Centre for Metropolitan History

Annual Report
2003–4

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

**Annual Report 2003–4**

(1 August 2003–31 July 2004)

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1. DIRECTOR’S REPORT

The CMH has had a busy year, in which we have started two new research projects as well as developing plans for future projects and other initiatives in metropolitan history. We held a number of events during the year, including a workshop on the theme of ‘London and Empire’, a conference on ‘Guilds: London... England... Europe’, and a particularly successful two-day conference on ‘Metropolitan Catastrophes: Scenarios, Experiences and Commemorations in the Era of Total War’, organised by Derek Keene and Stefan Goebel as part of the Centre’s programme of work in Comparative Metropolitan History.

In October 2003 work began on our new collaborative project, ‘People in Place: Families, Households and Housing in Early Modern London’, funding for which was obtained from the AHRB by Dr Vanessa Harding (Birkbeck), Dr Richard Smith (Cambridge) and Dr Davies. Good progress has been made by our project team, comprising Mark Merry and Phil Baker in London and Gill Newton in Cambridge; presentations arising from the research will be made at seminars and conferences during 2004–5. The bulk of the work so far has centred on the construction of a large database to encompass a broad range of longitudinal and cross-sectional sources relating to five Cheapside parishes, and areas of Aldgate and Clerkenwell. A good start has also been made on entering data from the parish registers for Cheapside, paving the way for work on reconstituting the families who lived in that part of the city. The work of the project is described more fully below.

In November we were very pleased to hear that the ESRC had awarded funding to the Director and Dr Helen Bradley for a new project, entitled ‘Views of Hosts: Reporting the Alien Commodity Trade 1440–1445’. Helen began work on the project at the Centre in April 2004 and has made excellent progress. The ‘Views of Hosts’ themselves comprise returns sent to the Exchequer under a statute of 1439, which made aliens fully accountable to English-born ‘hosts’ for their private business transactions. The host made a register of the commercial dealings of the aliens for whom he was responsible, recording the names of their business contacts, the quantities and types of merchandise traded, and the prices they charged or paid. The aims of the project are to produce a full, annotated transcript in Anglo-Norman French and Latin, freely accessible on the internet; a database, accessible and searchable through the same website; and a translation into English, with an introduction, index of persons and glossary of merchandise, to be published as a volume by the London Record Society.
Following the success of the IHR’s pilot digitisation project, an application was made by the IHR early in 2004 to the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation for a grant of $900,000 to begin a major two-year programme of digitisation of medieval and early modern historical resources for British History Online <http://www.british-history.ac.uk>. We were delighted to hear just before Easter that the application was successful. The project will enable the CMH to make available online all its extensive datasets, such as the Walbrook and Aldgate Gazetteers, and the 1690s taxation data, in a fully cross-searchable format. In addition, a range of published sources will be digitised, including eight volumes published by the London Record Society and key sources such as the R.R. Sharpe’s *Calendar of Letter Books of the City of London*, and *Calendar of Wills proved in the Court of Husting*, Mark Benbow’s ‘Index of London Citizens, 1558–1603’ (1989) and J.R. Woodhead’s *The Rulers of London, 1660–1689* (1965). A mapping resource will be created using first edition 1:2,500 Ordnance Survey maps of Greater London obtained under licence from Landmark, which will nest within a national mapping scheme at a scale of 1:10,560. This phase of the project will also involve the identification of further resources to be digitised, in anticipation of a further application for funding in 2006. The CMH Director is a member of the steering group for British History Online and is responsible for coordinating the work on London sources.

A major development for the CMH this year was the approval by the School of Advanced Study of a new taught M.A. course in Metropolitan and Regional History. This is a joint initiative between the Centre and the Victoria County History, and takes as its guiding theme the variety and importance of the relationships between metropolis and region from the twelfth to the twentieth centuries, with a particular focus on London and southern England. It will use the continuous history of London and its surrounding territory over eight centuries as a test bed for exploring important general, comparative themes in the evolution of regional and city cultures. The broader context will be also be significant, especially the growth of other regional capitals and regional identities in Britain and the development of cities and their regional contexts on the continent. It will draw on the expertise and resources of the staff in both research centres, and will share options with other Masters courses in related fields in the London colleges. The new M.A. will take its first cohort of students in October 2005, and over the next year the course team will be busy preparing course materials and publicising this exciting initiative. One of the target constituencies will be students contemplating further research at M.Phil./Ph.D. level, and to this end we are pleased to have recruited two new
research students who will begin their studies in October 2004. Catherine Wright will be working on a thesis entitled ‘Social and cultural connections between the English and the Dutch in England, c.1660–c.1720’, with the basis of the project being a study of the Dutch communities in London. At the same time, Laurie Lindey will start work on a study of ‘The London furniture trade, 1640–1730’, examining networks and forms of production, retailing and consumption within the furniture trade in the capital, and providing a much-needed context for the existing studies of artefacts and collectors. Both students will be working with Matthew Davies and Derek Keene. They will join Feona Hamilton, who is working on ‘The power and influence of the London merchant in the late thirteenth century with special reference to the de Rokesley family’. Craig Bailey’s PhD thesis on ‘The Irish network: a study of ethnic patronage, 1760–1840’ was successfully examined in March. He was jointly supervised by Derek Keene and David Green, of King’s College, London.

The year also saw the completion of our ‘Markets and Fairs’ project, and we were delighted to hear that Emilia Jamroziak had been appointed to a research fellowship at the University of Edinburgh, which she took up in January. Congratulations are also due to Stefan Goebel, our first Leverhulme Postdoctoral Fellow in Comparative Metropolitan History. After completing his second and final year in post, Stefan will be taking up a permanent appointment as Lecturer in Modern British History at the University of Kent. Sadly we will also be losing David Tomkins and Eileen Sanderson, following the end of the AHRB-funded bibliography project, ‘London’s Past Online’ in September 2004. The project has been a tremendous success, making accessible details of more than 40,000 books, articles, theses and other publications relating to the history of London, in collaboration with the Royal Historical Society Bibliographies. We hope at some stage to augment the bibliography with details of archaeological publications and other local materials.

This has also been a year of book launches. Of particular significance for the Centre was the publication on 24 April of St. Paul’s: The Cathedral Church of London 604–2004, edited by Derek Keene, Arthur Burns and Andrew Saint and published by Yale University Press. A service was held in the cathedral, at which the bishop of London delivered a sermon in honour of St Mellitus, the first bishop of the see of London, and this was followed by a reception in Guildhall Art Gallery. The book is an impressive, and weighty (in all senses) tribute to the scholarship of Derek and his fellow editors, and of the more
than 40 contributors. The Centre’s staff (never known to miss a party), were also represented at the launch of Caroline Barron’s eagerly awaited book, *London in the Later Middle Ages: Government and People 1200–1540* (Oxford University Press). Finally, late June saw the celebration of the publication of *The History of the Merchant Taylors’ Company*, by Matthew Davies and Ann Saunders, published by Maney, which took place appropriately enough in the splendid surroundings of Merchant Taylors’ Hall.
This project, funded by the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC), grew out of an earlier study of markets and fairs in England and Wales up to the sixteenth century. That study produced a gazetteer of markets and fairs which has been available online for some time and which was published in hard copy in September 2003 as S. Letters, M. Fernandes, D. Keene and O. Myhill, *Gazetteer of Markets and Fairs in England and Wales to 1516* (London, List and Index Society, Special Series vols. 32–3). The online version <http://www.history.ac.uk/cmh/gaz/gazweb2.html> is periodically updated as new material and interpretations come to hand.

Markets and fairs in medieval England were legally-defined institutions which facilitated and regulated internal trade. Some were held by established custom, but it came to be accepted that they could not be held without royal licence or recognition. By 1500 some 2,400 settlements in England and Wales had acquired a market and/or a fair or the right to hold one. Just over a fifth of those places acquired market rights for the first time by 1200 and about half of them acquired such rights for the first time during the thirteenth century. This reflected the growth of commerce and the intensification of local exchange, but there was a strong political and social aspect to the development since in most cases these rights were acquired by a grant from the king and the acquisitions reflected their owners’ concerns to make the most of their landed estates and to establish their social and political standing locally. The pattern of grants thus reflects royal patronage in response to political conditions and the family and estate strategies of different categories of owners.

The new project set out to examine these issues, primarily in relation to the thirteenth century. It also undertook a broader analysis of the incidence of markets and fairs between the seventh and the early seventeenth century. Most of this work was undertaken by Emilia Jamroziak in association with Derek Keene. We are pleased to announce that Emilia was appointed to a three-year Research Fellowship at the University of Edinburgh, from January 2004. Her new research focuses on monastic patronage in cross-border regions in northern Britain and in eastern Germany and Poland.

The results of the project are to be published in four substantial papers, now in an advanced state of preparation. One is based on an extensive spatial and temporal analysis of a database derived from the ‘Gazetteer of Markets and Fairs’. It traces the spread of these institutions and their density by area and in
relation to population. Many of the markets, especially those granted after 1250, were very small and did not survive for long. Survival rates to about 1600 can be calculated. Figures 1 and 2 illustrate some of the many analyses of this material that can be undertaken and the way in which they throw light on regional differences. With the creation of this database it become possible for the first time systematically to draw on the evidence for markets and fairs in discussions of English and Welsh regional characteristics and historical experiences.

Fig. 1. Density of places with market rights in 1300, by county

This and the following figure use a digitised basemap of historic (pre-1974) county 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.
Another paper examines the way in which patronage considerations affected royal grants of market rights. It focuses primarily on periods in the mid thirteenth century when such grants were especially numerous and reveals the way in which royal needs for political, military and financial support and the proximity of potential recipients to the king at court, affected the pattern of grants. Other significant factors include the king’s personal interest in certain places which he visited on pilgrimage or in the course of other journeys, factors which sometimes overlapped with political considerations. Short-term, and even medium-term, fluctuations in market grants seem to reflect these factors rather than purely commercial ones.

Fig. 2. Survival rate of places with market rights in 1600 as a percentage of those with market rights in 1300

Survival rate of places with market rights in 1600 as percentage of those with market rights by 1300
- 51 to 83  (9)
- 49 to 51  (5)
- 41 to 49  (10)
- 33 to 41  (9)
- 18 to 33  (9)
A third study examined markets and fairs on three major estates: that of the Clare family during the twelfth and thirteenth century, that of Henry de Lacy in the late thirteenth, and that of the bishop of Winchester. These reveal differences between an estate that was put together over several generations and those that remained more or less unchanged over the period. These lay in the date at which the markets were founded, which was related to the structure of the estate and the periods at which its owner enjoyed political influence. Also apparent are the significance of markets and fairs for the administrative centres of the estates and for defending them against those of adjacent lords. The Clare and Lacy estates reveal the high value of the markets promoted by such owners on their remote landholding in Wales and northern England by comparison with those in southern and eastern England.

The final paper is based on a close examination of the accumulation of markets and fairs in East Anglia. This shows how certain lords were able to prevent the foundation of markets by adjacent owners and how in other areas extraordinarily dense networks of markets emerged over the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. In some areas close to the Wash markets were hardly more than a mile apart, although they were held on different days of the week. These developments can be related to patterns of communication and in the exploitation of land. They also throw light on the stage at which small landlords established, or attempted to establish, markets on their manors. Once again, royal patronage is a significant element, while the presence of major towns inhibited market formation in their vicinity.
Funded by the Economic and Social Research Council, the Views of Hosts is a part-time project of 18 months’ duration. Work began on 1 April 2004. The documents which provide its raw material result from legislation in 1439, which required that a full record of each business transaction involving an alien merchant should be made by his English host and sent in to the Exchequer on a regular basis. Seventy such returns, or ‘views of hosts’, were known to survive for the period up to 1445, mostly for London. They name about 250 individual aliens, not only transient independent traders but also resident agents acting for principals outside the realm, who range from those dealing in a few low-value commodities to large commercial concerns with substantial regular throughput. Approximately 2,000 transactions are reported, covering a wide variety of goods from raw silk and heavy brocades to fish condemned as unfit for consumption, and listing business contacts of considerable social diversity. Access to the information contained in these original returns, in Anglo-Norman French and Latin and using a variety of hands, has in practice been restricted to those who are both experienced in palaeography and languages and able to visit The National Archives. Their rich potential in terms of datasets has not been widely and systematically explored because their existing form and location effectively locks the information away from likely users.

The principal objective of this project is to create a new resource which will be publicly accessible, presenting the material via alternative media and in different formats in a manner sensitive to users with widely divergent levels of skill and areas of expertise. A transcript, on the Centre for Metropolitan History website, will enable users to enjoy worldwide instant access to the texts in type in their original languages; a companion database in English on the same website will encourage easy manipulation of the data contained in them. In addition a hard copy translation of the texts into English, published by the London Record Society, will feature sections setting them in context and explaining unfamiliar terms. The completed project will thus repackage the material, throwing it open to a much wider band of users in terms of academic and technical skills and geographical situation.

The first phase of the project is to transcribe each individual transaction recorded in the views, setting up the original texts in an electronic format and providing a core of material for the later stages of database creation and hard copy translation. All but seven of the seventy known views have now been transcribed;
four extra views have been located outside the main series, under different descriptions, and these have also been transcribed.

During the course of transcription, other ancillary work has been undertaken. A glossary of commodities is under construction, together with tables which summarise details of the assignments of hosts, alien-occupied business premises, shipping movements, and the women who appear as clients and suppliers. In addition, an examination of the particulars of account for London customs has abstracted useful details concerning not only the alien merchants but also their hosts and the practice of trans-shipment at Sandwich. Similarly, printed primary sources such as the Southampton Port Books and Brokage Book have proven helpful in confirming the complex shipping patterns mentioned in the views.
Funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Board (AHRB), this three-year joint project with Birkbeck, University of London, the Centre and the Cambridge Group for the History of Population started on 1 October 2003. Led by Dr Vanessa Harding (Birkbeck), and co-supervised by Dr Matthew Davies (CMH) and Dr Richard Smith (Cambridge Group), the researchers are Dr Mark Merry and Philip Baker, based at the CMH, and Gill Newton and Ros Davies, forming the Cambridge team.

The initial phase of the project has seen work completed in two main areas. Firstly, in conjunction with the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure, the parish registers of the five Cheapside parishes were considered in terms of how they might be modelled into a data structure for inclusion in the project database. The registers proved to be complex, both in the information they contained and in their provenance, and it was felt that it was important to reproduce this complexity in the database structure. This was especially true for the CMH team, as the complexity comprised among other things substantial ‘extra’ information about social status, residence, household composition and so on, important subjects in our study (and beyond the pale of the family reconstitution work to be undertaken by the Cambridge team).

Consequently, a more sophisticated than anticipated data structure was devised for the parish register material, which accommodated (in suitable formats) all the information which could be extracted from the registers. Inputting conventions were adopted in order to preserve the information in its original form where appropriate and possible, and a database was built with rigorous constraints to maintain consistent inputting. All of the parish register material that had previously been published by the Harleian Society has been entered into this database, including that for the period when several Cheapside parishes combined (another complexity that needed addressing), leading to approximately 12,000 records of baptisms, marriages and burials, and over 25,000 records of people.

These data have subsequently been checked against the original manuscripts in order to iron out errors that have crept in either as part of the data entry process, or via the transcriptions made for the Harleian volumes. This process has been almost as time consuming as entering the data, but has led to many corrections of material appearing in the Harleian version, and more than 200 vital events
that were missing altogether. The next step, which is now underway, is the entry of the parish register material not published in the Harleian volumes.

The second strand of work undertaken so far has been the design and construction of the project database, intended to accommodate all the material gathered by the project (including that from the parish registers already obtained). This process began with a survey of the sources to be encountered, using the Cheapside parish of All Hallows Honey Lane as a pilot.

One of the significant issues which needed to be addressed was the fact that the project draws upon considerable existing material (both digital and non-digital) that has been gathered during the course of other projects (such as the *Historical Gazetteer of London before the Great Fire. Part I: Cheapside* (ed. D. Keene and V. Harding (1987)). This existing material obviously exists in particular formats, and in many cases the formats are not immediately compatible with the data structures that have been designed for the sources that are being examined by the People in Place (PIP) project.

A further consideration for the design of the main database was that it needed to contain information from a large number of different sources, some dealing with cross-sections of a community (e.g. marriage duty act assessments) and others with individuals (e.g. wills). One of the key aims of the project is to track people and properties across the sources, and consequently the database design needed to maintain these potential connections while at the same time allowing for the very varied types of information that came from the different sources.

After the initial survey of sources for All Hallows Honey Lane was complete, a prototype was built which allowed for a modular approach to the material. It focuses on the core elements of the project (people, properties and relationships), the kind of information common across all the sources, while allowing for the retrieval of all the ‘other’ information unique to the particular sources (e.g. sums assessed in subsidies; arrears owed; lease details; office holding etc.). The database has been constructed, and the majority of the non-parish register material identified for the Cheapside parishes in the whole period has been entered into the database so far.

Currently work is ongoing in a number of areas. The Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure is testing its family reconstitution methods using the checked parish register data from the Harleian volumes for
Fig. 3. An extract from the People in Place database
the Cheapside parishes, in anticipation of receiving the unpublished register material. It is already evident that the reconstitution procedures traditionally employed by the Cambridge team will have to be modified in order to produce analysable results with the Cheapside material.

Alongside this the CMH team are working on retrieving the remaining unpublished material for Cheapside, as well as continuing the ongoing process of re-working the Cheapside Gazetteer data for entry into the PIP database. Work has also begun on extending the narrative histories of the Cheapside properties listed in the Gazetteer. A corollary of this has been an investigation into the administrative boundaries of the Cheapside area, where the relationships between parishes and wards are unclear and variable over time. With a view to geo-referencing much of the project’s data in the future, it is hoped that time taken to understand how these administrative units map to each other will help with the analysis later in the project.

Some preliminary analysis of the data gathered so far is being conducted in order to test the viability of the database design, and to see how the organisation of the material can be improved. Certain measures are already being adopted on the strength of this, including ways of coding one of the most useful sources of the period (the 1695 Marriage Duty Act returns) to facilitate multiple kinds of analysis.

The principal theme currently being addressed is the composition of households in the Cheapside parishes, and the data are being compared with established work on household structures in the period. The results of this analysis are being prepared for incorporation into a paper.
3. COMPARATIVE METROPOLITAN HISTORY

Comparative metropolitan history, supported by the Leverhulme Trust, progressed well in several directions this year. Stefan Goebel completed the second year of his Postdoctoral Fellowship. He finished his work on capital cities during the First World War and made substantial progress with his new research on Coventry and Dresden as ‘commemorative metropolises’ after the Second World War. He also organised a highly-successful international conference on metropolitan catastrophes in the era of total war. This was the first of our conferences to be organised with the support of the Leverhulme Trust and opened up an important new theme in comparative metropolitan history, dealing with cities and warfare in all parts of the world from the late nineteenth to the late twentieth century. Plans to publish a selection of the papers are already underway. Stefan describes these activities more fully below. We are delighted to announce that he was appointed to a lectureship in modern British history at the University of Kent at Canterbury, from September 2004, and look forward to future collaboration with him on metropolitan themes.

As Leverhulme Professor of Comparative Metropolitan History, Derek Keene organised the third Leverhulme Lecture in Comparative Metropolitan History, which was given on 5 May 2004 by Professor Peter Johannek, professor of Westphalian history and director of the Institute for Comparative Urban History at the University of Münster on ‘The idea of the metropolis in medieval Europe: the case of the Holy Roman Empire’. This well-attended occasion stimulated many thoughts about the nature of capital cities and metropolises in medieval Europe, and had special value for a London audience for the insights and up-to-date information that it provided on the importance of Prague. The lecture will be published in Historical Research, the next issue of which will include Derek Keene’s initial lecture in this series.

Much of Derek Keene’s research time this year was devoted to the completion of the new history of St Paul’s Cathedral, of which he was the general editor. This great collective enterprise, involving two co-editors and thirty-nine other contributors was published by Yale University Press in a handsome volume of some 550 pages on 24 April 2004, the feast day of St Mellitus, first bishop of the diocese of London as refounded in 604. St Paul’s has contributed to almost all aspects of London’s history and has had a comparable role in national life. Even this large volume cannot claim to provide an exhaustive account of the cathedral,
Fig. 4. St Paul's Cathedral: view from the west in 1656 (partly reconstructed) showing the west portico, built 1635–42 but left incomplete on the outbreak of Civil War. (Etching by Hollar for W. Dugdale, *The History of St Paul's Cathedral* (London, 1658))
and one of the many interesting features of the work has been the way in which it has raised many new topics for further debate and investigation. Enjoyment of the project was also enhanced by the spirit of warm collaboration between editors, authors, publisher and the Dean and Chapter. It was presumably in connection with this work that the general editor was invited to give an evensong address ‘On Writing Cathedral Histories’ in St Patrick’s Cathedral, Dublin, a city where two cathedral histories are currently in progress.

Derek Keene’s other research and writing during the year developed some of the themes in which he had an established interest and initiated some new ones. The former included writing on the culture of shopping and consumption in thirteenth-century cities, with an emphasis on London and Paris, and further work on the significance of English guilds before 1300. The new themes included a consideration and writing up of ‘Cities and Empires’ (from Karakorum and Edo to New York and Santa Fé) first explored informally in a lecture last year, and a consideration of cultural and other interactions between Italy and London in the late thirteenth century as revealed by the career of a leading lawyer from Bologna who was in England in the service of the king for seven years. Further thoughts on some of these wider ranging themes in metropolitan history were stimulated by his attendance at, and unexpected contribution to, a conference between Japanese and Italian scholars exploring urban history and architecture from a comparative perspective. Towards the end of the year he was able to resume work on his final contributions towards the volume on ‘Cities and cultural exchange in early modern Europe’ arising from the European Science Foundation research programme on cultural exchange. This book should be completed in 2004. During the year he helped develop publication plans for a volume of papers on ‘Segregation, integration and assimilation in the medieval towns of central and eastern Europe’ arising from a conference held in Budapest in 2003.

Plans for future conferences were also made during the year. Most advanced are the arrangements for ‘Unleashing the Archive’ to be held at Senate House on 12 November 2004 and organised in association with The National Archive as part of the celebration of the tenth anniversary of the University of London’s School of Advanced Study in 2004–5. The conference aims to promote cross-disciplinary thinking about the cultural and historical significance of archives, focusing on topics such as the role of archives in the creation of epic stories, the use of archives as legal or other evidence, archives and individual identity and the way in which archives are manipulated both by their keepers and the state. It will include new works by artists who have been active within archives.
A second conference will focus on the role of metropolises in cultural, economic, political and other transfers between Europe, the Americas and perhaps also Africa in the period up to 1800. This idea has been in the air for some time, but will now be pursued in association with the Institute for the Study of the Americas (established within the School of Advanced Study in 2004) as the next Leverhulme conference on metropolitan history, probably to be held in 2006.

In his continuing role as grant-holder for the ‘Markets and Fairs in Thirteenth-Century England’ project, Derek Keene worked with Emilia Jamroziak on that theme, concentrating on the long-term development and survival of the market network (see above, pp.7–10). He also continued in his role as advisor to a doctoral student at the Centre for Advanced Spatial Study (University College London) who is working on a virtual reality model of the evolution of London streets over time, using historical materials. In a similar fashion, he is involved with post-doctoral research at the Institute of Archaeology (University College) into the measurement of the impact of the famine of 1315–17 as revealed by the teeth of those who lived through it and who eventually died in London during the Black Death of 1348–9.

During the year further progress was made with establishing the team of seven authors which is now beginning work on the new seven-volume history of London under the general editorship of Derek Keene.

He gave lectures, conference papers and commentaries in Antwerp, Cortona, Dublin, Gregynog, Harlaxton, London, Rouen, and Venice on a variety of metropolitan themes.
As Leverhulme Postdoctoral Fellow in Comparative Metropolitan History, Stefan Goebel pursued further research in archives in Coventry and Dresden and wrote two chapters (on exhibitions and schools) for a collective volume on *Capital Cities at War: London, Paris and Berlin, 1914–1919* to be published by Cambridge University Press (see below). In addition, he organised an international conference on ‘Metropolitan Catastrophes: Scenarios, Experiences and Commemorations in the Era of Total War’ held on 12 and 13 July 2004. The conference was attended by over 80 delegates and received international press coverage (see ‘Von Blitz und Bomben: Eine Londoner Tagung über Katastrophen in großen Städten’, *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, 31 July 2004).

The 25 papers presented at the conference explored the metropolitan dimension of total war. Total war blurred the boundaries between home and front and transformed cities into battlefields. The logic of total mobilisation turned the social and cultural fabric of urban life upside down. Moreover, large cities and city dwellers became legitimate targets of enemy action and suffered disproportionately from air raids, sieges, genocide, and epidemic diseases in the wake of war. The social upheavals and physical devastation of total war cast a long shadow over the post-war years. Survivors and later generations set out to reconstruct urban life and to search for meaning in the midst of the ruins of their communities.

Keynote lectures were delivered by Anthony Beevor (London) on Stalingrad and Berlin, Professor Jay Winter (Yale) on London, Berlin and Paris in the Great War, Professor Patrice Higonnet (Harvard) on Paris in the age of total war, and Dr Lisa Yoneyama (California, San Diego) on Hiroshima. A full conference report will be published by *H-Soz-u-Kult* in the near future. Stefan Goebel and Derek Keene also intend to publish a volume of conference papers.

The organiser himself presented a paper – entitled ‘Commemorative Cosmopolis: Coventry after 1945’ – based on his research into the cultural history of Coventry and Dresden in the aftermath of near-total devastation in the Second World War. In his paper, Stefan explored Coventry’s international connections, notably the Coventry-Dresden partnership. Unlike other British cities levelled by the Luftwaffe such as Bath, Bristol or even London, Coventry had never been content with simply remembering the air raids within a local framework. Instead it reached out beyond its city walls and national frontiers to negotiate transnationally the meaning of the recent past and its implications.
for the future. Hitherto a provincial city, war-torn Coventry matured into a, if not the, ‘commemorative cosmopolis’ of the post-war era. In the aftermath of the bombing, Coventry became an international symbol around which Coventrians spun a worldwide web of commemorative partnerships.

Capital Cities at War: Exhibitions in London, Paris and Berlin, 1914–1919

Exhibitions for the general public occupied a prominent place in the cityscape and cultural life of Paris, London and Berlin before the First World War. The nineteenth century was the classical age of the metropolitan exhibition. World’s Fairs showcased or juxtaposed countries’ manufacturing and commercial prowess; colonial expositions visualised the fruits of imperial expansion; art galleries prescribed national styles and good taste; and public museums, originating or burgeoning in the nineteenth century, defined and classified the respective nation’s cultural heritage. Although they varied significantly in thematic focus and means of display, all types of exhibitions fulfilled the same basic function: the imposition of order and meaning on objects, signifiers of technology, geography, art and history.

As the exhibition reinforced the established order and reduced the complexities of the modern world and its inheritance within a strictly limited space, it also proved an effective medium for fashioning and disseminating images of modern war for consumption by a civilian audience. Order was a key theme. By carving up this world war in manageable categories and spaces, wartime exhibitions showed that the ongoing conflict had pattern and purpose. Exploring a diverse range of exhibition activities – from patriotic expositions and war landmarks to private collections, national museums and commercial art galleries – this chapter will first chart the proliferation of sites for the display of the war effort and, second, trace the transformation of a quintessential nineteenth-century, metropolitan mode of representation in the era of the Great War.

The history of exhibitions in wartime Paris, London and Berlin reveals a paradoxical trend towards an expansion in the space available for cultural expression in general on the one hand, and a contraction in the field of cultural innovation on the other. All three capitals, although to different degrees and with notable exceptions, saw the rise of propaganda spectacles and war kitsch and the demise of traditional exhibitions and the pre-war avant-garde. While patriotic displays of military achievements and metropolitan solidarity boomed, institutional exhibitions and art galleries struggled often hard for survival. The pressures producing this trend were political and economic, mixing a sense of
government priorities, in which pictorial propaganda was a must but civilian cultural life a luxury, with a sense of shortages, in which the expenditure on galleries and museums was easily sacrificed for more urgent tasks and projects. This was one of the constraints on exhibitions in all three capital cities, largely a product of government policy at the national level.

There was a second force, located in the market, which moved in a similar direction. The grave circumstances of war demanded more serious and sober forms of diversion for the masses. Wartime exhibitions were sites of entertainments that channelled and satisfied the audiences’ desires for cultural consumption. Patriotic expositions, war landmarks and displays of sentimental art became popular – and legitimate – forms of home-front amusement that corresponded with the much discussed ‘seriousness’ of the age. They satisfied a resurgent demand for the spectacular and the beautiful as the boring and ugly war dragged on. By contrast, the market for more experimental, non-figurative art dried up fast as soon as hostilities began, and pushed artists to sell what they could, which was art in older forms. This trend, though, was stronger in London and Paris than in Berlin. Here is market-driven nostalgia, a strategy for artistic survival.

Stefan Goebel’s research (in collaboration with Kevin Repp and Jay Winter) into wartime exhibitions will appear in the second volume of *Capital Cities at War* to be published by Cambridge University Press.
4. BIBLIOGRAPHICAL AND INFORMATION SERVICES

i LONDON’S PAST ONLINE

The first phase of the Centre’s London’s Past Online project, described in last year’s annual report and scheduled to run from May 2002 to September 2004 inclusive, is approaching completion. There are currently 35,961 records in the database, with a further 7,337 unduplicated Royal Historical Society (RHS) Bibliography records tagged as ‘London’ and considered as shared. Over 43,000 records are therefore contained in the London’s Past Online database, about 38,000 of which have been verified and are available online. As always, London’s Past Online is freely available at http://www.history.ac.uk/cmh/lpol/.

New references
This year has seen the addition of references from a number of international bibliographies and for theses completed in the last decade. Retrospective listing of journal articles that are not already covered by the RHS Bibliography has been undertaken using online references from ZETOC and JSTOR where available; those journals that cannot be searched online are being located and consulted ‘in the field’. Throughout the project, Guildhall Library has generously provided listings of new acquisitions each quarter and references from these have been added accordingly. New journals have been scanned upon publication and publishers’ catalogues have been checked for relevant material. Approximately 200 records have been downloaded from the Greater London Authority (GLA) Research Library catalogue, many of which represent ‘grey’ literature concerning developments in the capital that are unavailable elsewhere. The GLA references are also notable in that an abstract is provided online for each record.

Archaeology
Much progress has been made with regard to the inclusion of archaeological references in London’s Past Online. Project staff have been in regular contact with the editors of the British and Irish Archaeological Bibliography (BIAB) to discuss the possibility of importing or providing shared access to their records. The extent of collaboration between London’s Past Online and BIAB will ultimately depend on the latter’s five-year strategic plan, due for finalisation in November 2004. Both parties, however, are confident that technical collaboration and data exchange can be achieved in the near future and, with this in mind, a brief technical report is being compiled to identify best practice for conversion and import procedures for BIAB records. Meanwhile, nearly 5,000 references for journal articles have been successfully imported from the Bibliography of
the Archaeology of Greater London (BAGL) at the Museum of London. These will need editing and subject/place indexing before they can be made available to the public; this work is not accounted for within the project’s current funding allocation but will be considered a priority should an application in the Arts and Humanities Research Board’s next funding round prove successful. Meanwhile, the Archaeology Data Service continues to provide guidance when required.

**Preservation**

Data has been deposited with AHDS History (formerly the History Data Service) as part of the RHS Bibliography deposit, though a separate licence agreement has been agreed for records from London’s Past Online. Meanwhile, an agreement between the RHS Bibliography and London’s Past Online has been drafted to provide clarification of bibliographical co-operation and the sharing of both the data and the computer applications required to support its delivery. The RHS Bibliography has also agreed to continue tagging new London-related records as shared so that London’s Past Online continues to be updated during the hiatus between the first and second phases of the project.

**Delivery**

Project staff continue to investigate ways in which users may exploit information provided through London’s Past Online. Where appropriate, links are increasingly
provided from records to online contents pages and further links to abstracts and full-text articles are intended. Meanwhile, the Institute of Historical Research’s new digital library, British History Online, now provides a search field from which its users can search London’s Past Online directly. Staff of both projects are keen to utilise this technology to deliver results from the London bibliography which connect back to additional sources within British History Online and which facilitate easy transfer of data to personalised ‘bookshelf’ pages created by the user. Further developments regarding interoperability and shared searching form part of the Centre’s future plans for London’s Past Online and are reflected in applications for further project funding.

**Audience**

A number of methods have been employed to measure the value of London’s Past Online to its audience. The project’s ‘site meter’ has recorded over 5,000 visitors to its homepage so far this year, representing users from every continent. Figures for the London’s Past Online search menu are higher, suggesting that many users access the site via the RHS Bibliography or from direct links from other history-related websites, or have simply ‘bookmarked’ the search menu rather than the homepage as the most direct route to the database itself. The quarterly search menu figures for 2004 reveal a steady increase in usage: 2,744 requests for the period 1 April to 30 June inclusive, compared to 2,606 between 1 January and 31 March. Meanwhile, an online questionnaire, linked to the project’s homepage between 16 June and 9 August, has gathered valuable information from users of London’s Past Online that will help to inform strategy for the future development of the resource.

The results of the survey confirm the variety of users’ backgrounds: 20% of respondents are students in higher education, three-quarters of whom are postgraduates; 4% represent schools and further education colleges; 26% are academic or professional researchers or lecturers; 9% are library, archive or museum professionals; 19% are conducting research relating to local, personal or family history, and a further 22% fall into a ‘general interest’ category. Similarly diverse are the subjects upon which users are engaged, the most popular being cultural history (with 40% declaring an interest), economic and social history (39%), local history (38%) and family history (31%). Only 14% of respondents declare a specific interest in archaeology, suggesting that archaeologists and historians continue to rely on separate methods of research within their own fields despite the closeness of the two disciplines. Statistics for user satisfaction are particularly encouraging, with 44% of users responding that they ‘find what they are looking for, and more besides’; 30% saying that they ‘usually’ obtain
satisfactory results’; 22% claiming that they ‘sometimes’ or ‘occasionally’ retrieve useful records and just 4% reporting that they are ‘rarely’ satisfied. Equally pleasing are respondents’ general rating of London’s Past Online: 38% declare the resource excellent; 38% very good; 18% good; 4% satisfactory and only 2% unsatisfactory.

In terms of how London’s Past Online might be improved in future, the survey results present a number of areas for consideration. 61% of respondents would like to see enhanced coverage of local and specialised material (e.g. from London borough libraries, local history societies, museums and other such collections). 21% favour increased coverage of archaeological material and 24% suggest greater access to ‘grey literature’ relating to London history and archaeology (e.g. conservation reports, excavation reports etc). An academic researcher, using London’s Past Online weekly, comments that “it would be particularly useful to expand the archaeological coverage and to develop the (already excellent) local history coverage”, whilst a monthly visitor investigating local and family history requests “more links with outer boroughs’ history”. With regard to developing interoperability, 43% of respondents request greater access to online contents, indexes and abstracts and 42% would like direct access to electronic publications online. 51% feel that links to other websites relating to the history and archaeology of London would enhance their research methods, and 27% would benefit from facilities which allow for simultaneous searching of London’s Past Online and other electronic resources.

**Future**

While the survey results offer much encouragement there must be no room for complacency. London’s Past Online will remain of real value to its diverse audience only if it continues to develop in terms of both the material it records and the means by which that material is delivered. Funds are now being sought for the project’s second phase, for which expanded coverage of archaeological, local and specialised material will be the priority. Meanwhile, the technology will continue to be developed so that users of London’s Past Online can benefit from a range of innovative and creative research strategies.

The Centre’s website contains a listing of current research on London history of all periods. Additions and corrections are welcome.
iii OTHER ACTIVITIES

The Deputy Director prepared two major funding bids and began planning a third. She took part, as usual, in the Institute’s ‘Sources and Methods’ courses and the introductory day for new readers. She gave talks about London sources, and about diaries in particular, at the Institute and to the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society. She attended meetings of the London Archives Regional Council, the Greater London Archives Network and the UK Archival Thesaurus Users’ Group.
APPENDICES

I

ADVISORY COMMITTEE
(Date of membership of Committee given in parentheses)

Chairman

THE DIRECTOR OF THE INSTITUTE (Professor D. Bates, B.A., Ph.D.)

D. BEASLEY, B.A., Librarian, The Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths

J. BOLTON, B.A., B.Litt., F.R.H.S., Professorial Research Fellow, Borromei
Bank Research Project, Queen Mary, University of London (from 1 August
2003)

P. GAUCI, B.A., M.Phil., D.Phil., Fellow and Tutor, Lincoln College, Oxford

L. GOWING, M.A., Ph.D., Reader in Early Modern History, King’s College
London (from 1 August 2003)

A.M. HALMOS, M.A., Director of Public Relations, Corporation of London
(to 31 July 2004)

V.A. HARDING, M.A., Ph.D., Reader in History, Birkbeck, University of London

J. LOHMAN, B.A., M.A., Director of the Museum of London and Professor in
Museum Design, Bergen National Academy of the Arts, Norway (from 1
August 2003)

J.W. MARRIOTT, B.Sc., B.A., Ph.D., Director, Raphael Samuel History Centre,
University of East London (from 1 August 2003)

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 (to 31
July 2004)

J.F. MERRITT, B.A., M.A., Ph.D., Research Fellow and Director, Stuart London
Project, University of Sheffield

of London

J. WHITE, Dip.P.H.I.E.B., Dip. H.M. (Chartered Institute of Housing), Local
Government Ombudsman and Visiting Professor at Middlesex University

L.C. WRIGHT, B.A., Ph.D., Fellow of Lucy Cavendish College and University
Lecturer in English Language, University of Cambridge
II

STAFF OF THE CENTRE

Director: MATTHEW DAVIES, M.A., D.Phil. (Oxford)
Deputy Director (and Editor of Bibliography): HEATHER CREATEON, 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)
Leverhulme Postdoctoral Fellow: STEFAN GOEBEL, M.Phil., Ph.D. (Cambridge)

Research Officer: EMILIA JAMROZIAK, B.A. (Poznan), M.A. (Budapest, CEU; Leeds), Ph.D. (Leeds) (to 31 December 2003)

Views of Hosts: Reporting the alien commodity trade 1440–1445 (from 1 April 2004)
Research Officer: HELEN BRADLEY, B.Sc. Soc. Sci. (Southampton), B.A. (Kent), Ph.D. (London)

People in Place: Families, Households and Housing in Early Modern London (from 1 October 2003)
Researchers (CMH team): MARK MERRY, B.A., M.A., Ph.D. (Kent); PHILIP BAKER, B.A. (London), M.A. (Sheffield)

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

In addition to his interest in the social history of early modern London, PHILIP BAKER is a Research Associate of the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography and has researched and written on the civil war period. He is currently completing an article examining the hostile response to 1640s’ radicalism and is writing a study of the origins and early history of the Levellers. Returning to part-time work after a career break, HELEN BRADLEY’s general
interests are in the later 14th- and early 15th-century commodity trade; particularly the City of London, the role of its alien merchant communities and livery companies and their interdependence on both an institutional and personal level, shipping patterns and the movement of goods, the expanding imports market, and the development of administrative methods to track and record the trading activities of target groups. HEATHER CREATON regularly lectures to student groups about sources for London history. She is also Honorary Secretary of the London Record Society, serves on the London Regional Archives Council and is a member of the Greater London Archives Network and the London Archive Users’ Forum. She also serves on the Council of the Friends of the National Archives.

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. He is a member of the council of the London Record Society and on the editorial board of the journal Cultural and Social History. STEFAN GOEBEL’S main research interests are the cultural history of war. His book The Great War and Medieval Memory: War and Remembrance in Britain and Germany, 1914–1940 will be published by Cambridge University Press. Stefan organised a conference on ‘Metropolitan Catastrophes: Scenarios, Experiences and Commemorations in the Era of Total War’ held at CMH in July 2004. He is now working on a book-length study of Coventry and Dresden in the aftermath of the Second World War. He is also a collaborator in the forthcoming second volume of Capital Cities at War: Paris, London, Berlin 1914–1919. In autumn 2004, he will take up a lectureship in modern British history at the University of Kent at Canterbury.

EMILIA JAMROZIAK’s main area of research is concerned with the interactions between religious institutions and lay communities in the central Middle Ages. She also researches medieval social and economic networks, patronage and reciprocity. DEREK KEENE served as a member of the ‘Urban Panel’ (focusing on problems of urban regeneration) sponsored by the Commission for Architecture and the Built environment and by 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 is a Trustee of the London Journal, general editor of the new history of St Paul’s Cathedral, a core member of the ‘Cities’ team in the European Science Foundation’s programme on ‘Cities and Cultural Exchange’, and a member of the international advisory panel to a Belgian inter-university...
research group on ‘Urban Society in the Low Countries (later Middle Ages–16th century)’.

MARK MERRY’s principal interest lies in the expression of status in late medieval urban communities, and he is currently working on a book examining the formation of the political elite of Bury St Edmunds in the fifteenth century. He also has an interest in the use of digitisation in historical research, and acts as IT consultant on a number of projects covering subjects ranging from early modern clothing to medieval archaeology. Apart from administering the Centre, designing publicity and typsetting publications, 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.

III

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’

IV

POSTGRADUATE STUDENTS


FEONA J. HAMILTON, B.A. (Open), M.Phil. (CNA), M.I.Mgt., ‘The power and influence of the London merchant in the latter half of the thirteenth century, with special reference to the de Rokesley family’ (M.Phil./Ph.D.)
APPENDICES

CONFERENCE AND SEMINAR PAPERS

Heather Creaton:

Matthew Davies:
‘London Online: Digital Initiatives in Metropolitan History’, Humanities Research Institute, University of Sheffield, 18 February 2004

Stefan Goebel:
‘“Hammer sei Deutschland, Amboß der Feind”: Propaganda im Ersten Weltkrieg’, Hagener Vorträge, Historisches Centrum Hagen, 8 October 2003
‘Re-membering the “Sleeping Dead” in Inter-war Britain and Germany’, seminar in Modern European History, Trinity College, Dublin, 15 April 2004
‘Cultural Memory and the Great War: Classicism and Medievalism in British and German War Memorials’, symposium ‘Cultures of Commemoration: War Memorials Ancient and Modern’, British Academy, 16–17 July 2004

Derek Keene:
‘Recovering a lost city: approaches to the study of the architecture and built environment of medieval London’, lecture to the students in the Dottorato d’eccellenza in Storia dell’Architettura at the Fondazione Scuola di Studi Avanzati, Venice, 7 November 2004


‘Cultures of production, consumption and distribution in English cities, 1100–1350’, at the Social History Society Conference, University of Rouen, 9 January 2004

‘On writing cathedral histories’, evensong address, St Patrick’s Cathedral, Dublin, 25 January 2004

‘Specialisation in English towns to 1200’, paper for the Eighth Anglo-American Seminar on Medieval Economy and Society, Gregynog, University of Wales, 2–12 July 2004,

‘Out of the Inferno: an Italian lawyer in the service of Odovardo re de Anglia and his London connections’, Harlaxton Symposium, 21 July 2004


VI

PUBLICATIONS


Derek KEENE, ‘Civic institutions’, in Marks and Williamson, *Gothic Art*, pp. 262–4


Derek KEENE, ‘From conquest to capital: St Paul’s c.1100–1300’, in Keene, Burns and Saint, *St Paul’s*, pp. 17–32

**VII**

**SEMINAR ON METROPOLITAN HISTORY**

October 2003–March 2004

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

‘Locating the early service sector of Leeds: the origins of an office district’, Rachel Unsworth (Leeds)

‘The forgotten majority: German merchant houses in eighteenth-century London’, Margrit Schulte Beerbühl (Heinrich Heine Universität Düsseldorf)

‘Black people in Old Bailey Trials, 1722–1812’, Kathy Chater (Goldsmiths College)

‘The Irish network in London: the case of merchants, 1760–1840’, Craig Bailey (Centre for Metropolitan History)

‘“Going to London”: metropolitan opportunities for suffragettes from the regions’, Krista Cowman (Leeds Metropolitan)

‘The amazing hotel world: nineteenth-century New York hotels and consumer desire’, Barbara Penner (The Bartlett, University College London)

‘An imperial framework: the architecture of the British Raj in India’, Philip Davies (English Heritage)

‘The discovery of London in the early nineteenth century’, John Marriott (Raphael Samuel Centre, University of East London)
‘Capital cities at war: exhibitions in London, Paris and Berlin 1914–18’, Stefan Goebel (Centre for Metropolitan History)
‘A tale of second cities: autonomy, culture and the law in Hamburg and Barcelona in the long nineteenth century’, Maiken Umbach (Manchester)

VIII

SOURCES OF FUNDING

Comparative Metropolitan History: The Leverhulme Trust

Projects: The Arts and Humanities Research Board
The Economic and Social Research Council

The CMH Accounts for the year 1 August 2003–31 July 2004 are published as part of the Accounts of the Institute of Historical Research in the Institute’s Annual Report.