reid, who wanted to take control of the building, though unskilled in reading plans. Shenton's crushing dismissal is well-founded: "Reid was impossible. Despite recent attempts by scholars to rehabilitate his scientific theories, there is no doubt that personally he was vain and bombastic, and wholly unwilling to work cooperatively with other experts." Lighting the two chambers was another contentious matter, members' opinions varying widely. Yet another campaign was that over the great clock and its bells, in which Barry was bested by the Astronomer Royal and the 'arrogant... talented horologist' Edmund Beckett Denison.

More personal were the architect's attempts to obtain adequate remuneration, affected by the rising cost of the Palace. The usual contemporary rate of pay for an architect was five per cent, though whether that was a percentage of his estimate or the expenditure was disputed. Anxious to secure the work, Barry had said initially he would rely on the government's treating him fairly, and the figure of £25,000 had been cited. This would have represented a fee on the original estimate of £750,000 similar to the three per cent for new buildings allowed to salaried government architects in George IV's time. When Barry asked for the full professional rate, he was offered three per cent on the expenditure plus one per cent for measuring the executed work (in itself disputatious), although other public works architects were getting five per cent: three plus one Barry had to accept.

After Barry's death in 1860 – from a heart attack resulting from years of over-work – Pugin's son started a controversy with Barry's sons, arguing that it was to Augustus Welby Pugin that the merit of the design was due: "Who was the Art-Architect of the Houses of Parliament?" This was argued for over a century, but contemporary scholarship (to which he has contributed) has in your reviewer's opinion put it to rest: in Shenton's words, "Barry had the vision, Pugin filled in the details, but Barry had the final say on what would eventually be built, constantly refining and changing ideas until he achieved the result he wanted."

The late Ralph Edwards, of the Victoria & Albert Museum, reviewing an earlier work on the subject, remarked "The material is essentially intractable." Dr Shenton has succeeded in rendering it a comprehensible and continuously interesting narrative.

– M. H. Port

Who's Buried Where in London by Peter Matthews, Oxford: Bloomsbury Shire, 2017. 256pp. Illustrated. ISBN 978 0 74781 296 8. Paperback, £12.99

If we ever wished to start a discussion guaranteed never to come to an end, then the task of nominating the most significant or interesting 1,000 or so people buried in the Greater London area might well be it. How many thousands of deserving names might need to be left out scarcely bears thinking about, but as the present author insists, "I make no apologies, as this is my own personal selection." His range is wide and the only inherent bias admitted is, reasonably enough, towards "those who have left a legacy in London, whether it be buildings or bridges they built, institutions they founded, or collections they bequeathed to London's museums".

The book, exceptionally well illustrated in colour virtually throughout, is apparently intended for the "budding tombstone tourist". We commence in the City of London – some printers, some musicians, some actors, some architects, Malory and Milton for literature, John Speed, Samuel Pepys, Sir Thomas Gresham and John Stow. St Paul's Cathedral of course has its own chapter – a litany of worthies, not least Sir Christopher Wren himself. We move on to Westminster – actors aplenty in St Paul's Covent Garden; Dorothy L. Sayers and others in St Anne's Soho; James Gillray, Hunter the surgeon, and more in St. James, Piccadilly; and we wend our way to St Martin in the Fields (Nell Gwyn, Nicholas Hilliard, etc.); St Marylebone; St Mary's on Paddington Green; St John's Wood; a cadre of cardinals in Westminster Cathedral; famous airmen in St Clement Dane. St Margaret's, Westminster, impresses with Patrick Colquhoun (founder of the Thames Police), Wenceslaus Hollar, Sir Walter Raleigh and William Caxton – and Westminster Abbey could probably furnish several such books as this in its own right.

Most of us could probably nominate William Hogarth's tomb in Chiswick, but our tireless author adds another 80 or so names in his guided tour of West London (including both Long John Baldry and Screaming Lord Sutch). Brompton and Kensal Green each has its own chapter – Emmeline Pankhurst (Brompton), both Trollope and Thackeray (Kensal Green) and numerous others of perhaps lesser celebrity. North London (including Bunhill Fields) brings in the golfers Harry Vardon and Dai Rees, along with some 125 others. Highgate merits its own chapter – Karl Marx of course to the fore. Golders Green Crematorium provides a particularly rich vein of material – Sigmund Freud, Ronnie Scott, Keith Moon, Marc Bolan, Max Jaffa, Bram Stoker, Anna Pavlova, Ivor

Novello, Peter Sellers, Val Parnell, Sid James, Joyce Grenfell, Joe Orton, Sir Isaac Pitman of shorthand fame, and even Neville Cardus.

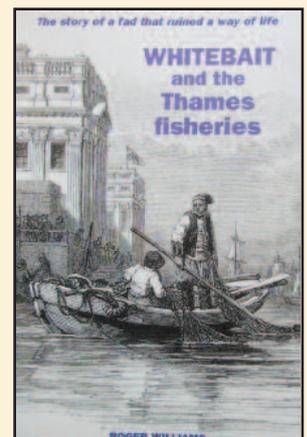
The chapter on the whole of East London, even including – as it does – the Tower of London, appears to provide only a further 50 or so names (six of them named Kray), which seems a little lacking in geographical balance. South-east London, comprising the London boroughs of Lambeth, Croydon, Southwark, Lewisham, Greenwich and Bromley, musters only a similar number of names, although West Norwood Cemetery is separately treated and boosts this number to 80 or so. The final chapter on South-west London – the London boroughs of Richmond (including Twickenham and Teddington), Wandsworth, Merton and Sutton – adds only a further 60 or 70 names (just one from Sutton), and there is perhaps just a suspicion that the author may have been running out of steam in these closing pages. The Mount Nod Huguenot Cemetery at Wandsworth appears not even to be mentioned.

This is very much Peter Matthews's personal selection of names. It would not be mine. It would not be yours, but that is part of its charm and challenge – we could all make our own lists. Given his terms of reference, it is a pity that no place could be found for the makers of London's greatest maps – the most living of legacies of our past: John Ogilby (St Bride, Fleet Street, 1676), William Morgan (St Martin Ludgate, 1690), and John Rocque (St Mary, Paddington, 1762) were all buried in London (Richard Horwood in Liverpool), yet find no place in these pages. But these small cavils apart, the book overall is strangely very enjoyable. It is a rich mix of names, high life and low life, and a visual feast of funerary architecture and design. It will tempt me at least to visit a cemetery or two. It will tempt you too – and no author could have more success than that.

– Laurence Worms

Whitebait and the Thames fisheries by Roger Williams. Bristol Book Publishing, 2016. 94pp. ISBN 978 0 99284 665 7. £7

This short book tells a fascinating story. As the author shows, the whitebait was never a species of fish. It was in fact the young of various species, especially herring, which ought to have been protected by the strict conservancy laws enforced in the Thames. It was invented as a separate species in the eighteenth century in order to evade the regulations, and this helped to ruin the Thames fisheries. Whitebait dinners became highly popular. The



Artichoke was the most famous of several pubs at Blackwall, close to the shipyards of the East India Company, where merchants and shipowners could hobnob with financiers and Admiralty men. Later it was Greenwich which became fashionable; both Thackeray and Dickens were enthusiasts, and there are accounts of lavish dinners served at The Ship or The Trafalgar, which included 'twelve dishes of preparatory fish'. The Ship even commissioned a whitebait dinner service from Spode. From the late eighteenth century to 1885 government ministers attended an annual Ministerial Whitebait Dinner at Greenwich or Blackwall (initially shunned by Gladstone, although he attended those of the 1880s). As background to such anecdotes the author provides an excellent account of the Thames fisheries, how they were regulated, the several fishing communities along the river, and the riverside inns of Blackwall and Greenwich, providing information which is hard to obtain anywhere else.

– Dorian Gerhold and Bridget Cherry

'No cause to mourne though here he lye'
Funerary Monuments in London c.1000-1666
 by Philip Whittemore. Wynchmore Books 2017,
 104pp + 154 figs, ISBN 978 0 95645 951 0

London here means essentially the City of London and outlying monastic sites. This fascinating collection of antiquarian views, rubbings and a few photographs provides a glimpse of the wealth of

monuments crammed into London churches upto the time of the Great Fire. Part I lists types of monument, with a large section on monuments in Old St Paul's, Part 2 is on monumental brasses, including a gazetteer of London churches listing all known brasses, both lost and extant. Each part has references to the illustrations and bibliography and there are indices of names and places. The expertise of the author is the monumental brass, and the quantity of information gathered on this subject is impressive: 41 entries for Austin Friars, 37 for the Temple church, 28 for St Helen Bishopsgate. Other types of monuments also feature, from the well-known views of major tombs in Old St Paul's published by Dugdale, to the less familiar, such as the lost churchyard chest tomb at St Botolph Bishopsgate, with inscription in Arabic to Coya Shawsware, a Persian merchant, who died in 1626. The collection here demonstrates how, as the brass industry declined, new types of monuments developed. Headstones began to appear in churchyards (an early example is from Somerset House chapel). Inside churches portrait half figures became popular. The half figure of John Colet in St Paul's may have inspired the numerous seventeenth-century examples which were once in the cathedral, others still survive in the City churches, such as the monument to the cartographer John Speed at St Giles Cripplegate, shown here in an engraving made before its wartime damage.

– Bridget Cherry

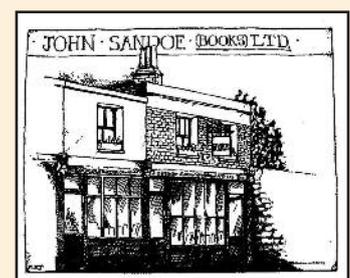
Bookshop Corner

Penny Hunting introduces her favourite bookshop.

By-pass Peter Jones, ignore the Saatchi Gallery and the Kings Road boutiques. Head for John Sandoe Books in Blacklands Terrace, opposite the Duke of York Square. Established in 1957 by the man himself, this is a bookshop with character. A jaunty sign swings from the façade of three early-nineteenth-century cottages adorned with flowering window boxes and traditional shop-fronts. Inside, the intoxicating smell of pristine books dressed in their dashing dustjackets is overwhelming. Shelves, tables, window sills and even the rickety wooden stairs are loaded with books spread around in homely disarray that invites browsing and discovery.

The manager, Johnny de Falbe, and his knowledgeable staff are at hand and they can lay their hands on anything from *Spook Street* to *Raw Concrete: the beauty of brutalism* in minutes. Obscure titles, special editions from small publishers, overseas publications and a selection of oddities make up an interesting

section called 'Remarkables'; similarly, Sandoe's quarterly brochure features 'Some of our recent favourites'. If the book you are searching for is not



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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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ISSN 1369-7986

The *Newsletter* is published by the London Topographical Society twice a year, in May and November, and is issued by the Newsletter Editor Bridget Cherry, Bitterley House, Bitterley, Ludlow, Shropshire SY8 3HJ.

Produced and printed by The Ludo Press Ltd, London SW17 OBA 020 8879 1881
www.ludo.co.uk