14

The Multi-Centred Metropolis: The Social and Cultural Landscapes of London, 1600–1840

PETER CLARK

'WE MET AND SAW A VARIETY OF PEOPLE who had heads on their shoulders and eyes and legs and arms like ourselves, but in every other respect as different from the race of mortals we meet at the West End of the town . . . as a native of Bengal from a Laplander'. So in the 1790s declared the London alderman George Macaulay of the Borough area of south London. Such views of the fragmentation and division of the metropolis crystallised earlier eighteenth-century comments by Joseph Addison, Sir John Fielding and others, and steadily acquired topographical and economic precision. According to the Franco-American visitor Louis Simond, writing in about 1811:

> The trade of London is carried on in the east part of the town. . . .The west is inhabited by people of fashion, or those who wish to appear such: and the line of demarcation, north and south, runs through Soho Square. [Around this axis] every minute of longitude is equal to as many degrees of gentility minus . . . Those moving west need an income of at least £3000 p.a., preferably £6000; otherwise 'one might be slighted'.[1]

Social and economic division was compounded by apparent political fragmentation —with a stress on individual parishes and districts, their vestries and party associations (rather than the metropolis) as the main stage for political mobilisation—and all this led to a perception by the start of the nineteenth century that London, the wealthiest city in the world, had ceased to function as a metropolitan entity. In Francis Place's words,

> London differs from every other place on the face of the earth. It has no local or particular interest as a town, not even as to politics . . .. Its several boroughs . . . are at a distance from one another and the inhabitants know nothing . . . of the proceedings . . . in any other . . .; London in my time . . . has never moved politically.[2]

[1] W.C. MacKenzie, ed., *The war diary of a London Scot* (Paisley, 1916), pp. 177–8, for the Macaulay quotation; L. Schwarz, 'London, 1700–1840', in P. Clark, ed., *Cambridge Urban History of Britain: vol. II* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 645; L. Simond, *An American in Regency England*, ed. C. Hibbert (London, 1968), pp. 31–2.
[2] Quoted in F. Sheppard, *London, 1801–1870: the infernal wen* (London, 1971), p. 319.

As usual, Place overstated his case: certainly internal divisions were not unique to London. By the early second quarter of the nineteenth century there are growing references to the divided worlds of the rising English industrial towns, places like Manchester and Wolverhampton. In the Georgian era, divisions of some sort are also visible in other capitals of the English-speaking world. At Boston, before the American Revolution, there were great battles between the North and South Ends of the city, as large rival crowds processed through the streets with their 'popes' on the 5th of November. Georgian Dublin likewise had its street fights between different districts of the city.[3] Internal divisions may have reflected in part the ancient multi-centredness of major urban communities; they were also the consequence of growing demographic and spatial size, and economic complexity. But other special factors may have been involved, which contributed in the case of London not only to the internal divisions, but to the apparent loss of coherent metropolitan identity.

Frequently, European towns appear to have been polycentric in origin or to have had a multi-centric dimension. For instance, medieval Durham may have had as many as six initial boroughs or centres.[4] In part, London would seem to fit into this picture, having at least three major institutionalised centres by the later Middle Ages—the City, Westminster and Southwark—together with a penumbra of different liberties and jurisdictions.[5] The Tudor period saw conflicting developments: on the one hand, there was the limited extension of city control over some of the liberties; on the other, the rapid expansion of new suburban districts around Westminster and, to a lesser extent, in the parishes east of the Tower. In a pioneering essay in 1978 Michael Power suggested as that as early as the mid-seventeenth century, the East and West of London were already developing as quite different worlds in terms of their physical environment and the wealth, status and quality of life of their residents. But recent work by Laurence Manley has emphasised how in the outpouring of literature from the Elizabethan period—plays, satires, sermons, ballads, chronicles, verse and so on— there was a continuing, indeed enhanced, sense of London identity embracing the new districts. 'The potentially disturbing topographical emphasis on spatial divisions and partitions was, according to Manley, subjected to ideologies of unified order'. London was heroised in mythic terms, was conceived as an ideal shape, linked by its sinuous river, the different parts, notably the City and Westminster, increasingly convergent in social and cultural terms. Royal pageants and civic rituals, such as the lord mayor's show,

---

[3] J.P. Kay, *The moral and physical condition of the labouring poor in Manchester* (Manchester, 1832); R. Parkinson, *On the present condition of the labouring poor in Manchester* (Manchester, 1841); information on Wolverhampton from John Smith. G.B. Nash, *The urban crucible: the Northern seaports and the origins of the American Revolution* (abridged edn, London, 1986), pp. 164–5; *Daily Gazetteer*, 10 July 1736; *Read's Weekly Journal*, 5 May 1733.

[4] A. Verhulst, 'Towns and trade, 400–1500', in R.A. Butlin and R.A. Dodgshon, eds, *An historical geography of Europe* (Oxford, 1998), pp. 104–5; M. Bonney, *Lordship and the urban community: Durham and its overlords, 1250–1540* (Cambridge, 1990), ch. 1.

[5] Cf. G. Rosser, *Medieval Westminster* (Oxford, 1989); M. Carlin, *Medieval Southwark* (London, 1996).

demarcated this wider metropolitan space, while the comedies and romances of the Jacobean period and the Caroline masques conflated City, Court and landed themes.[6]

The Civil War period, when the whole capital was girdled by a circuit of military defences, may have marked the high point of the conception of an integrated metropolitan identity. Of the many thousand pamphlets printed in London during the English Revolution and interregnum and which form the Thomason Collection at the British Library, only a small proportion include any kind of metropolitan designation. But virtually all of these refer to London and hardly any either to Westminster or Southwark, even less to any of the new areas of the expanding capital. There were London panegyrics: Dudley, Lord North published in 1659 his poem 'Metropolis' which lauded:

> London the firmament where ever star
> Of magnitude, of power and virtue moves.

Metropolitan praise continued to be heard after the Restoration, not least when London was compared to continental capitals. By the eighteenth century, however, the literary *reportage* of the capital was much more critical. Satires, novels and poems—by Ward, Defoe, Pope, Jenner, Fielding, Smollett and others—emphasised the disintegration, pollution, disorder and alienation of the metropolitan scene. London was often described in literary depictions as if from a fast moving carriage—individual streets or places are named with little reference to their topographical location or to one another. Key characters in novels have distinct, barely overlapping itineraries as they hurry about the capital.[7]

The Great Fire of 1666 may have marked a watershed in the evolution of the metropolis. As Dr Wall has suggested, many of the poems and other works written in the immediate aftermath of the fire are notable for their images of loss, of dislocation, of the breakdown of social connection. The enforced exodus of so many residents and the long drawn-out rebuilding process created a sense of spatial disorientation and neighbourhood erosion in the old City, while the displacement of shops and trades to the suburbs ratchetted up metropolitan sprawl. By the 1680s suburban expansion, not only to the east and west but also to some extent to the north and to the south of the Thames, towered over the old city within the walls—in population size by a ratio of

[6] M.J Power, 'The east and west in early-modern London', in E.W. Ives *et al.*, eds, *Wealth and power in Tudor England* (London, 1978), pp. 167–85; L. Manley, *Literature and culture in early modern England* (Cambridge, 1995), p. 125 *et passim*; quotation at p. 144.

[7] Manley, *Literature and culture*, pp. 53–4, 485; G.K. Fortescue, *Catalogue of the pamphlets, books, newspapers and manuscripts relating to the Civil War collected by George Thomason, 1640–1661* (London, 1908); C. Wall, *The literary and cultural spaces of Restoration London* (Cambridge, 1998), p. 133 *et seq.*; P. Slack, 'Perceptions of the metropolis in 17th-century England', in P. Burke, B. Harrison and P. Slack, eds, *Civil histories: essays presented to Sir Keith Thomas* (Oxford, 2000), p. 168; M. Byrd, *London transformed: images of the city in the 18th century* (New Haven, 1978), chs. 1–3; R. Williams, *The country and the city* (London, 1973), p. 143; E. Copeland, 'Remapping London: Clarissa and the woman in the window', in M.A. Doody and P. Sabor, eds, *Samuel Richardson: tercentenary essays* (Cambridge, 1989), ch. 4.

three to one.[8] Not all the old City-centred identifications were sundered. Work on several London guild companies has recently argued strongly for the continuity of guild authority and supervision in the new suburbs into the late seventeenth century. Underpinning this was a sense of identification and mutual interest between suburban guild members and the City-based companies. However, it is difficult to be sure whether this was true for all guilds after the Restoration, and certainly by the early eighteenth century attempts at guild supervision had been abandoned.[9]

There is other evidence which may be helpful in charting changing perceptions of London identity. An important new genre of urban recognition in the early modern period comprised town histories, of which well over two hundred had been printed by 1820. Leading the way was John Stow's *Survey of London*, encompassing both the City and its suburbs, which first appeared in 1598, with further editions in 1603 and (after Stow's death) in 1618, 1633, 1694 and in 1720, the new editions attempting to cover the enlarged metropolis.[10] Other histories of London followed the same model, with Maitland's monumental volumes in 1739, and works by Entick in 1766, Noorthouk in 1773 and Harrison in 1775. During the Georgian period, however, one has a growing sense that the old format was on its last legs, unable to cope with the scale and complexity of the capital, though further works appeared, including those by Lambert (in four volumes) in 1806, David Hughson (in six volumes) in 1806–9, and Thomas Allen in 1827–9. Allen was a professional local historian, writing on other parts of the country too, and his four-volume work on the capital was typically hackneyed and uninspired. Aside from a few introductory pages on metropolitan development in the third volume, his account is heavily geared to recycling material on the city of London, its institutions and wards, and on Southwark—material with which Stow would have been comfortable. Little is said about the large new suburbs of the early nineteenth-century capital.[11]

One of the problems facing the historian of the Georgian metropolis was not just the growing complexity of the capital, but the belated advent of work on the suburbs which could be mined or plagiarised. The respected antiquary John Nichols published *The History and Antiquities of the Parish of Lambeth in the County of Surrey* in 1786,

---

[8] Wall, *Literary and cultural spaces*, ch. 1, p. 77; R. Finlay and B. Shearer, 'Population growth and suburban expansion', in A.L. Beier and R. Finlay, eds, *London, 1500–1700* (London, 1986), p. 45; J. Boulton, 'London, 1540–1700', in Clark, ed., *Cambridge Urban History*, p. 317.

[9] J. Ward, *Metropolitan communities: guilds, identity and change in early modern London* (Stanford, 1997); for a critique of Ward, see Ian Archer, chapter 8 (above); also I.W. Archer, *The history of the Haberdashers' Company* (Chichester, 1991), esp. ch. 7.

[10] J. Stow, *A survey of London*, ed. C.L. Kingsford (Oxford, 1908).

[11] W. Maitland, *History of London* (London, 1739, 1756, 1760, 1769, 1772, 1775); J. Entick, *A new and accurate history and survey of London, Westminster, Southwark...* (4 vols, London, 1766); J. Noorthouk, *A new history of London ...* (London, 1773); W. Harrison, *A new and universal history ... of the Cities of London and Westminster, the Borough of Southwark ...* (London, 1775); B. Lambert, *The history and survey of London and its environs* (4 vols, London, 1806); D. Hughson, *London: being an accurate history and description of the British metropolis* (6 vols, London, 1806–9); T. Allen, *The history and antiquities of London, Westminster, Southwark* (4 vols, London, 1827–9).

but this was largely confined to an account of the parish church and had little on other institutions or activities (apart from Vauxhall gardens), even though Lambeth had a population of more than 13,000 inhabitants by this time.[12]

Most of the new suburban histories appeared after 1800. Many were written for outer districts and frequently referred to the subject community as a village or hamlet, even though it might already have housed a population greater than that of a major provincial town. Usually there was only the barest reference to the metropolis. Fairly typical was the lawyer William Robinson's *History and Antiquities of the Parish of Stoke Newington* (1820) which began by noting that 'villages in the immediate vicinity of the metropolis possess peculiar sources of topographical interest'. He then went on to remark that 'in these busy and populous districts [there is] a frequent change of inhabitants' with many of the new arrivals 'those most elevated in rank'. To such prospective readers Robinson appealed with a parish history which mixed conventional antiquarian material on the manor and church with reports of the latest improvements. There was clearly a demand for such works from affluent, socially mobile Londoners, moving out to the suburbs, who wanted to distance themselves from the capital as such: Robinson also wrote similar histories of Tottenham, Edmonton and Enfield.[13]

At the same time, the new suburban histories rarely had a discrete community focus. The commercial imperative to maximise sales, as well as the complex evolution of communities on the ground, meant that coverage was often extended to neighbouring settlements. Thus Thomas Allen's history of Lambeth (1827) included Kennington, Vauxhall and Brixton, while Thomas Faulkner's volume on Fulham incorporated sections on Hammersmith and Waltham Green. Subscription lists show this wider appeal: Faulkner's *Historical and Topographical Description of Chelsea and its Environs* (1810) attracted numerous subscribers from outside the district.[14]

The new suburban histories further illuminate the way that even ancient communities within the metropolitan orbit began to fragment under the relentless pressure of urban expansion. John Nelson's work on Islington published in 1811 draws attention to the communal activities of this 'village' of 14,000 people: its network of public houses, Society of True Britons, parish charity school and Dissenting chapels. But he also notes how the Loyal Islington Volunteers formed in the 1790s was not a local group but was joined by 'many gentlemen from the City and adjacent parishes', which may have contributed to the disputes which led to the Volunteers' collapse. Likewise, public houses such as the Highbury Barn and the Eel Pie House were becoming places of 'great

---

[12] J. Nichols, *The history and antiquities of the Parish of Lambeth in the County of Surrey* (London, 1786).

[13] W. Robinson, *The history and antiquities of the Parish of Stoke Newington* (London, 1820), pp. viii–ix *et passim*; W. Robinson, *The history and antiquities of the Parish of Tottenham High Cross* (London, 1818); W. Robinson, *The history and antiquities of the Parish of Edmonton* (London, 1819).

[14] T. Allen, *The history and antiquities of the Parish of Lambeth . . .* (London, 1827), chs. 8, 11–12; T. Faulkner, *An historical and topographical account of Fulham* (London, 1813), chs. 9–10; T. Faulkner, *An historical and topographical description of Chelsea and its environs* (London, 1829), vol. 1, p. viii *et seq.*

resort' for the middle and lower classes from across London. By the time Thomas Smith produced his history of the parish of St Marylebone in 1833 the ancient parish unit, which had been well served by its select vestry in the late eighteenth century, was starting to unravel. As well as the new parish church erected in 1817, four new district churches had been built and several district National Schools established. The parish also had several medical dispensaries which not only looked after their own local poor but cared for those from neighbouring parishes. Parliamentary reform in 1832 complicated the communal picture further, since the new borough of St Marylebone also incorporated the parishes of St Pancras and Paddington.[15]

Cartography further illustrates the way that maintaining a sense of metropolitan identity became increasingly difficult by the eighteenth century. While Tudor and Stuart maps of London tend to cover both the city and its nascent suburbs, they were mainly pictorial bird's-eye views with limited topographical accuracy. During the Civil War map-making became more accurate, but it was in the post-Restoration period that production took off—delineating in detail the burgeoning metropolis. Very soon, however, the scale of the capital confronted map-makers, ever eager to produce more technically advanced and detailed plans, with near-insoluble problems. John Rocque's map of London in 1746 used a scale of 200 feet to an inch and represented streets, alleys and principal buildings. The map was 13 feet by 6 feet 6 inches (4×2 metres) and was sold in 24 separate sheets. Though intended as a guide to the street traveller, the map was so large as to be virtually useless for getting around the capital. On the other hand, the smaller-scale maps of London which continued to appear suffered from a lack of precision and clarity which made them even less useful. From the turn of the seventeenth century a growing number of local printed maps of different parts of the capital appeared: thus Gascoigne's survey of St Dunstan's Stepney (1703) and related maps of Tower Hamlets, Bethnal Green and Limehouse about this time; also Prat's map of Marylebone about 1708, a map of Chelsea about 1717 and other local maps in Strype's 1720 edition of Stow. The coverage however was patchy and incomplete. By 1800 only a minority of London parishes had maps and in numerous instances these covered only a portion of the community. The first detailed ordnance survey maps of London were not produced until the 1840s.[16]

Directories were an equally vital aid for exploring an ever expanding metropolis, supplying the addresses of better-off individuals, traders and professional men.

---

[15] J. Nelson, *The history, topography and antiquities of Islington* (London, 1811), pp. 5, 121–2, 144–5, 155–6, 158; T. Smith, *A topographical and historical account of the Parish of St Mary-le-Bone* (London, 1833), pp. 89 *et seq.*, 194 *et seq.*, 276 *et seq.*

[16] Wall, *Literary and cultural spaces*, pp. 80–9; Slack, 'Perceptions of the metropolis', pp. 171–2; M. Ogborn, *Spaces of modernity: London's geographies, 1680–1780* (New York, 1998), pp. 28, 30–2; J.G. Crace, *A catalogue of maps, plans and views of London, Westminster and Southwark: collected and arranged by Frederick Crace* (London, 1878); J. Howgego, *Printed maps of London, c.1553–1850* (Folkestone, 1978). I am grateful for advice and help to Ralph Hyde and also to my student Mr Yuji Shirata. W.A. Seymour, ed., *A history of the Ordnance Survey* (Folkestone, 1980), pp. 52–3, 71, 120.

London's first directory dates from 1677 and was a manageable 60 or so leaves. By the 1730s the format was well established with 'an alphabetical list of the names and abodes of the directors of companies, persons in public business, merchants and other eminent traders in the cities of London, and Westminster and Borough of Southwark'. The essential principle remained largely unchanged over the next century, despite the gargantuan extension of the metropolitan area. In the early nineteenth century, London directories, in some cases over 400 pages long, usually included an alphabetical street listing (with names by street), a commercial and professional directory, a trade directory and a Court directory. But there was no attempt to sub-divide the metropolitan space in a meaningful way. Here directories offered continuing conventional recognition of the metropolis but an increasingly ineffectual instrument for accessing it.[17]

Even the post-office directories which appeared from 1801 failed to offer any rubric for sub-dividing the capital, probably reflecting the Post Office's own inability to grapple with the complexities of the metropolis. According to Rowland Hill in 1837, the slowness of the postal service in London was due to the continuing 'attempt to treat so enormous a place as a single town', and he proposed instead that it 'be divided into ten great districts each of which would be treated as a single town'. Rowland was somewhat unfair since the Post Office had organised divisional districts as early as 1752. But the cake-slice arrangement by which four of the six offices (including the chief post office in Threadneedle St) were centred in the City, and the two others in Westminster and Southwark, each having large tranches of suburbs attached to them, was ill designed to meet the avalanche of metropolitan expansion.[18]

Other forms of representing the capital and its identity were also affected by the inexorable urban expansion. Topographical images of London in the form of paintings, drawings and prints are especially valuable, and here we can use the important new computerised database of visual material (Collage) at the Guildhall Library and Art Gallery in London.[19] The set of extant images for the period before the Civil War is small and statistical analysis is hardly meaningful. However, one finds that a significant proportion of the collected images (about a fifth) comprise panoramas depicting the old City, Westminster and early suburbs. After 1640 visual representations multiplied. Sample periods have been taken—from the mid-seventeenth century to the early nineteenth—and the images have been analysed (see Tables 14.1–2) in two ways: firstly, for their topographical coverage, and secondly for their subject content (interiors, public private and commercial building, street scenes, and so on). Any analysis of this kind is fraught with difficulty. The collection, though large, is not complete nor

[17] C.W.F. Goss, *The London directories, 1677–1855* (London, 1932), p. 37; cf. *The Directory . . .* (London, 1736); *Kent's Directory* (48th edn, London, 1780); *Robson's London Directory for 1835* (London, 1835). The first directory for London suburbia seems to have been *Kelly's Directory: London suburbs* (London, 1860).

[18] Cf. *The Post Office London Directory* (London, 1799); M.J. Daunton, *Royal Mail: the Post Office since 1840* (London, 1985), pp. 38, 46.

[19] GL, Collage Collection; I am grateful to Jeremy Smith at the Guildhall for his advice on the holdings.

Table 14.1. Topographical images of London, 1640–1830: areas.*

	1640–60	1700–20	1760–80	1820–30
	As % of data-set			
City	64.7	57.6	38.4	35.2
Westminster	14.1	27.2	24.5	10.7
Southwark	5.9	2.0	2.5	15.6
Other inner suburbs	2.4	2.6	6.8	18.2
Outer suburbs	1.2	5.3	9.0	9.5
Periphery	0.0	5.3	18.5	10.7
Metropolis	11.7	0.0	0.3	0.1
Number of images	85	151	367	1,708

Source: Collage database of images, Guildhall Library and Art Gallery, London.

*Areas are categorised using the map of London parishes in P. Clark, ed., *Cambridge Urban History of Britain: Vol. II* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 646. 'Other inner suburbs' are principally: Clerkenwell, Stepney, St Luke Old Street, Shoreditch, Bethnal Green, Bermondsey, Newington, Lambeth, Spitalfields, Mile End New Town, Shadwell, Ratcliff. 'Outer suburbs' are principally: St Marylebone, Paddington, St Pancras, Islington, Hackney, Bow, Bromley, Poplar, Rotherhithe, Deptford, Camberwell, Battersea, Clapham, Chelsea, Kensington. 'Periphery' represents other metropolitan parishes not covered by the map.

comprehensive; for institutional and historic reasons it may well be weighted towards City images. Topographical attribution can be misleading; allocation into categories is not always easy, with some images covering two or more areas. A single artist working prolifically in a certain district or on a particular subject may distort the figures, though this is less of a problem with the more robust samples for the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

Despite these problems, the findings are interesting and informative. In the mid-seventeenth-century period the great majority of images were focused on the City, with only a relatively small number for Westminster and the other suburban areas (see Figures 14.1–2). There were still, however, a significant number of panoramic views, portraying the wider metropolis. Views of public buildings (both exteriors and interiors) dominate the content. By the first decades of the eighteenth century metropolitan expansion—and in particular the rise of Westminster as a large and fashionable aristocratic cantonment—is starting to have a significant impact on the visual representation of the capital (see Figure 14.3). Firstly, panoramas of London become increasingly difficult to produce (though smaller, partial panoramas continue) and output is devoted to specific areas. Here Westminster—with its many wealthy patrons—is starting to catch up with the City, though other districts are less in evidence. The changing balance between London and Westminster is displayed a couple of decades later in Canaletto's partial-panoramic paintings of London scenes, where the City frequently appears only in the distance as a backcloth to Whitehall or Westminster (see Frontispiece). In terms of content, there is a continuing emphasis on public buildings, reflecting the wave of

Table 14.2. Topographical images of London, 1640–1830: content.

	1640–60	1700–20	1760–80	1820–30
	As % of data-set			
Interiors: public	38.1	6.8	5.8	9.3
Interiors: private	0.0	0.0	4.5	2.6
Public buildings	38.1	70.9	43.7	37.2
Commercial building	2.3	2.0	7.0	14.3
Private houses	0.0	8.8	12.6	8.7
Street etc.	4.8	5.4	12.8	14.2
Other open space	1.2	0.0	7.5	5.4
Thames	1.2	1.4	3.3	5.5
Partial panoramas	3.6	4.7	2.5	2.7
Panoramas	10.7	0.0	0.3	0.1
Number of images	111	148	398	1,722

Source: Collage database of images, Guildhall Library and Art Gallery, London.

church-building in the City after the Great Fire and in the wider metropolis after the Churches Act of 1711, as well as the general spread of improvement in London's public infrastructure.[20]

By the early decades of George III's reign, the mounting decentralisation of the capital is clearly represented. The City and Westminster still predominate but other suburban districts, including the outer suburbs like Marylebone, Islington and Chelsea, and even peripheral areas including urbanising villages by the Thames, are attracting greater artistic attention (see Figure 14.4). Again, public buildings are starting to figure less prominently in the content (despite the continuance of public improvement), and instead there is greater emphasis on new commercial premises, often linked to retailing or the new sociability (theatres, pleasure gardens and voluntary societies), as well as on private houses and street scenes.

The broad trend established in the late eighteenth century persists into the early nineteenth century. In terms of visual location, the City continues to lose importance, though more surprisingly Westminster also sees fewer images, perhaps because at least some of its weathier inhabitants are decamping for the less congested and less polluted outer and peripheral suburbs, like Richmond (see Figures 14.5–6). Southwark and the other south bank districts benefit from the construction of new bridges across the Thames and massive residential growth. In respect to content, commercial buildings are strongly represented, with private houses and street-scenes and other open spaces attracting attention. River scenes are boosted by the building of the great new docks east of the Tower (see Figure 14.7).

[20] J. Links, *Townscape painting and drawing* (London, 1972), p. 201 *et seq.*; J. Summerson, *Georgian London* (London, 1962), esp. chs. 6, 8, 9.

Overall, the pattern of visual representation provided by the Collage images illustrates a metropolitan picture of increasing fragmentation, localisation and commercialisation. Much of this process can be seen from another perspective when we look at the development of one of the key elements of the new public sociability in early modern London. During the English Revolution a major new form of social organisation arrived in the capital—the club or society. By the early Georgian era a thousand or so such associations held their meetings in London, comprising sixty to seventy different types. Among the earliest kinds were regional societies, principally county feast societies. In the 1650s London had at least ten such societies bringing together merchants, gentry and others from a particular shire, undertaking charitable work and banging the drum of local pride. Londoners were not to be left out. In 1656 Thomas Horton preached to a meeting of the native citizens of London at St Paul's praising the capital's commitment to piety and charity. Further meetings were held over the next two years and briefly at the end of the century. Londoners abroad followed suit: the swamp-ridden town of Jamestown in Virginia held a so-called cockney feast in 1684, as did Bridgetown in Barbados for a number of years, with a church sermon, procession and feast, the latter lubricated by oceans of liquor and the repeated firing of guns until midnight. Already in the 1650s, however, Londoners appear to have been ambivalent about their feast society and none of these celebrations of metropolitan identity continued much after 1700.[21]

Instead, we discover in the 1670s the emergence of district or parish societies in London. One of the oldest and longest-lived was the Stepney Society, which met for the first time in 1674, initially called the cockney feast. Others included societies of Natives of St Martin in the Fields and St Giles Cripplegate. All celebrated the local area through processions, feasts and the provision of charity and apprenticeships to local boys. The Stepney Society continued well into the eighteenth century, sustained by fashionable Admiralty and then City patronage, but the other associations had a more limited career. This may be because the early eighteenth century saw a great flowering of more informal social, political, religious and other clubs at the parish and neighbourhood level in different parts of the metropolis, including many of the new suburban districts. Such organisations may have built on older traditions of neighbourly and local socialising and solidarity, rooted in those villages which were increasingly enveloped by the metropolis.[22]

Increasingly, however, societies served to delineate new local identities and none were more important here than bell-ringing societies, which often played a significant part in the community through heavily contested ringing matches against other places (with heavy gambling), and through feasts, processions and upper-class patronage.

---

[21] P. Clark, *British clubs and societies, 1580–1800: the origins of an associational world* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 58, 89, 275–80, 301; T. Horton, *Zion's birth-register* (London, 1656).
[22] Clark, *British clubs*, pp. 56, 285–6; *The rules and orders of the Stepney Society* (London, 1759).

London had several of the earliest ringing societies like the Scholars of Cheapside (1604) and the Society of College Youths, which appear to have enjoyed city wide following, as did a number of early eighteenth-century bands such as the London Scholars (1717), Union Scholars (1713) and Eastern Scholars (1733). That same decade William Laughton, a clockmaker from Moorfields, set up a Rambling Club of Ringers which agreed to ring all the peals within the city of London and bills of mortality, in one of many excursions in the metropolis going to Hackney church:

> [which] stands encompassed with such delightful ground,
> there's orchards, gardens and cornfields . . .
> No better in England can be found

So Laughton rhymed, in his verse history of the society. But by the mid-eighteenth-century, suburban ringing societies were making a major appearance, among them the Fulham Youths, Twickenham Scholars, Mortlake Society and Richmond Society. Though parish based, the new groups did not confine their activities there, but like Laughton's band often went ringing in other places across the capital.[23]

The most numerous of London associations in our period were the freemasons. In 1717 the Grand Lodge of Modern Masons was established in an alehouse near St Paul's; and here at least associational life across the metropolis had some degree of central leadership, regular meetings of grand lodge and other key committees being attended by lodge representatives from across the London area. In 1725 there were 60 London Modern lodges; by 1740, 113; and in 1778, 137. Individual lodges based in public houses recruited largely from the locality and were an important focus for social networking and conviviality there, as well as linking up with other lodges in the area for socialising and good works. Local lodges put up strong resistance to the Modern Grand Lodge's attempts to increase its control of the movement. One result was the schism in freemasonry in 1751 and the establishment in the capital of a rival Ancient order, with wider artisan appeal. Another sign of local autonomy was the strong London opposition to the proposed incorporation of freemasonry in the 1760s and early 1770s. Localism was also reflected in the highly variegated pattern of masonry on the ground in the capital. In 1740 nearly half of all London Modern lodges were concentrated in the old City with another third in west London; less than a fifth were found in the East End and only one south of the river. By 1778, the decline of the old city was affecting the picture. Now nearly half of all Modern lodges in London were located in the West End, against a third in the City and only 7 per cent in the East End and 12 per cent in south London. By 1800 the new Ancient Order was busy recruiting support in the East End. Here it is arguable that the differential geography of masonry not only reflected social

---

[23] Clark, *British clubs*, pp. 48, 72; E. Morris, *The history and art of change ringing* (London, 1931), pp. 81–2, 89–90 *et passim*; GL, MS 254; quotation at p. 14 of MS 254.

and demographic trends in the capital, but confirmed and accentuated those divisions through different patterns of social networking.[24]

There is then considerable, if sometimes cryptic, evidence to suggest growing social and cultural fragmentation in the capital by the late eighteenth century. One can see this perhaps in another way. Despite the surge of societies at the end of the eighteenth century and the growing national trend to put place names in club titles, only a small number of London societies actually did this. Yet it is also striking that only a handful of societies start to assume district labels before 1800.[25] Does this mean that there was often only a limited, inarticulate sense of community at the local level? More straws point in that direction. Despite the tremendous growth of newspaper production and circulation in the later eighteenth century, the London newspapers (in large measure national and international journals) almost monopolised the field (those eighteenth-century papers with a local name, like the *Westminster Journal* or *St James Chronicle*, were indistinguishable from the rest of the metropolitan press). Only in the 1830s was there the emergence of a significant sub-metropolitan press, with Woolwich and Greenwich leading the way. Again the stagnation of the Stow-type model of metropolitan historiography failed to cause a surge of local histories in the capital: as we have seen, the first main wave of suburban histories did not arrive until about the 1810s.[26]

Our evidence is fragmentary, but, overall, one has the impression that by 1700 there was a major erosion and diminution of a sense of London identity, with growing social and cultural fragmentation across the capital. In part at least the explanation is obvious: the spectacular demographic expansion of the metropolis—from 75,000 soon after the Reformation to nearly a million inhabitants at the end of the eighteenth century and over two millions by 1841. In consequence, the capital increasingly encompassed a whole series of old and new sub-metropolitan communities of varying degrees of coherence. Some of these communities soared in scale over all but the biggest provincial towns: in 1801 Marylebone had 63,000 inhabitants, Whitechapel 57,000, Greenwich 42,000, Stepney 35,000 and Lambeth 28,000. In contrast, the old City had only 64,000 inhabitants and that figure was falling. The conurbation increasingly resembled a doughnut with a growing hole.[27]

Demographic expansion was accompanied, as John Landers has demonstrated, by some measure of demographic differentiation: mortality rates, linked to patterns of immigration, varied across the capital. Yet one should be cautious about thinking of distinct demographic *quartiers* for most of our period, certainly in terms of migration. Native newcomers seem to have fanned out across the capital. There were no distinct migrant districts with their own networks, drinking houses, shops and so on, catering

---

[24] Clark, *British clubs*, pp. 308–9, 315, 340–2; for more on Georgian freemasonry, see A.S. Frere, ed., *Grand Lodge, 1717–1967* (Oxford, 1967).
[25] Data-base of British Clubs and Societies.
[26] *Tercentenary handlist of English and Welsh newspapers, magazines and reviews* (London, 1966), p. 63 *et passim*.
[27] Boulton, 'London, 1540–1700', p. 316; Census, 1801.

for newcomers from particular countries or regions such as one finds for Bretons or the Auvergnais in eighteenth-century Paris. Ethnic migrants may have had favoured areas, such as the Huguenots in Spitalfields or the Scots around Covent Garden, but these seem to have been relatively short-lived and only the Irish created distinct ghetto districts in later Georgian London.[28]

Spatially, the growth was both momentous and indigestible. In Elizabeth's reign the built-up area of the capital stretched about two miles (3 km) east to west, but was much less north–south; by the 1760s the east–west distance was four miles (6.4 km), and north–south about two; by the 1830s it had risen to nearly six miles (9.6 km) east–west and up to nine miles (14.4 km) north–south. This contrasted with the relative compactness of Paris in the same period.[29] Even allowing for the fact that Georgian Londoners probably walked faster than their Tudor forebears, the density of occupation and the mounting volume of traffic and pollution meant that travel across the capital was increasingly time-consuming. The usually amiable Mary Delany complained in 1736 that 'above half a day must be spent in the streets going from one place to another'. Arriving in the imperial capital, the American John Dickenson talked of being lost 'in the strangest forest . . . surrounded with noise, dirt, and bustle . . . [and] the vast extent of the city'. Already in the 1760s members of smart London clubs were bemoaning the time involved trailing to meetings in the old City, whilst the glitterati of Westminster were equally reluctant to pay visits to friends on the metropolitan outskirts.[30]

Demographic and spatial fragmentation was compounded by economic and social differentiation, as one can see from other chapters in this volume: the growth of a fashionable well-off residential town in the West End, with high-quality crafts and retailing, the expansion of the port and all its ancillary industries in the poorer east, the emergence of larger-scale industries on the south bank. But such developments were only a tendency: economic and social segregation was muted, blurred for much of our period. The later Stuart East End, according to Power, also included the relative respectability of the planned town of Shadwell. Maitland's enumeration of economic services in the 1730s reveals the widespread infiltration of retail shops and drinking premises across the metropolis, with differences between areas not simply linked to patterns of demand but also to competition and probably administrative controls. For the late eighteenth century, Leonard Schwarz has shown how the lower end of the 'comfortable' middle

[28] J. Landers, *Death and the metropolis* (Cambridge, 1993), ch. 8. P. Clark and D. Souden, eds, *Migration and society in early modern England* (London, 1987), pp. 274–5; D. Roche, *The people of Paris* (Leamington, 1987), pp. 29–30.

[29] B. Weinreb and C. Hibbert, eds, *The London encyclopaedia* (London, 1993), pp. iv–v; J. Grant, *The great metropolis* (New York, 1837; repr. London, 1985), vol. I, p. 2; Roche, *People of Paris*, p. 14.

[30] Lady Llanover, ed., *The autobiography and correspondence of Mary Granville, Mrs Delany: 1st series* (London, 1861), pp. 553–4; H.T. Colbourn, 'A Pennsylvania farmer at the Court of King George . . .', *Pennsylvania Magazine*, 86 (1962), 253; A. Spencer, ed., *Memoirs of William Hickey* (London, 1918), vol. II, pp. 314–15; *Letters and journals of Lady Mary Coke* (repr. Bath, 1970), vol. II, pp. 158, 245, 295.

class was fairly evenly spread over the capital, while David Green in his analysis of probate wills suggests that there were only limited spatial differences in the geography of wealthier testators about 1800 (with the notable exception of the South Bank), though such differences increased in subsequent decades.[31]

Administrative factors also contributed to declining metropolitan identity and the process of local fragmentation. The refusal of the City fathers in the 1630s to accept the Crown's offer of jurisdiction over the new suburbs was a decisive moment in the history of London government. Though the City may have managed to retain guild control over some suburban trades before 1700, and its jurisdiction over the Thames and London markets lasted longer, metropolitan governance was increasingly devolved. As Joanna Innes argues above in chapter 4, this did not necessarily make for weak or inefficient government in the early modern context,[32] but it did lead to a kaleidoscope of administrative domains—parochial, voluntaristic, commercial and governmental—all of which tended to forge their own spaces and identities, our concern here.

Parish vestries made much of the running. By the early eighteenth century a number of those in the western suburbs had developed a strong bureaucratic mechanism for controlling poor relief and settlement, and the introduction of closed vestries (as at St Marylebone) enabled an increasingly professional management of community business. In some parishes, vestries promoted a measure of local identity, but the picture was hardly uniform. Some parishes, such as St Pancras which retained an open vestry, were strife-torn and vestries could be the focus for local division rather than cohesion. Even where parish administration worked reasonably well there was a fundamental limitation, at least in the wealthier districts: the largely detached relationship with the local economic and political élite. Nobles, gentry and prosperous professional men, despite residing in town for much of the year, took only an occasional, sporadic part in vestry governance, usually when their own private interests were threatened. Most of the time they probably saw themselves as having no clear urban affiliation or district identification.[33]

Not that parish vestries had a monopoly of local administrative initiative. Though the first London and Westminster improvement act was passed in 1662 (extended in

---

[31] L.D. Schwarz, 'Social class and social geography: the middle classes in London at the end of the 18th century', in P. Borsay, ed., *The eighteenth-century town, 1688–1820* (London, 1990), p. 329, W. Maitland, *History of London* (London, 1756), p. 719; M. Power, 'Shadwell: the development of a London suburban community in the 17th century', *London Journal*, 4 (1978), 29–46; D. Green, 'Metropolitan estates of the middle class, 1800–50', *Historical Research*, 70 (1997), 305–7.

[32] V. Pearl, *London and the outbreak of the puritan revolution* (Oxford, 1961), pp. 31–7; J. Davis, *Reforming London* (Oxford, 1988), p. 52. See above, chapter 4.

[33] F.H.W. Sheppard, *Local government in St Marylebone, 1688–1835* (London, 1958), pp. 8–10, 102, 120 *et seq.*, 128, 131 *et seq.*; E.A. Reynolds, *Before the Bobbies: the night watch and police reform in metropolitan London, 1720–1830* (London, 1998), p. 16 *et passim*.

Table 14.3. London Improvement Acts, 1700–99.

	Spatial distribution %						No. of acts
	General	East	Central	West	South	North	
1700–49	25.0	6.3	0.0	56.3	6.3	6.3	16
1750–59	0.0	13.3	33.3	40.0	13.3	0.0	15
1760–69	0.3	16.6	30.0	50.0	0.3	0.0	30
1770–79	4.7	20.9	13.9	30.2	4.7	25.6	43
1780–89	0.0	20.6	13.7	48.2	10.3	6.9	29
1790–99	0.0	7.6	15.4	30.7	0.0	46.2	13
Average	5.0	14.2	17.7	42.5	5.8	14.2	TOTAL: 146

Note: 'General' indicates more than one area; 'East' is the East End; 'Central' is the City of London; 'West' is the West End; 'South' means south of the River Thames; and 'North' covers Clerkenwell, Islington and parishes northward.

1691), after 1700 there was a proliferation of improvement commissions, responsible for street improvement, bridge-building, lighting, sewerage and much else. As one can see from Table 14.3, the number of improvement acts for the metropolis rose strongly from the 1760s, reaching a peak in the 1770s and falling back notably during the decade of the French wars. Yet virtually all the new measures were geographically delimited: there was little consistency in the local arrangements and competition was king. In 1762 a general commission was established for Westminster, its powers enlarged by successive acts in 1763, 1764, 1765 and 1766; this made an energetic attempt to built high quality paved streets, with proper footways and gutters. Quickly, however, one vestry after another reasserted its control of local space by obtaining an act withdrawing its parish from the commission's jurisdiction. Improvement, it was claimed in 1787, had brought 'a degree of elegance and symmetry into the streets of the metropolis, that is the admiration of all Europe and far exceeds anything of the kind in the modern world'. In reality, improvement balkanised the capital at many different levels. Table 14.3 spells out the marked geographical variations in the pattern of improvement. Predictably, West London led the way for much of the period: the old City also did well in mid-century (in 1769 there was a boast it had spent £120,000 on street improvement), but then tailed off; the eastern suburbs also had an important cluster of Acts. In terms of legislation, the most deprived area seems to have been South London, despite the tremendous growth of population there. In contrast, the northern suburbs—which made no showing before 1770—saw a surge of activity towards the end of the period.[34]

[34] S. Webb and B. Webb, *Statutory authorities for special purposes* (repr. London, 1963), pp. 277–87. List of improvement acts analysed in Table 14.3 derived from *Statutes at Large*; Ogborn, *Spaces of modernity*, pp. 101–3; M.D. George, *London life in the 18th century* (London, 1926), p. 100; *St James Chronicle*, 25–28 Feb. 1769.

There were divisions between parishes and within parishes. With a cacophony of improvement boards at work (St Pancras by the early nineteenth century had nineteen different commissions with over 400 members), the standard of improvement could vary greatly from one street to another, and between opposite sides of the same street.[35]

The upper classes were also heavily involved in the clubs and societies mentioned earlier, and by the late eighteenth century these also frequently exercised quasi-governmental functions with an upsurge of philanthropic and social surveillance associations, as well as those offering medical care for the poor, schools and much else, usually for different localities. At the same time the associational spaces they created were not fixed or regular. They overlapped, they were fluid, because of the high turnover rate and mobility of members. Voluntarism also figured prominently in the creation of new hospitals like the Magdalen, whose distinctive spatial arrangements have been discussed by Miles Ogborn. Ogborn has also drawn attention to the rise of public pleasure gardens such as Vauxhall or Ranelagh with their own brilliant lighting, musical and other spectacles, restaurants and promenades, their distinctive rituals of sociability, making them almost distinct towns. Here the commercialisation of leisure was crucial.[36]

Commercial companies also restructured the urban landscape in other ways. Take water supply, for instance. Piped water was inaugurated by the New River Company during the reign of James I, and by 1811 there were over a dozen private companies, each with their own supply network and commercial districts which bore little or no relation to other divisions in the capital. The extension of the supply network was driven by the anxiety of companies to exclude competitors rather than any overall strategy. Thus about 1800 'the great increase of building at Holloway' led to a 'serious want of water'. With no commercial supply to meet demand, a local proprietor set up a steam engine and well; this prompted the New River Company to move into the area to crush the competition. An attempt by parliament in the early 1820s to put water supply in the capital on a more structured footing, with delimited areas, proved abortive and there was no reform until 1852.[37] The new gas supply was run in an equally unco-ordinated way, as was the fire service. In the eighteenth century the different fire companies had their own engines, as did the parishes, with teams of firemen chasing one another to get to the nearest fire (or even on occasion inventing a fire) in order to collect a reward from the justices. Sir Frederick Eden's effort in 1808 to get the companies to co-operate failed. However, in 1825 three companies agreed to work together and by 1832 the London Fire Engine Establishment, supported by ten fire companies, was functioning. Because of the uneven distribution of insured property, two of the five fire districts were in the West End, there was one for the City and East End, with

---

[35] Webbs, *Statutory authorities*, p. 248.
[36] Clark, *British clubs*, p. 104 *et seq.*; Ogborn, *Spaces of modernity*, chs. 2, 4.
[37] Weinreb and Hibbert, eds, *London encyclopaedia*, pp. 955–7; Nelson, *History of Islington*, p. 105.

another two south of the river. Outside these districts, in the suburbs, many fires continued to blaze out of control because of the lack of appliances there.[38]

Finally, one should not forget that the state too was an actor, albeit often a reluctant one, in metropolitan development, impacting on the political landscape and identities. After the failure in the 1630s to establish City jurisdiction over the suburbs, there was no major government or parliamentary initiative for a century and a half. Yet on a regular basis the state had to grapple with Leviathan: to levy taxes in London, to raise troops, and (after 1801) to count its population. Typically, the Excise Board's division of the capital during the 1730s into eight districts for levying duties on beer and spirits was determined solely by the goal of efficiency, and probably changed over time as the urban area sprawled. But other interventions relied on ancient administrative districts. During the Napoleonic war the militia continued to be levied via the hundreds of those shires like Middlesex and Surrey, growing parts of which were absorbed into the metropolis.[39] Income tax commissioners used the same traditional divisions into the mid-nineteenth century. The Census Commissioners in 1801 counted the city's population within and without the walls by parish; Westminster parishes were taken together, and Middlesex parishes were grouped into hundreds and divisions, whilst other areas of the metropolis were enumerated, on the same basis, under the sections for Kent, Surrey and Essex. This procedure obtained as late as 1841, despite the introduction of civil registration districts in 1836. As we know, parliamentary reform in 1832 caused further complexity, with new parliamentary boroughs for Marylebone, Finsbury, Tower Hamlets, Lambeth and Greenwich, each of which covered a number of adjacent parishes, and created new arenas of political action and mobilisation.[40]

All this would suggest a number of points. Firstly, London (like Dublin and other major European cities) was increasingly fragmented in this period. Secondly, any strong notion of metropolitan identity seems to have declined steadily from the late seventeenth century, if not before. Thirdly, a new social and cultural landscape emerged, which was spatially segmented and particularistic and which contributed to that widely held contemporary perception of worlds within worlds in the Georgian metropolis, with which we began this analysis. But the fundamental problem was that there was no regularity, no order about the new configuration. Louis Simond's claim of neat territorial demarcations in the capital was at best misleading.

This is not to say that local pride and identity was absent within the capital. Often it may have derived from an ancient sense of village community, such as surfaced when two Wandsworth men were about to be hanged at Kennington Common in 1737: the gallows were surrounded by 'a great number of fellows . . . having WM marked on the hats to denote Wandsworth Men', who gave the prisoners a decent send-off and after

---

[38] Sheppard, *Local government*, pp. 72–3, 149, 200–2; *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, 1 (1839), 283–8.
[39] Maitland, *History of London* (1756 edn), p. 719; *Guide to the Middlesex sessions records* (London, 1965), pp. 43–4.
[40] B. Scott, *A statistical vindication of the City of London* (London, 1867), p. 60; *Census*, 1801, 1811, 1831, 1841.

the execution carried away their bodies for burial. Parishes, despite all their problems, were frequently the stage for lively displays of solidarity and street theatre in the early 1830s.[41] The complex of City institutions continued to remain influential as a focus of identity, though more in a political than communal sense. Already by 1800 the City's population was declining sharply and many of its civic leaders, merchants, traders and clerks commuted there on a daily basis from homes across the metropolis and beyond. From being indifferent to the wider metropolis in the early Stuart era, one of the City's priorities after 1800 was to oppose and obstruct metropolitan reform and cohesion, in order to preserve its own privileges.[42]

Too often parish, historic, commercial, administrative and associational boundaries competed with or overlay one another. Inhabitants had multiple loyalties, identities and responsibilities in a promiscuous fashion, to districts, units and organisations of variable territorial outreach and significance. There was no reality of discrete sub-metropolitan urban communities. As James Grant observed in the 1830s, there was no sense of neighbourhood or neighbourliness of the sort found in provincial towns.[43] It was not devolution or division *per se* which was the problem, as Place contended, but the confused patchwork quilt of divisions and loyalties which discouraged effective co-operation and communication across the capital.

How could one put this urban Humpty-Dumpty back together again? By the early nineteenth century there were growing attempts to establish new capital-wide administrative bodies, which (if successful) might have generated a stronger sense of metropolitan coherence. But they generally failed. Even the London County Council, founded in 1888, was unable to overcome the multicentredness of the capital and never became a permanent political fixture; the success of the government reforms of 2000 in creating a new metropolitan identity and landscape remains to be seen.[44]

[41] *Read's Weekly Journal*, 9 April 1737; information from David Green.
[42] Scott, *Statistical vindication*, p. 18 *et seq.*
[43] Grant, *Great metropolis*, vol. I, pp. 10, 324.
[44] See the discussion by Joanna Innes in chapter 4, above, pp. 63–4; see also R. Dennis, 'Modern London', in M. Daunton, ed., *Cambridge Urban History of Britain: Vol. III* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 101 *et seq.*
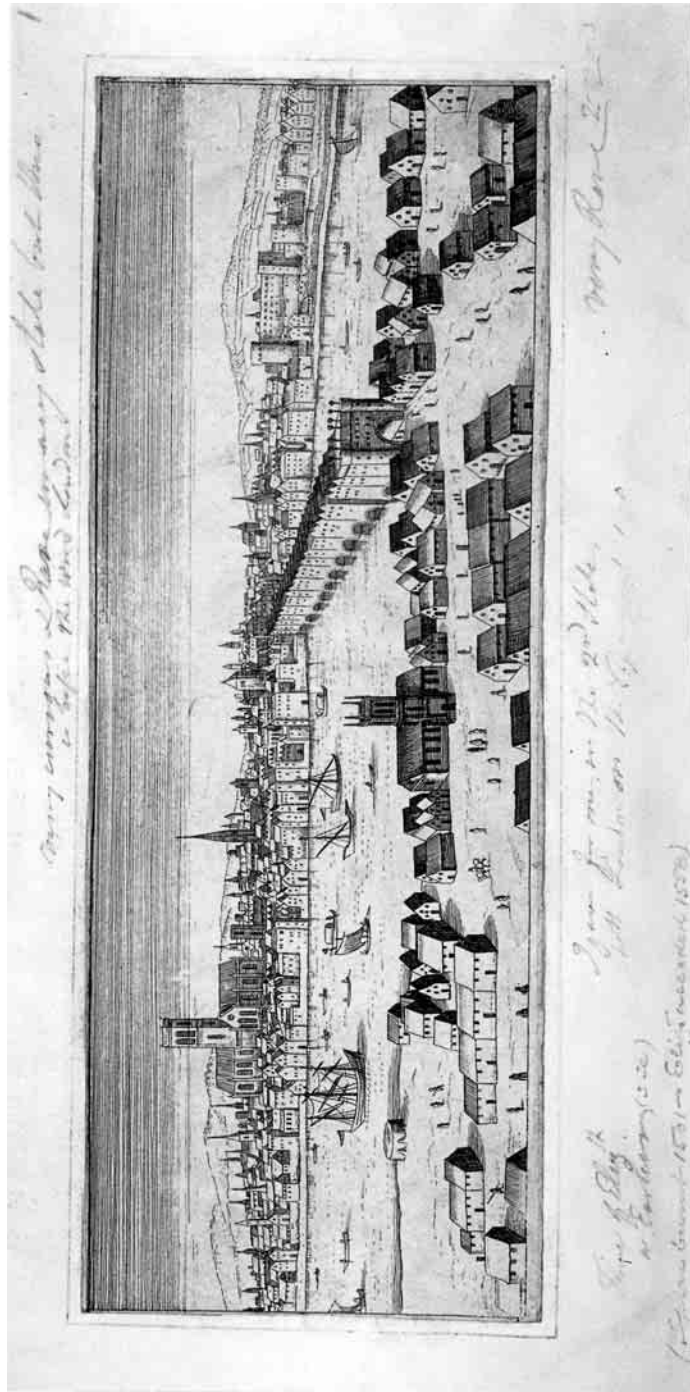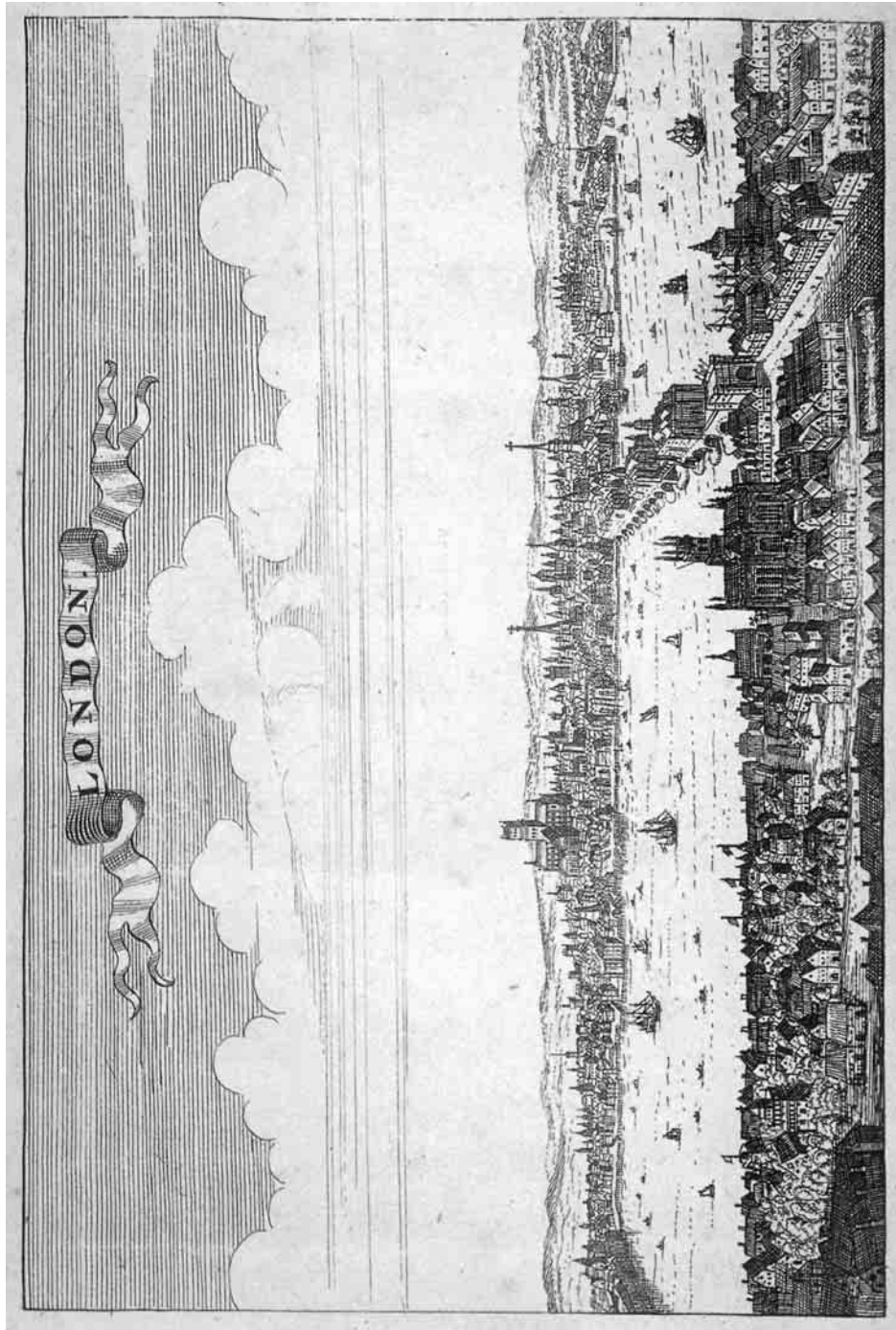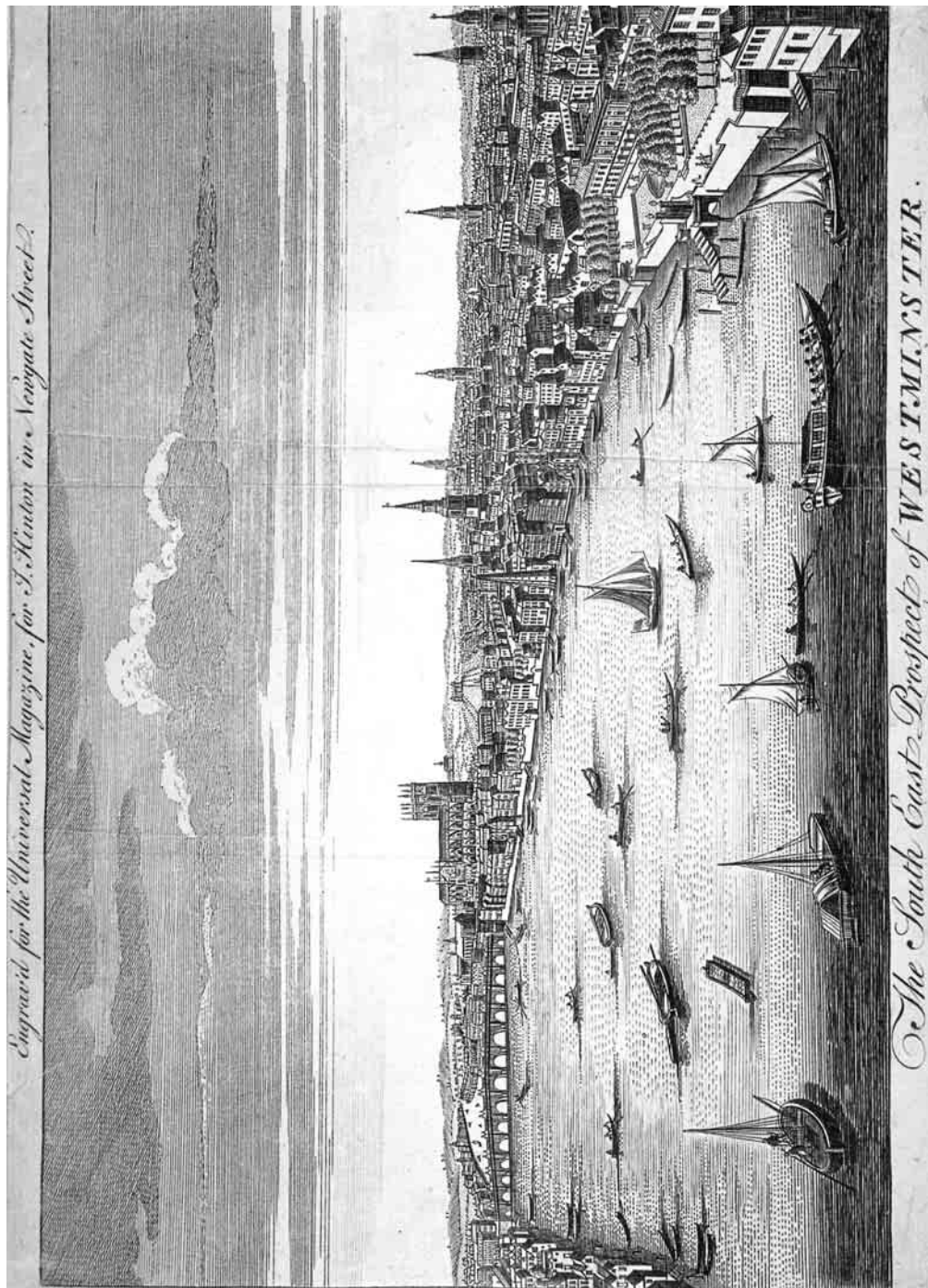
Figure 14.1. View of London: anonymous, *c.*1623.

Figure 14.2. View of London from Southwark: anonymous, *c.*1640.

Figure 14.3. South-east prospect of Westminster: from an engraving by T. Bowles and T. Müller, c.1750.
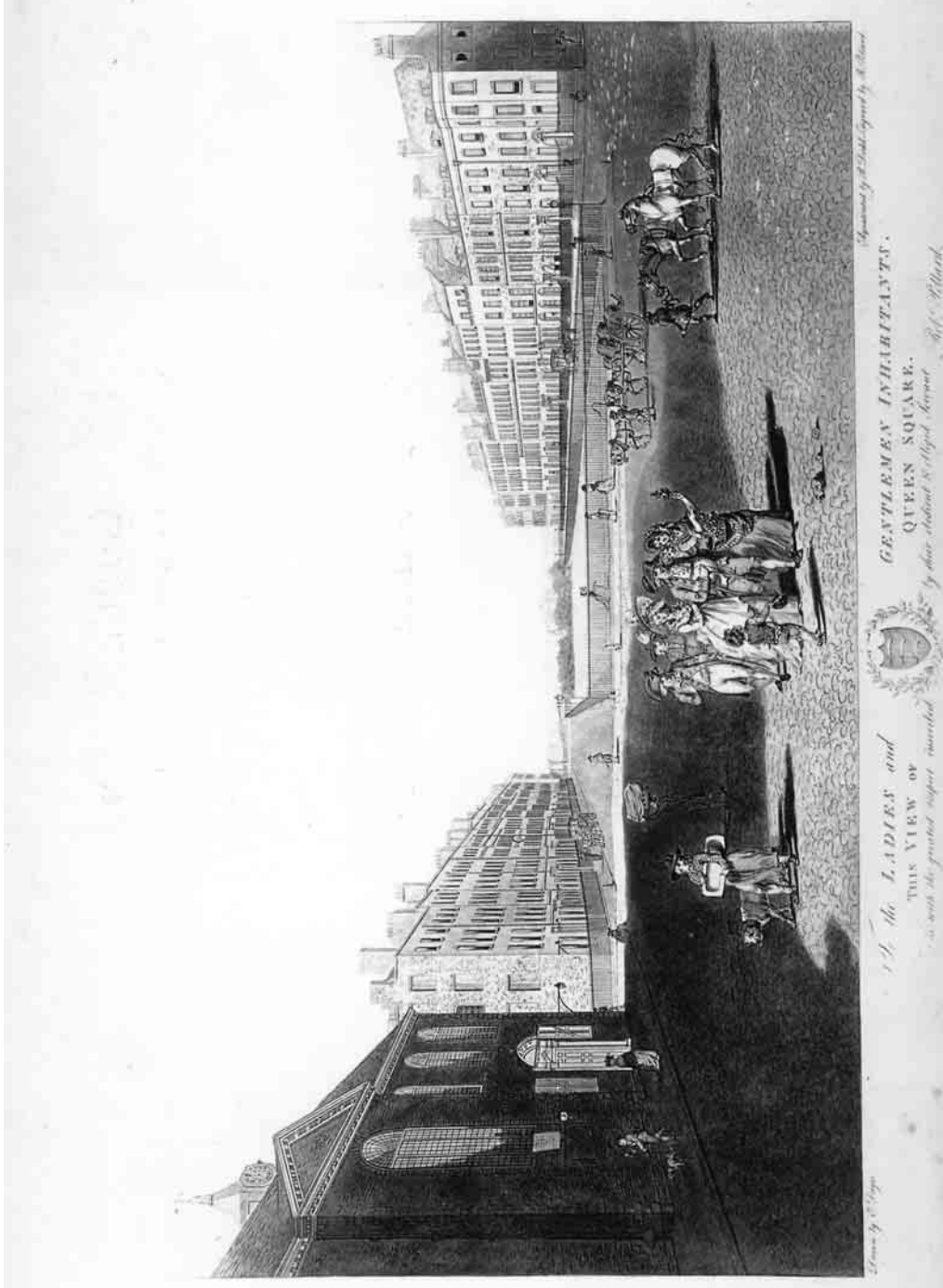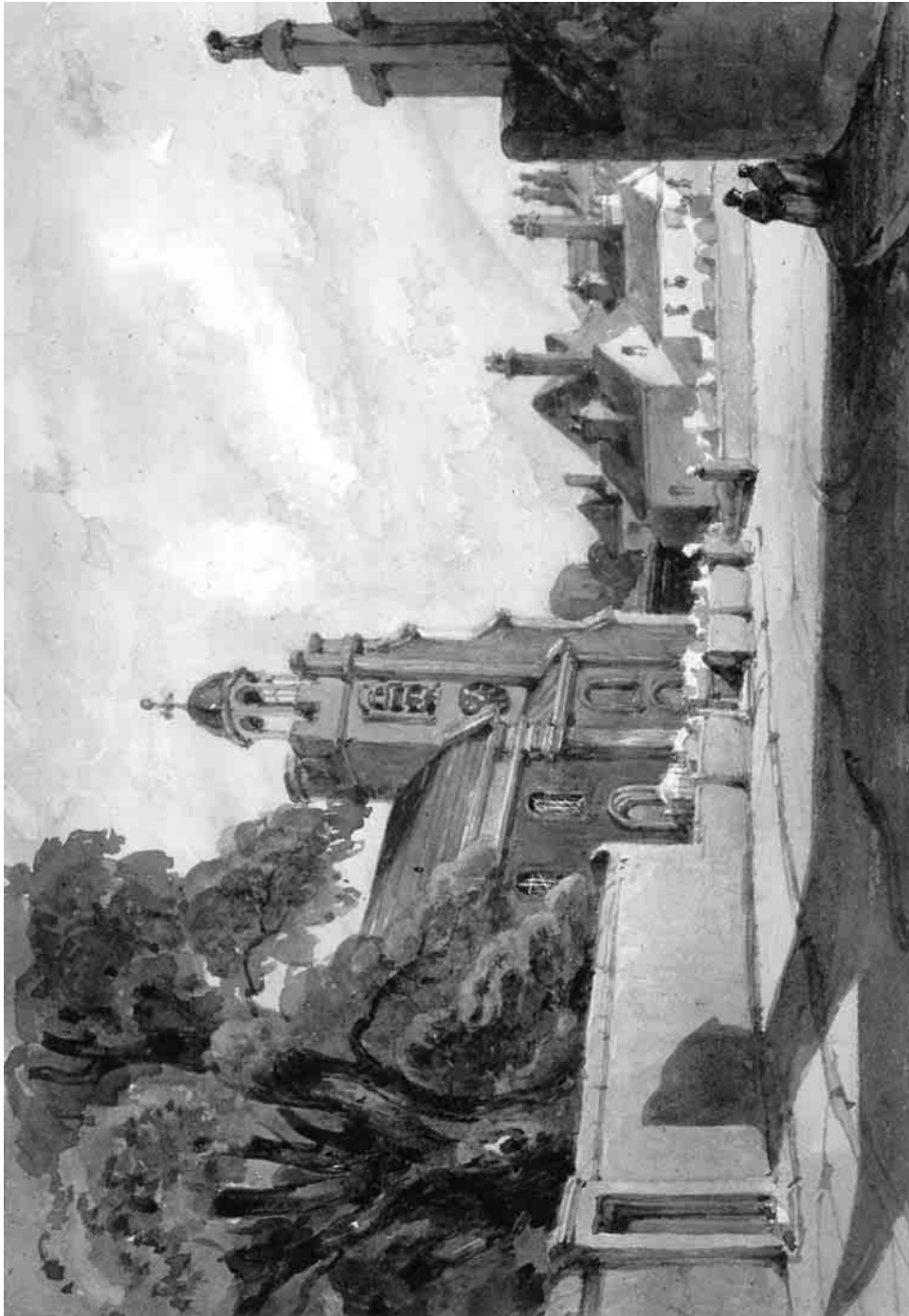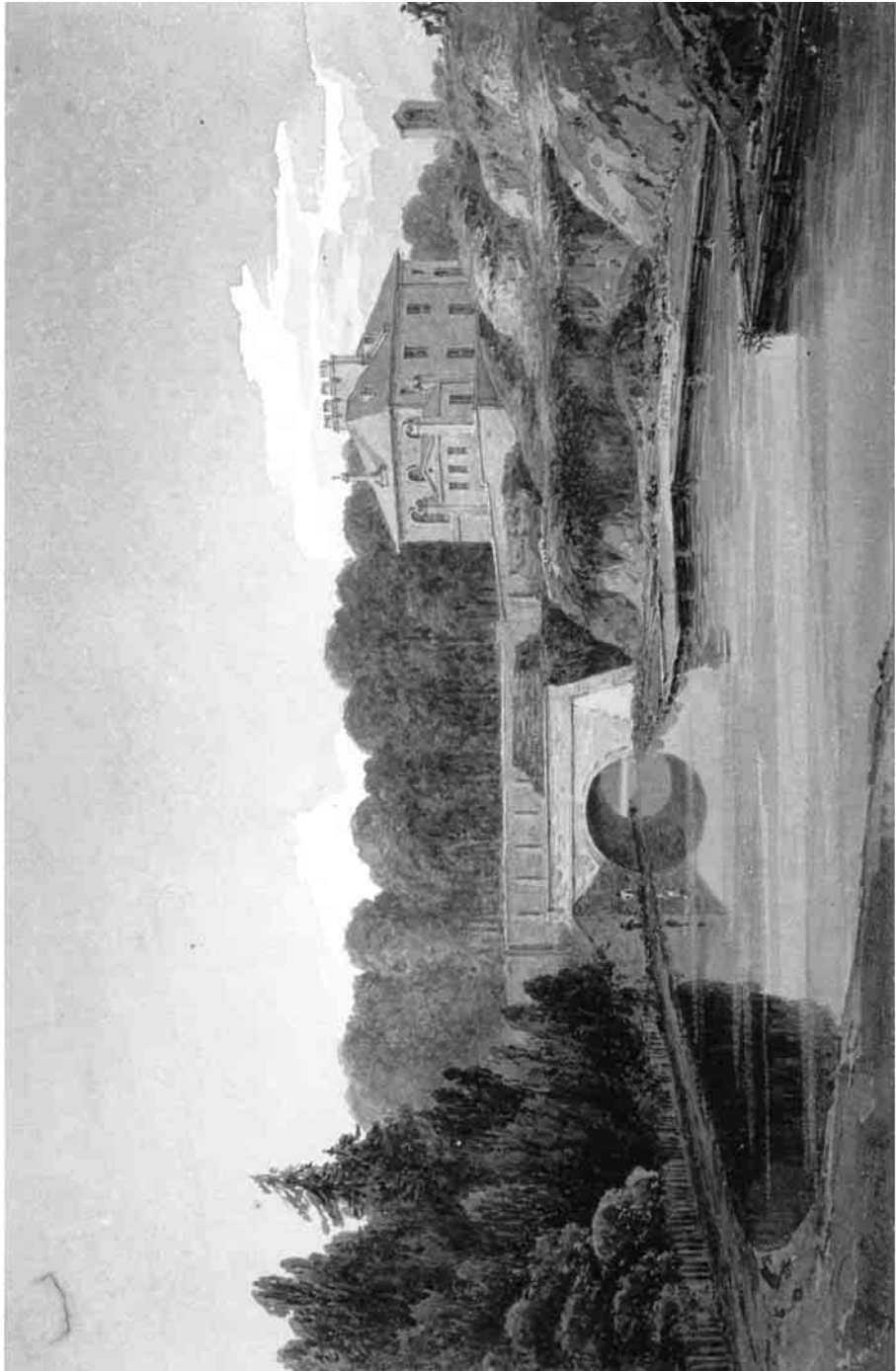
Figure 14.4. View of Queen's Square: E. Dayes, 1789.

Figure 14.5. Twickenham: anonymous, *c*.1835.

Figure 14.6. Regent's Canal, St John's Wood: W. Crotch, *c.*1830.

Figure 14.7. West India Dock: W. Daniell, 1802.

List of Abbreviations

APC	*Acts of the Privy Council*
BL	British Library
CARD	*Calendar of the Ancient Records of Dublin*, ed. J.T. and R.M. Gilbert, 19 vols (Dublin, 1889–1944)
CLRO	Corporation of London Record Office
CJ	*House of Common Journals, England*
CSP	*Calendar of State Papers*
Ec.HR	*Economic History Review*
HCJI	*Journals of the House of Commons of the Kingdom of Ireland*
GL	Guildhall Library
HMC	*Historical Manuscripts Commission*
Lambeth PL	Lambeth Palace Library
LMA	London Metropolitan Archives
NAI	National Archives of Ireland
NLI	National Library of Ireland
PP	Parliamentary Papers
PRO	Public Record Office, Kew
PRONI	Public Record Office, Northern Ireland
RCB	Representative Church Body Library, Dublin
RIA	Royal Irish Academy
WAC	Westminster Archives Centre