Centre for Metropolitan History

Annual Reports
2000–1 and 2001–2

University of London
School of Advanced Study
Institute of Historical Research
**Centre for Metropolitan History**

*Annual Reports*

2000–1 and 2001–2

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>A Message from the New Director</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Director’s Report</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Comparative Metropolitan History</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Project Reports</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>Markets and Fairs in England and Wales to 1516</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii</td>
<td>Markets and Fairs in Thirteenth-Century England</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iii</td>
<td>St. Paul’s Cathedral History, 604–2004</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Bibliographical and Information Services</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>Unpublished London Diaries</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ii</td>
<td>Research in Progress on the History of London</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iii</td>
<td>London’s Past Online</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>iv</td>
<td>Other Activities</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Appendices:</td>
<td>Patrons</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>II</td>
<td>Advisory Committee</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>III</td>
<td>Staff of the Centre</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IV</td>
<td>Visiting Research Fellows</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V</td>
<td>Postgraduate Students</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VI</td>
<td>Conference and Seminar Papers</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section</td>
<td>Page</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VII Publications</td>
<td>33</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>VIII Seminar on Metropolitan History</td>
<td>34</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>IX Sources of Funding</td>
<td>35</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1. A MESSAGE FROM THE NEW DIRECTOR

As many of you will know, Derek Keene has been appointed Leverhulme Professor of Comparative Metropolitan History at the Institute of Historical Research. As his successor as Director of the CMH, I would like to begin by paying tribute to his splendid leadership of the Centre which has resulted in it attaining a position as one of the world’s leading centres for metropolitan and urban history. In particular, his success in raising funds for research projects has resulted in a steady stream of important publications, as well as the creation of a vast store of historical data generated by these projects. We are very pleased that Derek will continue to be based here, and indeed the generous grant from the Leverhulme Trust will enable us further to expand our activities through the money provided for research students and post-doctoral fellows in the area of comparative metropolitan history. I feel very privileged to have been appointed Director at what is a very exciting time in the CMH’s development and I am greatly enjoying the challenges of the post and the opportunity to work with the Centre’s excellent staff.

Several new initiatives and projects are currently under way at the CMH and these are detailed in the following reports. Over the coming years our aim is to make the Centre’s research more accessible to a wider audience and to put the CMH’s extensive datasets online in a way that will enable scholars to search across these data for the first time, and to establish links with external data holders and with the resources of other research centres within the IHR. To help facilitate these plans, the Centre’s website will undergo a complete overhaul.

Finally, I would like to encourage those of you with email accounts to sign up for our new CMH email information service. This will aim to keep you up to date with news of conferences, lectures and other events at the CMH and the IHR, but also with news from other organisations and societies working on the history of London. Similarly, if you are involved in a project and event and would like us to spread the word please get in touch. To sign up or to notify us of an event just send an email to ihrcmh@sas.ac.uk

With all good wishes

Dr Matthew Davies
2. DIRECTOR’S REPORT

During the two years covered by this report the Centre has been active in three main research topics. Two new research projects and a new area of activity within the Centre have been established. Themes for future activity have been planned and explored. Seminar series and conferences have been held. The number of full-time staff has fluctuated between five and eight. A good deal of effort was put into re-planning the space occupied by the CMH, as part of the overall refurbishment programme of the IHR. Funds to cover this part of the work were not immediately forthcoming, but it is hoped to put the plan into effect in the near future.

A major, and very welcome, change has come about as a result of the Leverhulme Trust’s decision in 2001 to support comparative metropolitan history at the IHR, including a chair in the subject, over a period of nine years. Derek Keene applied for the post and since 1 October 2001 has been Leverhulme Professor of Comparative Metropolitan History, based in the CMH. The composition and plans of this new activity and centre are described below. Derek continued as Director of the Centre until 31 December 2001, when he was succeeded by Dr Matthew Davies.

Matthew Davies came to the CMH from the History of Parliament in nearby Woburn Square, where he was a member of a research team working on the membership of the House of Commons in the period 1422–1504. His recent research there focused on the parliamentary representation of London, to which end he completed substantial biographies of more than 50 Members of Parliament as well as a constituency survey drawing together a number of themes in London’s political and institutional history. Aside from his work at the History, his research has concentrated on the London livery companies, and he has published articles on guild charity, urban government and medieval women. In 2000 he published an edition of the earliest court minutes of the Merchant Taylors’ Company, and is currently working, with Dr Ann Saunders, on an official history of that company to be published in 2003. Matthew’s plans for the CMH include the development of new projects, increasing the number of postgraduate students based at the Centre, and making more of its resources available online through its website.

An important research achievement during the period has been the completion, by Samantha Letters, Mario Fernandes, Derek Keene and Olwen Myhill of the Gazetteer of Markets and Fairs in England and Wales. Concerning 2,393 places and 5,535 commercial institutions, this is a major historical resource,
now fully available online, which has begun to be widely used and recognised. The gazetteer will also be published in a hard copy version in 2002–3.

The availability of the gazetteer will open up new possibilities in regional, national and institutional studies. It is an important resource for a new research project which began at the end of 2000. This analyses the spatial and chronological development of the network of markets and fairs between the seventh century and the late sixteenth, and then focuses sharply on questions concerning the political economy of those institutions during the thirteenth century, when, as in other periods, the acquisition of commercial rights was influenced by considerations of power and authority as well as economic development.

The production of the Gazetteer of Markets and Fairs, and the project arising from it, forms part of the Centre’s long-standing interest in commercial and cultural connections and interactions between the metropolis and its hinterland. Much of the Centre’s innovative research in that field was undertaken and developed by two of its founder members, Margaret Murphy and Jim Galloway. In April 2001 Margaret and Jim left London for rural Ireland. There they will continue to work on completing the monograph, ‘London and the Transformation of the English Economy, 1300–1600’, arising from their research on markets and their hinterland. We owe them both a great debt for their contribution to the Centre and wish them well in their new way of life, which combines the production of food and fuel with heritage management and scholarly endeavour.

In November 2001 the Centre was pleased to hear that it had secured funding from the Arts and Humanities Research Board (AHRB) for a new project, ‘London’s Past Online’. This project, which began in May 2002 and will last until September 2004, will update and enhance the Centre’s published bibliographies of London history, making the results freely available online. ‘London’s Past Online’ has two research staff, supervised by Heather Creaton. David Tomkins is the Research Editor, and Eileen Sanderson the Assistant Research Editor.

In the spring of 2002 Matthew Davies and Derek Keene were closely involved in a successful IHR bid to the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation for funding for a one-year pilot project, ‘Studying the impact of digitisation on the humanities’. This collaborative project, involving the CMH, Victoria County History and the History of Parliament, aims to establish a framework for the delivery of their resources via the internet, testing the potential linkages between datasets held by the centres and the benefits that this will bring to scholarship. The eventual
aim for the Centre is to make available online its extensive datasets relating
to the history of London from 1200–2000, created by its numerous research
projects over the past fifteen years. The project will also aim to test the potential
for linking to external datasets, such as those held by English Heritage and the
Museum of London. The pilot project, starting in the autumn of 2002, will
involve the test digitisation of sample data from Cheapside, some related printed
sources, and digitised maps of the sample area. In the meantime, the Centre has
become a participant in a pan-European initiative, E-CultureNet, whose aims
include the creation of a large-scale digital resource. This, it is hoped, will act
as a unifying agency for European networked cultural content, and as part of
this the CMH would seek to develop, in collaboration with other centres, a set
of resources and tools for the study of European cities.

Work on the new history of St Paul’s Cathedral, organised for the Dean and
Chapter and to be published in 2004 by Yale University Press, continued steadily,
with drafts of contributions coming in. Chris Faunch has provided invaluable
research assistance, ferreting material from the archives, organising research
material, identifying illustrations, and liaising with contributors.

The Centre has published several books arising from or associated with its
work. Craig Spence’s, London in the 1690s: a Social Atlas, arising from a CMH
research project, appeared in December 2000. Also in December 2000, the Centre
published Virginia Davis’s, Clergy in London in the Late Middle Ages, a valuable
research tool consisting of a substantial introduction and a CD-ROM containing
30,000 records of ordination details for the diocese of London between 1361
Gadd and Patrick Wallis, and containing the papers from our conference held
in 2000, was published in April 2002. These titles are now available from the
IHR bookshop. Perry Gauci’s The Politics of Trade: the English Merchant in
State and Society, 1660–1720, arising from his research at the Centre, was
published by the Oxford University Press in March 2001. Papers from the
Centre’s workshop ‘New Windows on London’s Past: information technology
and the transformation of metropolitan history’ were published under that title,
edited by Matthew Woollard, by the Association for History and Computing
from 1000 years’ which we co-organised with the Corporation of London and
the Museum of London in April 2000, were published in the London Journal
26.1 (2001). Heather Creaton has now completed her checklist of unpublished
diaries about London, which will be published by the London Record Society
in late 2002.
The Centre has long aimed to promote further collaborative work on the many processes of interaction between the metropolis and the regions of Britain. An interdisciplinary group from several universities was assembled to pursue this objective and drew up a research programme. Funding was, unfortunately, not forthcoming, but it is hoped to pursue this idea through conferences in the future. A similarly interdisciplinary group was assembled to discuss new ways of exploring the suburban development and culture of London, especially during the twentieth century. A flood of ideas ensued, providing an agenda for more focused investigation in the future.

Plans were much more fully developed for a future project to be based on the sixteenth-century court records of Bridewell Hospital, London. This will be a collaborative venture involving historians and sociolinguists. The hospital exercised a moral jurisdiction in the city, controlled vagabonds, and provided training in crafts. Its records contain a mass of detail concerning people, places and behaviour in the city and elsewhere, and record many instances of direct speech by individuals of identifiable background, many of them poor. The quantity of information concerning many historical and linguistic questions is overwhelming. A major aim of the project is to make this material accessible for further use and analysis in the form of an online text, marked up so as to identify key categories of information.

Planning is also at an advanced stage for another new project, ‘People in Place’, a joint venture between the CMH, Birkbeck College and the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure. ‘People in Place’ aims to reconstitute the dense matrix of properties, households, and families in two or three sample areas of London for the period 1550–1700, so as to provide answers to a range of research questions about the role of family and household in the early modern metropolis. The project’s originality lies in integrating two distinct procedures – property history and family reconstitution – and developing the analysis of census-type data as a means of linking the two. The proposed project will extend the scope of the property histories in the CMH’s Cheapside Gazetteer up to 1700, creating a database of householders for the whole period in the process, and will draw heavily upon parish registers, taxation records and other sources for the family reconstitutions in the sample areas.

Several conferences were organised. They included two on the culture of Victorian London, organised with the Anglo-American ‘Monuments and Dust’ group. Another, organised with the University of Bologna, focused on the different ways (from high-tech to low-tech) of investigating, reconstructing and representing the
medieval city as a material and social phenomenon. Papers in English or Italian, and discussion in a mixture of the two, were very stimulating.

During his period as Director, Derek Keene’s research and writing concerned the history of St Paul’s Cathedral, the interpretation of findings from archaeological excavations in the City of London, the culture and language of water and the river in London, an Italian in the service of King Edward I, cities as sites and agents of cultural transfer, comparison between London and Japanese metropolises, the regional cultures of Britain in relation to the metropolis, and economic interaction between London and the country as a whole between 1300 and 1600. He gave lectures or seminar papers in Bologna, Dublin, Ghent, Leeds, London, Paris, Rome, Scarborough, Toronto and Venice on a variety of metropolitan themes from the seventh to the twentieth century. He also served as a member of the Urban Panel of English Heritage, the London Advisory Committee of English Heritage, the International Commission for the History of Towns, the Fabric Advisory Committee of St Paul’s Cathedral, the British Historic Towns Atlas Committee, and the Winchester Pipe Rolls Committee. He was President of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society and is a Trustee of the London Journal, general editor of the new history of St Paul’s Cathedral, and a core member of the Cities team in the ESF programme on Cities and Cultural Exchange.

During his first seven months in post Matthew Davies has continued his work on the Merchant Taylors’ Company and completed for publication an article on the lobbying of Parliament by the City companies, as well as a contribution to a festchrift. He has joined the council of the London Record Society and is to be a member of the editorial board of a new journal, Cultural and Social History, to be based at the IHR.

Over the two years covered by this report, the CMH has received visitors from the USA, Canada, Japan, Australia, Ireland, France, Germany, Italy, Denmark and Poland.
3. COMPARATIVE METROPOLITAN HISTORY

2001–2 saw the establishment, with the support of the Leverhulme Trust, of a section of the CMH specifically devoted to comparative metropolitan history. The CMH has always had an interest in comparative history, but this very welcome support, strengthening the established base of the Centre, will enable it to develop the subject in new ways.

As Professor of Comparative Metropolitan History, Derek Keene has begun to devote full-time attention to the theme. He addressed it in his inaugural lecture in March 2002 with an examination over the long term of London’s relationship to the state, as seen from a comparative perspective, and by exploring the degree to which London has displayed the characteristics of a city-state. He has also continued his work on European cities as sites of cultural exchange between 1400 and 1700, on comparison between London and Japanese metropolises, and on the characteristics of ‘imperial cities’. These and other themes will be pursued in future years. In particular, he hopes to focus attention on the role of metropolises in trans-Atlantic exchanges, on the interlinked metropolises of north-western Europe and on comparison between Asian and European cities.

A postgraduate studentship on comparative metropolitan history is available and will be advertised from October 2002. There is also a post-doctoral fellowship, tenable for one or two years at a time. The first post-doctoral fellow, from October 2002, will be Stefan Goebel, whose doctorate at Cambridge dealt with the commemoration of the Great War in Britain and Germany, and whose new project concerns comparisons between Berlin, London, Coventry and Dresden in the politics of remembrance and reconstruction, 1940–2005.

Derek Keene’s inaugural lecture was the first in a series of annual Leverhulme Lectures in Comparative Metropolitan History. The second lecture in the series, on 29 May 2003, will be delivered by Kenneth T. Jackson, Jacques Barzun Professor of History and the Social Sciences, Columbia University, on the theme ‘Empire City: the impact of history and of September 11 on the present circumstances and future prospects of New York’.
MARKETS AND FAIRS IN ENGLAND AND WALES TO 1516

Most of the primary research for this project was undertaken by Dr Samantha Letters with the support of the Economic and Social Research Council (ref. R000237395) and was completed by the end of 2000. There remained, however, substantial amounts of editing and checking to be done before the full gazetteer could be made widely available. This work was completed with the aid of generous support from English Heritage, the Aurelius Trust, and the Guildhall Library (Corporation of London). Dr Mario Fernandes made an invaluable contribution to this, working for seven months during 2001. Samantha Letters spent a good deal of time checking the entries, as did Derek Keene, who also contributed additional descriptive material. Olwen Myhill’s contribution in designing and editing the web-based version of the gazetteer, and in generating the abbreviated database which will be used in subsequent analysis, was truly remarkable.

The character of much of the editorial work could be readily anticipated and included checking references and identifying places. In addition there were knotty problems to solve concerning the identity of markets (and to a lesser extent fairs) which were granted to different individuals at the same place. Wales presented problems of its own, both linguistic and topographical, and we benefited from the advice of Ralph Griffiths in solving many of them. It had been anticipated that the coverage of Wales would be thin, but the English sources turned out to include more information on Welsh markets and fairs than expected and a number of primary and secondary sources relating to Wales contained valuable information. Nevertheless, there are limitations with the Welsh material, which mostly concerns the period from the later thirteenth century onwards and is strictly comparable with that for England on no more than a limited number of criteria.

The English section of the gazetteer is arranged by counties and concerns 2,252 places, at which there were 2,464 markets and 2,767 fairs. Wales is treated as a single unit and contains information on 141 places, at which there were 138 markets and 166 fairs. Not all of these markets and fairs continued to flourish, and some succeeded others. For England it has been possible to indicate the extent of survival by noting those places which were market towns about 1600 and those fairs that flourished in the late sixteenth century. The terminal date of 1516 for the detailed coverage of the gazetteer reflects the availability of the source
Fig. 1. Markets and fairs granted in England and Wales by 1516

Markets granted in England 1200-1516
material. The Charter Rolls, a major source, cease in that year. Subsequent grants are entered in the Patent Rolls, in the printed version of which it is extremely difficult to identify references to markets and fairs. Most of these institutions were set up by royal grants to individuals and corporations after 1200, but the overall framework of commercial institutions had been established by then and a good many markets and fairs originated earlier. In England about 25 per cent of markets and about 14 per cent of fairs were prescriptive (lacked a grant), and of those most probably originated before 1200. For England it is possible to use a number of systematic indicators of the early commercial significance of places where there is likely to have been some form of market. These include urban status and the possession of a mint. Gazetteer entries include brief characterisations of such places from the seventh century onwards. Likewise, for many settlements with identifiable commercial characteristics from the eleventh or twelfth century onwards, they identify the earlier significance of those sites as ‘central places’ (e.g. as minsters, royal vills or Roman towns). Not all such early central places or apparent sites of trade appear in the gazetteer since systematic coverage is impossible. Nevertheless, the gazetteer will be a valuable tool for long-range studies of the development of settlement patterns and commercial networks from Roman times onwards, as well as within its core period (from about 1000 onwards). Of those markets and fairs established by royal grants, 62 per cent of the former and 54 per cent of the latter originated in the thirteenth century, and there seem to have been distinctive phases when grants were most numerous (Fig. 1).

The complete version of the gazetteer, including an introduction and search tools, is now available online (www.history.ac.uk/cmh/gaz/gazweb2.html). It was selected by the ‘Internet Scout Project’ (sponsored by the United States’ National Science Foundation) as a ‘unique resource’ for scholars of medieval history. The HistoryChannel.com Network (a ‘collection of the web’s best history sites’) includes a link to the gazetteer from its site, and in February 2002 the gazetteer was selected as ‘site of the day’ by Family Tree Magazine, an important resource for genealogists. This version of the gazetteer is accessed by users from throughout the world: from Europe to Alaska and New Zealand. A large minority of users is based in universities, but the extensive use by people outside the academic sector is particularly encouraging and meets the ESRC’s stipulation that research should be both useful and accessible to ‘the man in the street’. Comments from users are beginning to be received by email. These are greatly valued and sometimes lead to the revision of entries. It is anticipated that, in its online version, the gazetteer, which was compiled primarily from
standard and readily-searchable sources in print, will be periodically updated to include these and other discoveries.

The gazetteer will also be published as hard copy by the List and Index Society. This version, to be finalised in September 2002, will include a fuller introduction plus indexes to the persons and institutions named in the gazetteer. The latter will be especially valuable since the gazetteer entries preserve the descriptive style and spellings of the sources used.

The database derived from the gazetteer includes key information on each place and on each market and fair and their origins and owners. It is a valuable tool for the analysis of the chronological and spatial development of commercial institutions, and is being used in another project described below.

Samantha Letters gave papers on the gazetteer and its use at the ‘Thirteenth-Century England’ conference in 2001 and at the Late Medieval Seminar at the IHR. The former will be published in the proceedings of the conference. She is also contributing an article on the gazetteer to the *Local Historian*. 
This project, funded by the Economic and Social Research Council (ref. R000239108), began at the end of 2000 but was adjusted and re-timetabled so as to allow Dr Samantha Letters to spend time on necessary editorial work on the gazetteer of markets and fairs which was a primary resource for the project. In 2002 Dr Letters decided on a change of career and left the project, and the CMH, in July. She will be succeeded in September 2002 by Dr Emilia Jamroziak, who will bring to the project her experience of analysing the regional patronage and social networks associated with monasteries during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

The ideas underlying the project were described in the last CMH report. There are two major aims. One is to use the database derived from the gazetteer to explore overall patterns in the spread of markets and fairs over the period between 900 and 1600. The second focuses on the political economy of these institutions during the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries, when the majority of royal grants establishing them were made. In this period there was a strong and continuing demand on the Crown for the right to set up these institutions, both as a means to promote and regulate trade and as a way by which landowners could profit from it. Thus the question of who obtained grants and when has an important political dimension. Factors such as royal needs for income and political support and the relationship of grantees to the monarch could be as significant as commercial development for the issuing of grants. Indeed, the clustering of grants at certain times of crisis in the thirteenth century (see Fig. 1, above) suggests that this was the case. Moreover, royal grants were conditional upon the new market or fair not harming an existing one, thereby indicating awareness of the political significance of grants at a local level. Thus the extent of the Crown’s authority and the power of individual lords in particular districts were important factors. The issues can be explored both through the database and through an examination of political contexts and networks of authority and patronage in selected regions. It is hoped that it will also be possible to explore related questions concerning the use of markets and fairs by individual owners, taking the king and the bishop of Winchester as examples.

The database is proving to be a robust tool for analysing the spread of marketing institutions. Taking the period as a whole, the greatest density of markets was around the Thames estuary, in East Anglia and parts of the east Midlands, and in parts of the South West (Fig. 2). In some districts markets were closer to each other than the six and two thirds miles specified as the minimum distance by some
Fig. 2. Density of markets in England and Wales established by 1516, by county
Note: the count is by markets established or granted; some places had more than one market.

This and the following maps use a digitised basemap of historic (pre-1974) country boundaries originally created by Professor Marjorie McIntosh of the University of Colorado. We are grateful to Professor McIntosh for permission to use and modify her map; the boundaries shown are approximate only, and should not be taken as definitive.
legal authorities. Closer examination of these districts, taking into account local wealth, the periodicity of markets, and their survival should help in assessing how sustainable such arrangements were. In 1100 the greatest density was in the South Western region (defining regions as in the *Cambridge Urban History of Britain*) and in the South East. By 1300 the Midlands had caught up with those regions and East Anglia had overtaken them. The greatest rate of increase, however, was in the North during the twelfth century, indicating the general direction in the spread of intensive economic activity, while in the thirteenth century East Anglia displayed the greatest rate of increase. Closer examination of particular regions (Fig. 3 for the South East) shows how the spaces in the early network of trading places came to be infilled and highlights the particular importance of rivers, of principal roads, and of access to coastal shipping in that process. The pattern of survival of markets is striking. Early foundations tended to be on sites which favoured survival. Thus 72 per cent of those places with markets by 1200 can be identified as market towns in about 1600, but only 39 per cent of places with markets by 1300. Survival rates from 1300 were by far the lowest in East Anglia and were highest in the North. Markets in the South West had the highest rate of survival.

Investigation of the political economy of market institutions will focus primarily on the 1250s, which witnessed a notable peak in market grants and was a time of political and financial difficulty for the king, and on the minority of King Henry III (1216–27). Samantha Letters has largely completed a study of the minority. This included an examination of the manuscript Fine Rolls (Public Records), which record some grants for which no other evidence survives (these have been entered in the gazetteer) and which record the sums of money paid in return for some of the grants. The weakness of royal authority, which at the beginning of the reign extended over no more than half of England, is clearly apparent. A significant number of grants moved market days from Sunday, reflecting the influence of ecclesiastics in the government of the young king. During the regency of William Marshal grants of markets and fairs covered no more than twenty-one counties, principally the areas where Marshal had estates and where King John, and then Marshal himself, had retained control during the recent civil war. Marshal’s control over the process is apparent in several ways. Moreover, he was one of the principal beneficiaries, along with other figures in the administration and with the bishop of Winchester, who was the king’s personal tutor and the most important figure in the administration after Marshal. Grants made during this period were for the duration of the minority and when Henry III assumed personal power in 1227 he banned all markets and fairs set up during the
Fig. 3. Places in South East England with a market and/or fair, 1200–1516
Note: The places are those known to have acquired a market or fair by each date. Many of those institutions would have ceased to function by 1516.
minority, whether or not they had been established with the government's approval. The large number of grants of markets and fairs which followed (Fig. 4) reflects these political circumstances as people sought royal authority for the markets and fairs that they had held.

Fig. 4. Places in England and Wales which had acquired a market or fair by 1516
Since its commencement in 1999, the History of St Paul’s project has progressed rapidly towards the deadline for submission of drafts by the authors engaged to write the substantial subsidiary topics and essays. These have been arriving since October 2001 and now we are in possession of the ‘first fruits’ of our labours. Central to the whole project are the inter-relationships between these topics and their complementarity to the narrative spine of the book. Each of the topics is being circulated to those authors whose essays are thematically linked, in order that ideas can be exchanged, prior to the submission of the narrative chapters.

With the submission of the texts, the emphasis of the project has concentrated on specific and directed research tasks, exchange of ideas, administration, and technical matters involved in producing the book. Profitable meetings have been held between contributors working on particular themes, and between the editors, resolving points of style, discussing new commissions for drawings and commentary on drafts. As in previous years, in September 2001 we held a highly successful gathering at St Paul’s Cathedral Chapter House where authors, members of the Centre for Metropolitan History and cathedral clergy were able to discuss the project in a convivial atmosphere provided by the Dean and Chapter.

Since the last report, research assistance has been targeted towards information located in specific types of records with good coverage: for example, the cathedral’s Chapter minutes. These minutes, most of which survive from the 1660s onwards, form an immensely large historical record. Thus, we have examined in detail five ‘ten-year runs’ of records, from the commencement of the minutes to the later twentieth-century. This exercise was undertaken to determine the dominant concerns of the Chapter throughout the centuries, and how these may have developed and altered in response to different demands upon the cathedral, its clergy and its use as a national place of worship. It has provided some important material for analysis in the history. In addition, comparison with other surviving cathedral minutes could provide future publication material as an example of wider research generated by the project as a whole.

In considering minutes as evidence of practice, however, a degree of caution must be exercised. Chapter minutes are at once both an illuminating and tantalisingly incomplete source for the cathedral history. This is due, in part, to the practical matter of survival. Most of the Medieval and early post-Reformation Chapter
acts and minutes have been lost. (A Chapter Act book for 1411–48, ‘Liber Goodman’ survives in the Guildhall Library, MS 25513. This chiefly concerns the Cathedral’s benefices, prebends, canonries, chantries, etc, elections, disputes and disciplinary matters.) Post-Commonwealth minutes survive from 1662, but there is a lacuna between 1821 and 1832. From the resumption of the records in 1833, the run is unbroken until the present day, but the loss of eleven years of minutes is regrettable. Even when they do survive, the minutes provide only a partial record, presenting not only a one-sided and circumspect view of events, but one confined to rules of practice and procedure. Nevertheless, these in themselves can be informative. A standard format was required for recording Chapter acts throughout the series, with a few occasional omissions. Where the Chapter was held was generally noted, along with the date on which it took place, the day of the week (not given in the earliest survivals of the seventeenth-century minutes), and who attended. Dates and attendees were the constants of the record and provide a source for analysis of the personnel involved in Chapter decisions.

What emerges quite clearly, is the sense of responsibility the deans had towards Chapter meetings. For one hundred years the post of dean was held in commendam with one of the less lucrative bishoprics, as were a number of the other prebendal stalls. Edward Copleston, nominated to the see of Llandaff in 1827, was the tenth and last dean to hold both a bishopric and the deanery in this manner. Copleston was hardly ever absent from Chapter meetings and neither were some of his predecessors. Indeed, the attendance at Chapter by deans and canons with responsibilities in distant parts of the country is quite surprising. It was not unknown for meetings to be attended by three bishops at once, as on 8 March 1770 when Bristol, Llandaff, and Lichfield & Coventry were all listed as present. Of equal significance is the possibility that the minutes will provide examples of career progression, as individuals’ names are recorded from their first appearance at Chapters.

The minutes can be more frustrating when attempts are made to follow through particular actions or events, as these were mentioned only as and when they became a matter for formal successive meetings might subsequently disappear with no record of resolution. The matter would have been resolved (or, at least, dealt with), but the final outcome was outside the realms of the formal Chapter record, and must be sought by the historian in other sources. Furthermore, as with all records of administration, the nature of the items to be considered by the Chapter were subject to change over the successive centuries which the records cover.
The Chapters of the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were primarily concerned with the administration of cathedral property holdings. When the run of surviving minutes begins in the early 1660s the cathedral had only recently regained its property, and thus its source of revenue, after the Restoration. Hard upon this, the Great Fire of London destroyed a significant proportion of cathedral properties in the city, which had to be rebuilt. In addition to property matters, election of cathedral officers, appointments to living, including rotas for appointments, and disagreements between the clergy were dealt with routinely. These included the occasional record of disciplinary action for lapses in attendance at services of the minor or ‘petty’ canons. From time to time, individual examples of disputes which had greater significance were recorded. One such entry occurs on 24 January 1663, when the Mayor and Aldermen paid for new coats of arms to be placed over the Mayor’s seat in the cathedral refurbishment, without obtaining prior consent of the Dean and Chapter. This was an imposition which was acted upon quickly by the Chapter in order to prevent encroachment on their jurisdiction:

The officers & workemen of the Lord Mayor and Aldermen of London haveing without leave of the Chapter set up the City Armes over the head of the seate made for the Lord Mayor in the Cathedrall Church wch for that cause were taken downe by the officeres of the church:

The Lord Maior & Aldermen sent their surveyor Mr Mills to the sev’al Residenciaries desiring Leave to set up the said Armes & beautifie the Seate wch is condescended unto & ordered by the Chapter accordingly.

The Dean and Chapter resolved that the Mayor and Aldermen should not pay for the stalls and coats of arms. This decision preserved the Cathedral’s independence from Corporation interference. (See also Robert A. Beddard, ‘Church and State in Old St Paul’s: Dean Barwick’s assertion of the Church’s rights against the City’, *Guildhall Miscellany*, IV, No. 3 (1972), 161–74.) Minutes of the later nineteenth and twentieth centuries are much more detailed and differ essentially in character from those of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Following the transfer of the management of church lands and estates to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, from 1835, estate business dwindled until all the estates had been handed over to the Commissioners – a drawn-out process, which lasted for years. In addition, however, other matters became increasingly dominant in the meetings, such as changes in times of services, important national thanksgivings and the various mooted re-decoration schemes of the nineteenth century (drawings for which are illustrated here). Along with these appeared more prosaic items, such as the organisation of the cathedral’s immediate finances and disputes with minor officials over their terms of employment and sources of remuneration.
The minutes, in effect, demonstrate the broadening range of administrative responsibilities required of the clergy as they initiated and underwent fundamental changes in both religious and secular activities, such as employment practices. In addition, from 17 December 1869 it was resolved that the ‘ancient’ custom of holding Saturday Chapters for matters of discipline be revived. These were recorded in separate books, which ran concurrently with the formal minutes. Each entry noted the attendance at services of the minor canons and their deputies, with fines imposed on those who were late or absent without a satisfactory excuse (two of the most common being delayed trains and the London fogs).

The Saturday Chapters were in some respects more like journal entries in their content, with comments on services held; a note being made if a new element was introduced, as on 30 January 1892 when this entry was recorded:

On St Paul’s Day, an orchestra was used for the first time, at the Mid-day Celebration. It was placed on the top of the stalls – where Dr Martin conducted... The effect of the whole was most impressive.

and this, on 12 November 1892:

...Tuesday last the Bishop of London instigated a new series of lectures on church history at 7 p.m. The congregation was between 500 & 600.

In this way, they often acted as an addendum to items initiated and resolved at the formal Chapters.

Decisions made at the meetings were often controversial. Responses to the outcome of Chapter resolutions, particularly those regarding the liturgy and fabric, can be found preserved in the clergy’s original papers and correspondence in Lambeth Palace Library. In addition, members of the cathedral published diaries, memoirs and biographies. Also particularly informative when read in tandem with the minutes, are the notes and records of events made by members of lay staff, such as E.J. Harding, the first Clerk of the Works to be appointed by the cathedral in 1873. Prior to this the Dean’s Virger had carried out the duties. Harding’s ‘Summary of Works carried out at St Paul’s Cathedral....’ runs from 1852 to 1907 and includes both his own record of work undertaken in the building and printed papers on all aspects of the decoration schemes. His notes provide significant insights into the practicalities of organising a workforce to undertake the various building, maintenance and decorative works ordered in Chapter. In addition, he recorded the process of setting a dedicated works staff on a permanent footing in the cathedral, with workshops established in various locations in the building including the crypt and transepts. In 1872/3 several working staff were appointed – 1 stonemason, 2 carpenters, 1 painter, 1 labourer, 1 fitter. Increasingly, Harding
Fig. 5. Decorative details from the William Burges album preserved in St Paul’s Cathedral Library.
was happy to note, jobs were being undertaken by the St Paul’s works staff. In 1875, a number of windows were replaced:

The whole of this work...was all done in the Cathedral. A head Glazier was taken on, and the corridor over the west aisle of the South Transept was fitted up as a Workshop, so that the work proceeded quite advantageously to the Cathedral. The new windows were all in place by the year 1876.

Harding was careful to note all such occasions when the Cathedral’s own staff undertook fabric maintenance and repairs, carving, and other decorative work. His record is an invaluable source of practical details, from notes on the hanging and repair of new bells, to the removal and donation or sale of items of fabric and furniture no longer required by the Dean and Chapter.

Having completed lists on the Chapter minutes and associated records, the final months of research assistance were concerned with obtaining and organising illustrations for publication. The two shown here (Fig. 5) are taken from the William Burges album of decorative details, preserved in St Paul’s Cathedral Library. Four hundred images will be included in the book to be published in 2004, with many in colour, and including about twenty-five maps and plans.

At the end of her contract at the CMH in August 2002, Chris Faunch will be moving to St Paul’s Cathedral to work in the Fabric Archive.
5. BIBLIOGRAPHICAL AND INFORMATION SERVICES

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

i  UNPUBLISHED LONDON DIARIES: A CHECKLIST OF UNPUBLISHED DIARIES BY LONDONERS AND VISITORS WITH A SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY OF PUBLISHED DIARIES

The text of this listing of unpublished London diaries from the sixteenth century to the late twentieth century was delivered to the London Record Society general editors early in 2002 and is due for publication later in the year. The final total of unpublished diaries found was 882, with starting dates from 1581–1971.

ii  RESEARCH IN PROGRESS ON THE HISTORY OF LONDON

Information about London history work in progress was collected and made available on the Centre’s website in the spring term of 2002. Additions and corrections were invited, and email addresses incorporated into the listing where possible.

iii  LONDON’S PAST ONLINE

Much time in the earlier part of 2001 was committed to drafting and finalising a funding bid to the Arts and Humanities Research Board’s Resource Enhancement scheme to make available on line the existing published CMH London bibliographies – the Bibliography of Printed Works on London History to 1939 (LAP, 1994) and the bibliographical section of Sources for the History of London, 1939–45 (BRA, 1998), and to augment the coverage.

In November 2001 we were delighted to hear that we had been awarded a Resource Enhancement Grant of £216,919. This will pay for two project researchers (David Tomkins and Eileen Sanderson) to convert the existing data and put it on line, and to update and enhance the content in several ways. Historical coverage will be brought up to the present day. The whole project operates in close liaison with the Royal Historical Society’s Online Bibliographies project, also based at the Institute of Historical Research. Additionally, we shall conduct a small experiment to test the feasibility of incorporating archaeological references into the bibliography’s future coverage. This pilot study will capture references to the archaeology of Roman London, with the co-operation of archaeological
bibliographies such as the British and Irish Archaeological Bibliography and the Bibliography of the Archaeology of Greater London. The project started on 1 May 2002, is progressing well, and will last for two years and five months.

iv OTHER ACTIVITIES

As usual the Deputy Director organised a course for new postgraduate students in the spring terms of 2001 and 2002, ‘An Introduction to Sources for Historical Research’, with classes and visits; she also took part in the Institute’s ‘Sources and Methods’ courses during both years. She attended meetings of the British Records Association Council (until November 2001), the Royal Society of Arts’ History, Records and Collections Committee (until June 2001), and the London Archives Regional Council.
APPENDICES

I

PATRONS

Chairman
SIR KIT MCMAHON
MR WILLIAM DAVIS
SIR ROGER G. GIBBS
SIR BRIAN JENKINS, F.C.A.
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MR TED ROWLANDS
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II

ADVISORY COMMITTEE

Chairman


S.A. ALEXANDER, B.A., Professor of Modern History, Goldsmiths College, University of London
C.M. BARRON, M.A., Ph.D., Dean of Graduate School, Royal Holloway, University of London (to 31 July 2001)
I.S. BLACK, B.A., Ph.D., Lecturer in Geography, King’s College London (to 31 July 2001)
B. BRODT, M.A., Ph.D, Research Fellow, German Historical Institute, London (to 31 July 2000)
S. FREETH, B.A., D.A.A., Keeper of Manuscripts, Guildhall Library (to 31 July 2001)
P. GARSIDE, B.A., Ph.D., F.R.H.S., Professor of Contemporary Social History, University of Salford (to 31 July 2002)
P. GAUCI, B.A., M.Phil., D.Phil., Fellow and Tutor, Lincoln College, Oxford (from 1 August 2001)
A.M. HALMOS, M.A., Director of Public Relations, Corporation of London (from 1 August 2000)
J. HANSON, B.A., Ph.D., Bartlett School of Architecture (to 31 July 2000)
J. HOPPIT, B.A., Ph.D., Reader in History, University College London
P.J. MARSHALL, M.A., D.Phil., F.B.A., Emeritus Professor of Imperial History, King’s College London and President of the Royal Historical Society (from 1 August 2001)
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R.E. QUINAULT, M.A., D.Phil., Reader in History, University of North London (to 31 July 2002)
D.E. PORTER, B.A., M.A., Ph.D., Professor of the History of Science and Medicine, Birkbeck College, London (to 31 July 2002)
C. ROSS, B.A., Ph.D., Curator, Later Department, Museum of London (to 31 July 2000)
APPENDICES

S.J. THURLEY, M.A., Ph.D., Director, Museum of London; from April 2002
Chief Executive of English Heritage (from 1 August 2000)
J.R. SEWELL, M.A., F.S.A., D.A.A., O.B.E., City Archivist, Corporation of
London (from 1 August 2001)
L.C. WRIGHT, B.A., Ph.D., Fellow of Lucy Cavendish College and University
Lecturer in English Language, University of Cambridge (from 1 August 2001)
A. VERHULST, Professor Emeritus, University of Ghent (from 1 August 2000)

III

STAFF OF THE CENTRE

Director: DEREK KEENE, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxford) (to 31 December 2001)
MATTHEW DAVIES, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxford) (from 1 January 2002)
Deputy Director (and Editor of Bibliography): HEATHER CREATON, B.A.,
M.Phil. (London), A.L.A.
Administrative and Research Assistant: OLWEN MYHILL, B.A. (Birmingham),
Dip. R.S.A.

Leverhulme Professor of Comparative Metropolitan History: DEREK KEENE,
M.A., D.Phil. (Oxford) (from 1 October 2001)

Markets and Fairs in England and Wales to 1516
Researcher: SAMANTHA LETTERS, B.A., Ph.D. (London)
Research Assistant: MARIO FERNANDES, B.A., M.A., Ph.D. (London)

Markets and Fairs in Thirteenth-Century England
Researcher: SAMANTHA LETTERS, B.A., Ph.D. (London)

History of St Paul’s Cathedral 604–2004
Researcher: CHRISTINE FAUNCH, B.A., Ph.D. (Exeter)

London’s Past Online (from 1 May 2002)
Research Editor: DAVID TOMKINS, B.A. (Leicester), M.A. (Sheffield)
Assistant Research Editor: EILEEN SANDERSON, B.A. (Reading), M.A.
(North London)

HEATHER CREATON runs a regular introductory course for new postgraduate
students as well as doing her bibliographical and information work. She is
Vice-Chairman of the British Records Association and helped to organise their 1998 and 1999 conferences on records for the history of law and order, and on travel and tourism respectively. She is also Hon. Secretary of the London Record Society. MATTHEW DAVIES has researched and written extensively about London’s crafts and guilds, and the parliamentary representation of the City in the later Middle Ages, and is currently working on a history of one of the City livery companies. He is a member of the council of the London Record Society and on the editorial board of the journal Cultural and Social History. CHRIS FAUNCH’s research interests are in church monuments and the built environment, the subject of her Ph.D. thesis. MARIO FERNANDES’s research interests have focused on the thirteenth century and in particular the role of knights and their interaction with the minor barons during the Barons’ War. DEREK KEENE has written extensively on the society, economy, topography and archaeology of medieval and early modern towns, and especially on Winchester and London; he is a member of the Urban Panel of English Heritage, the London Advisory Committee of English Heritage, the International Commission for the History of Towns and of the Fabric Committee of St Paul’s Cathedral. He is also a trustee of the London Journal. SAMANTHA LETTERS’s main research interests are medieval markets and fairs and also the political and social history of thirteenth-century England. Her Ph.D. thesis was on the Seagrave family c.1189 to 1295. Apart from grappling with the Centre’s computers, publications and administration, OLWEN MYHILL’s main historical interest is the impact of religious nonconformity on rural society in the nineteenth century. After working in professions as diverse as the police force and the funeral business, EILEEN SANDERSON has more recently moved into academic librarianship, specialising in the provision of information and learning resources for remote users. DAVID TOMKINS has managed a number of web-based bibliography and archive projects relating to art, history and education. He is also Secretary of the Artists’ Papers Register, a national survey for which the London phase is currently in progress, and is a member of the Public Monuments and Sculpture Association.

IV

VISITING RESEARCH FELLOWS

JAMES A. GALLOWAY, M.A., Ph.D. ‘Medieval market networks’
GRAHAM I. TWIGG, B.Sc., Ph.D. ‘Epidemics and the plague in London’
APPENDICES

V

POSTGRADUATE STUDENTS

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


VI

CONFERENCE AND SEMINAR PAPERS

Matthew Davies

“All clothed in one livery”: the guilds and the City of London in the Later Middle Ages’, lecture to the ‘Studies in Art’ group, London, March 2002.

Derek Keene:


[with D. Calabi], ‘Exchanges and cultural transfer in European cities, c.1500-1700’, European Science Foundation Colloquium, University of Ghent, May 2001.


31
CMH Annual Reports 2000–1 and 2001–2


‘Large research projects’, at the conference on ‘A career in History?’, IHR, December 2001.


‘Metropolitan history and the regions’, University of Durham, 12 June 2002.

Samantha Letters:


APPENDICES

VII

PUBLICATIONS


**VIII**

**SEMINAR ON METROPOLITAN HISTORY**

**October 2000–March 2001**

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

*The representation of the metropolis*

‘Revisiting the social origins of emigrants from late seventeenth-century London’, John Wareing (University of North London/Birkbeck)

‘Strange things in the city: place-names and representation in medieval London’, Laura Wright (Cambridge) and Derek Keene (CMH)

‘Aestheticizing the antiquarian city: printmaking as preservation in the long eighteenth century’, Lucy Peltz (Museum of London)

‘Gas and light: Cremorne Pleasure Gardens and mid-Victorian urban entertainment’, Lynda Nead (Birkbeck)

‘Place not space: problems of locality and identity in the eighteenth-century metropolis’, Elizabeth McKellar (Birkbeck)

‘(Dis)enchantments: representing Los Angeles Suburbia in the 1960s’, Dirk de Meyer (University of Ghent)

‘London in the cinema: from Lodger to Launderette’, Tony Sutcliffe (Nottingham)

‘Between tradition and modernity: Hongkong Bank building in Hong Kong and Shanghai, 1880–1940’, Iain Black (King’s College London)

‘Local and global components of the proto-office district: exchanges, coffee-houses and counting-houses in their larger context’, Deryck Holdsworth (Pennsylvania State)
APPENDICES

‘Modernity, memory and the metropolis: notes on urban photography in Europe between the wars’, Davide Deriu (The Bartlett, University College London)  
“Neither One Thing nor the Other”: Film and London’s identity between the wars’, Pat Garside (Salford) and Ali Strauss (British Film Institute)

October 2001–March 2002

‘Antwerp and its rural surroundings: social and economic changes in the hinterland of a commercial metropolis, c.1450–c.1570’, Michael Limberger (University of Antwerp)  
‘Modern housing? Attitudes to mansion flats and model dwellings in late Victorian London’, Richard Dennis (University College London)  
‘Rejecting the Gin Palace: London’s reformed interwar pubs’, David Guzke (Southwest Missouri State University)  
‘The French-Canadianization of a British colonial capital: the population dynamics of Quebec City, 1860–1900’, Marc St-Hilaire (Université Laval, Quebec)  
‘East End immigrants and the battle for housing: a comparative study of political mobilisation in the Jewish and Bengali communities’, Sarah Glynn (University College London)  
‘The making of the Museum of London’s new “World City Gallery – London 1789–1914”’, Alex Werner (Museum of London)  
‘The pursuit of pleasure: gender and architectural space in Regency London’, Jane Rendell (The Bartlett, University College London)  
‘The making of public space in the small towns of the Empire: British Malaya, 1900–1940’, Lynn Leeds (University of Pennsylvania)  
“Lady Cops” and “Decoy Doras”: gender, surveillance and the construction of urban knowledge 1919–1959’, Louise Jackson (Leeds Metropolitan University)

IX

SOURCES OF FUNDING

Comparative Metropolitan History: The Leverhulme Trust

Projects: Arts and Humanities Research Board
Aurelius Trust
Dean and Chapter of St Paul’s Cathedral
The CMH Accounts for the years 1 August 2000–31 July 2001 and 1 August 2001–31 July 2002 are published as part of the Accounts of the Institute of Historical Research in the Institute’s Annual Report.