
THE CHANGING GEOGRAPHY OF CONTENTION IN
LONDON, 1755-1835: SKETCH OF A RESEARCH PLAN

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University of Michigan

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British Popular Politics in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries

In his Colloquies on Society of 1824, Robert Southey had the ghost of Sir Thomas More speak his distress over what England -- and especially the terrible metropolis of London -- had become. "Think for a moment," fretted the ghost,

what London, nay, what the whole kingdom would be, were your Catilines to succeed in exciting as general an insurrection as that which was raised by one madman in your own childhood. Imagine the infatuated and infuriated wretches, whom not Spitalfields, St. Giles's, and Pimlico alone, but all the lanes and alleys and cellars of the metropolis would pour out -- a frightful population, whose multitudes, when gathered together, might almost exceed belief! The streets of London would appear to teem with them, like the land of Egypt with its plague of frogs: and the lava floods from a volcano would be less destructive than the hordes whom your great cities and manufacturing districts would vomit forth! (Southey 1894: 108)

Francis Place (ordinarily no friend of the Mob) offered a possible rejoinder to Southey fourteen years later:

There is, upon the whole, more honesty and more determination of purpose among the enlightened portion of the people than ever before existed in this or any other country. Of this the whole of the proceeding to obtain a reform of the house of commons is incontrovertible proof. In no other country, nor in this at any other time, could a change of such importance as the passing of the Reform Bills been (sic) affected, in the same quiet way by the

same means. It was perhaps the greatest change ever accomplished in a civilized country by peaceable means (British Museum, Add. MSS. 27,789, fo. 227).

When Place wrote in 1838, as we know now, the struggles of Chartism were soon to break the calm. Lauding the orderly action of the common people, furthermore, was an indirect way of justifying the line Place himself had taken during the Reform agitation, and of taking credit for its success. Yet Place was surely right to claim that new forms of popular politics had emerged.

The nine decades between 1750 and 1840 took Britain from the reign of George II to the reign of Victoria, from the age of price riots to the age of the Chartists. Those years, by many more accounts than Francis Place's, saw the creation of a political framework which made large-scale parliamentary democracy possible -- and sometimes even effective -- in Britain. In the process, important changes occurred in the ways that ordinary Britons acted together on their grievances and interests. The appeal to a powerful patron, for example, became a less prominent way of doing political business, while some form of direct demand to national authorities became more common. When the eighteenth-century English made a public statement of their approval or disapproval of a person or a policy, they frequently did so by staging some sort of street theater: Rough Music, effigies, burlesque costumes, mocking songs and pantomimes all played their part. By the second quarter of the nineteenth century, these forms of action had become relatively rare. But it had become quite a regular practice to form a special-purpose association, to hold public meetings in its name, to issue demands and petitions on behalf of its membership.

During the same period, the demonstration (in the narrow sense of a pre-planned assembly in a symbolically significant public space by a group of people who visibly identified themselves with a specific demand or complaint) became a much more widespread way of showing the strength and determination behind a given position in a public controversy. Strikes (or, to be more faithful to the language and reality of the time: turnouts) likewise came into wider use. These are only some of the many alterations in the ways that ordinary people acted together on their interests. Although the specific timing and particular path of change varied from one place to another, similar transformations occurred through much of the western world during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. They brought into being much of the pattern of collective action with which westerners still work today.

An Approach to Explaining the Changes

The research sketched here traces those transformations in one crucial place -- London -- and makes some preliminary attempts to explain them. The tracing emphasizes the changing geography of "contentious gatherings" in the city over the period from 1755 to 1835. The explaining is deliberately preliminary and incomplete: it consists of examining how the redistribution of economic activity, administrative activity and residence in London affected the spatial patterns of routine gatherings, and then attempting to determine the influence of the two sets of changes (1. economic, administrative and residential; 2. in routine gatherings) on alterations in the geography of contention.

"Contention," in this context, is the making of claims which bear on other people's interests. A "contentious gathering" is an occasion on which several people assemble and visibly make a claim which would, if realized, affect the interests of some other person(s). As a practical matter, we are limiting attention to gatherings of this sort which occur in places accessible to the public and which involve at least one group of ten or more persons outside the government. Over the period from 1755 to 1835, some examples of events which frequently

qualify as contentious gatherings are electoral rallies, fights between hunters and game wardens, meetings which send petitions to Parliament, and public ceremonies at which the crowd jeers or cheers an official.

The definitions are abstract and arbitrary. Yet they serve to single out occasions on which people act together publicly, and they include the vast bulk of the events which historians have in mind when they use the words "protest," "riot," "disorder," or "mass action." Contentious gatherings also include a number of quieter, more clearly legal, assemblies -- meetings, rallies and other gatherings which neither historians nor the authorities of the time could have called riots, yet which were often quite similar in structure to the so-called riots, and which likewise pressed claims affecting other people's interests.

These mildly unconventional definitions reflect a specific point of view. For the purpose of this discussion, two elements of that viewpoint deserve attention. The first is that words such as "riot" and "disorder" are obstacles to sound historical analysis, for all their use by contemporary observers. They are elite words, authorities' words, words which judge an action as incoherent, improper and worthy of repression. Their use condemns us, as later analysts of collective action, to ignore the similarities of events -- such as the meeting broken up by the authorities and the meeting protected by the authorities -- which actually have a great deal in common. If our topic is how ordinary people acted on their interests and grievances, we need a vocabulary which gives room to those interests and grievances. Hence the vocabulary of contention and contentious gatherings.

The second element is an hypothesis. It is that at any given point in time a particular group of people have available to them only a very limited number of alternative means of acting on their interests and grievances, that each of those means tends to have a well-defined form which is known to the potential participants in contentious actions, that in the event of an opportu-

nity to act or a threat to its interests any group does a rough matching of its available means of action with likely outcomes and thus chooses whether and how to act, and that the events which authorities label "riots," or "protests" and the like characteristically begin with just such well-defined forms of action. Thus in the middle of the eighteenth century English villagers commonly knew how to stage Rough Music, how to call a local assembly to petition the king, how to seize hoarded grain and so on through a limited number of alternative forms of action, but did not know how to demonstrate, how to strike, or even how to hold an electoral rally. A convenient metaphor for that set of known means of contention is a repertoire. The existing repertoire of contention, goes the hypothesis, strongly limits the involvement of any particular group in the contention of its time. It follows that changes in the prevailing repertoire -- for example, the disappearance of one form of action or the increasing availability of another -- have autonomous effects on the intensity and form of involvement of different groups in contention. (For further specification, illustration and evidence, see Charles Tilly, "Repertoires of Contention in America and Britain," "Collective Action in England and America," "Social Movements and National Politics," and "The Web of Collective Action in Eighteenth-Century Cities.")

That hypothesis brings us back to the main point of this research. For the prevailing English repertoire of contention changed importantly between 1750 and 1840. The set of means of contention which still prevails through most of the western world today (the strike and the demonstration are the obvious examples) first came to prominence in England during that period. London appears to have played a leading role in the transformation of contention: serving as the setting of the innovative popular politics of John Wilkes and Lord George Gordon, providing the models for large-scale workers' movements via the dockers and the Spitalfields weavers, and so on.

Why and how did these changes happen? Some likely pieces of the explanation are the rise of special-purpose associations (including firms, clubs, parties and labor unions) as political and economic actors; the creation of a national electorate and the concomitant growth of electoral politics; the waning of communal groups (including villages, craft guilds and religious communities) as the loci of shared interests and the vehicles of collective action; the concentration of capital and the coordinate increase in the scale of production; the growing power of the national state with respect to other sets of authorities. Another likely influence is the alteration in the internal structure of communities, especially big cities. The research described here focuses on that alteration, as it worked itself out in the great city of London from 1755 to 1835.

The point is not to reduce the massive changes in popular action to effects of changing urban structure. It is, rather, 1) to specify with what changes in urban structure, if any, the shifts in contention were closely correlated and 2) to begin the close examination of the relationship between the two, with the long-run hope of understanding to what extent the changes in urban structure shaped the changes in contention. It seems likely, for example, that the increasing segregation of an elite western side of London, equipped with large parks and promenades, from an increasingly working-class eastern side also segregated the customary meeting-places of workers from those of the well-to-do, and that this rising segregation altered the character of meetings and confrontations between the two groups.

At least that is one interpretation of the available evidence. As D.A. Reeder says:

The migration of the aristocracy into the western suburbs explains in part why those citizens of London interested in establishing a social position chose to live in the districts beyond the west end

of town. By 1831 as many as 20 per cent of all occupied males over 20 living in Paddington and Kensington and 14 percent of those living in Hammersmith were listed in the census returns as capitalists, merchants, and professional men (Reeder 1968: 255).

Speaking of the later eighteenth century, George Rudé concludes that ". . . a growing gulf was drawn between the eastern and western districts of London. Where, earlier, citizens had sought their recreations and country retreats almost indiscriminately either east or west, the east was now becoming more and more the sole preserve of the industrious and poor and the west that of the fashionable and rich" (Rudé 1971: 10). And John Stevenson has made the link between changing urban form and changing modes of conflict explicit. As of 1840, according to Stevenson, the

process of stratification and localization had been reflected in the politics of London over the past hundred years. The City of London, which had once acted as the focus of political action in the capital, was an increasingly specialized part of the whole. The capital's fragmentation into a number of distinct political groupings was one of the most important developments during the course of the nineteenth century . . . In the central districts of the capital, there was a trend towards the segregation of occupations and classes, so that the City of London was increasingly given over to offices, warehouses, and shops. Although many of its wealthy citizens retained houses in the 'square mile', others moved to the fashionable parishes of Kensington, Chelsea, and Hammersmith and to the squares and town houses of the West End . . . As well as the movement 'upwards and outwards', to use Professor Dyos's phrase, there was also a concentration of the poorest

sections of the population in the notorious "rookeries" of east Smithfield, Moorfields, and St. Giles (Stevenson 1977: xxiii).

In one form or another, then, the general idea of increasing class segregation of east from west is a commonplace of London's urban historiography.

Another change which has attracted less attention was in gathering places. By the 1820 the chief locations for public meetings and for assemblies of special-purpose associations were taverns and coffeehouses. In another of his diatribes against popular politics (this one from 1812), Southey declared that:

The weekly epistles of the apostles of sedition are read aloud in tap-rooms and pot-houses to believing auditors, listening greedily when they are told that their rulers fatten upon the grains extracted from their blood and sinews; that they are cheated, oppressed, and plundered; that their wives and children are wanting bread, because a corrupt majority in parliament persists in carrying on a war which there was no cause for beginnings, and to which there can be no end in view; that there is neither common sense nor common honesty in government; that the liberty of the press has been destroyed, and they are in fact, living under military law; that they are a flogged nation, . . . and flogging is only fit for beasts, . . . and beasts they are, . . . and like beasts they deserve to be treated, if they submit patiently to such wrongs and insults; -- these are the topics which are received in the pot-house, and discussed over the loom and the lathe; men already profligate and unprincipled, needy because they are dissolute, and discontented because they are needy, swallow these things when they are getting drunk, and chew the cud upon them when sober (Southey 1832 [1812]: 120-121).

We need not share Southey's sentiments to think that drinking-places played a significant part in the contention of the time; in particular,

the rise of the meeting and the proliferation of public houses surely had some connection. Since broadly similar changes were occurring in many other cities, a careful examination of London's experience will cast light on an important general transformation -- one whose consequences are still with us today. If it turns out that changes in the structure of the city as such had little to do with the alterations in concentration, then that, too, will be a significant discovery.

The period from 1755 to 1835 includes several of the most spectacular mobilizations in London's history -- the Wilkes movement, the Gordon riots, the Radical agitation of the 1790s, and, of course, the great drive for Reform. A study of London's contentious gatherings will give an incomplete picture of these episodes, both because much of the crucial action occurred away from publicly visible gatherings and because events outside the metropolis often interlocked with London's conflicts. Yet an examination of London over those eighty years permits some telling comparisons: not only the overall trends in contention, but also a) changes from one major crisis to the next and b) contrasts and continuities between the big moments of activism and the periods of smaller-scale contention falling between them. For the period of Reform, furthermore, we are able to compare London's contention with that of the rest of Britain. These comparisons will anchor our analysis of London's urban structure and contention securely in the social and political history of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Urban Structure as an Influence on Contention

Now, "urban structure" is a complicated matter. We can simplify it by breaking it into three elements and the relationships among them:

a territory, which in this case is London;

a population, which is the resident population of London;

a set of activities, which is the production, distribution and consumption of all sorts of goods and services anywhere in London.

Obviously each of these has its own structure; for example, the territory is differentiated into various kinds of buildings and spaces, and the population has a characteristic distribution by age and sex. In addition, each pair of elements has a structure: the population is distributed over the territory unevenly, different segments of the population are differentially involved in the city's major activities, and so on. "Urban structure" includes all these aspects of the city.

In this research, we pay attention to many different aspects of urban structure, but we stress the territorial distribution of population and of activities. We have several reasons for that emphasis. The first reason is that the spatial reorganization and expansion of the eighteenth-century city ought to have affected the pattern of contention. In principle, we might reasonably expect the increasing segregation of workers from the rest of the population, and the declining division of the city into households and neighborhoods grouping together all members of a single trade from masters to servants, to have weakened trade-wide solidarities and to have strengthened solidarity on the basis of class. In principle, we might also expect the sharpening division between an impoverished East and a wealthy West to have diminished the variety of the people frequenting any particular street, square, inn or other gathering place, to have intensified the emotional and symbolic impact of a foray into "someone else's" territory, and to have pro-

moted an increased segregation of different types of contentious gatherings from each other. It is reasonable to suppose, for example, that the standard march of aggrieved workers, from Mansion House to Charing Cross and thence (depending on the issue and the target of the workers' complaints) either to St. James' Palace or to Parliament, became a greater and riskier adventure as the class differences among Westminster, the West End and the City increased. Whether these reasonable expectations actually hold up under close scrutiny -- and if not, why not -- is one of the major questions raised by the research we have begun.

Spatial structure is also an attractive starting point because some features of it are fairly easy to specify and observe. It is easier, for instance, to detect the location of the average contentious gathering than it is to search out the class origins of the participants. Furthermore, locational patterns often provide clues as to the participants and issues involved. (George Rudé's famous analyses of conflicts in London and Paris have capitalized repeatedly on that advantage.) Finally, the straightforward mapping of the action of a single event or of an important series of events leads easily and immediately into significant causal inquiries: why and how people got there, what they did next, what started and stopped the action, and so on. Without claiming for an instant that spatial structure "causes" contention, then, we can reasonably claim that an analysis of the relationships between the city's overall spatial structure and the geography of contention is likely to yield valuable returns.

With these pieces in place, we can restate the major aims of the research. They are 1) to describe the overall changes in the character of contentious gatherings in London from the 1750s to the 1830s; 2) to trace precisely the changing geography of those contentious gatherings; 3) to infer from that and other evidence what alterations in the prevailing repertoires

of contention occurred over the period; 4) to identify, in a preliminary way, such connections as exist between the changing character, geography and repertoires of contention and the shifting distributions of population and activities within the city; 5) to use the results of that analysis -- including the specification of changes in contention which the city's changing spatial structure cannot explain -- to reformulate existing ideas concerning contention.

Connections with Previous Work

The research touches two separate literatures: on collective action in general; on Britain, and especially London, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The relationship of this project to both literatures is peculiar. Let us think first about the literature of collective action. Precisely because the disagreement in the literature extends to the very categories within which inquiry is framed, work on the subject proceeds under a great variety of names: social movements, conflict, collective behavior, political processes, protest and political participation, as well as collective action itself. To emphasize collective action as the common ground of these phenomena is to single out the ways people act together on behalf of shared interests. We prefer that definition of the problem both because it is broad enough to include most of the phenomena scholars have studied under the other headings, and because it calls attention to the connections between routine pursuit of interests and the extraordinary bursts of activity which authorities call riots, rebellions and social movements.

Our approach to collective action (whose fullest published statement appears in Charles Tilly, From Mobilization to Revolution) employs two simple models: 1) a polity model, which portrays the interactions of various sorts of interest groups with each other and with governments, and 2) a mobilization model, which sketches the conditions under which people who share an interest act together, or fail to act, in response to the costs and benefits entailed by the different available courses of collective action. We think of the

available courses of action, in turn, as being limited by the resources the groups in question have already accumulated, by the repression and facilitation being extended to them by other groups, and by the repertoire of means of action with which the group is already familiar. These ideas may look self-evident. Yet the great bulk of the literature on the subject takes either of two very different tacks: a) inferring action directly from interests, while minimizing the costs of organization, of repression, and so on, or b) attributing action to shared states of mind: anger, frenzy, frustration and the like. Our work breaks with those two dominant traditions.

As for the literature on the history of London and Britain, our general topic is commonplace, our way of defining the problem is unusual, and our manner of approaching the evidence is unique. Many historians, and a number of non-historians, have studied different forms of conflict in the period of 1755 to the 1830s: Darvall, Mather, Hamburger, Thompson, Rudé and Hammond are only some of the obvious names. London has come in for particular attention, among other reasons, because of the color and liveliness of London's conflicts, because at the time and later many observers have thought that London's movements came close to having a revolutionary potential at one point or another, and because it has seemed that the resolution (or repression) of the period's protests set the pattern of subsequent British politics, and became a model of relatively peaceful problem-solving for the western world as a whole. All of these are commonplaces.

To define the problem as accounting for the geography of contention, however, is more than giving a new name to old questions. Among recent scholars familiar to us, only John Stevenson and George Rudé have shown much interest in our version of the problem -- Stevenson asking how public order was imposed or maintained in a massive, changing metropolis, Rudé seeking to relate the spatial patterns of riots and protests to the interests of established groups in the city. Dealing with the geography of contention broadens the problem by

bringing in a much wider range of events than interest Stevenson or Rude (thus making it possible, we think, to relate the events which do interest other historians more securely to their context), and by seeking deliberately to connect the geography of contention with the geography of routine congregation in the city. The unique feature of our research, finally, is the systematic collection, preparation and analysis of the evidence. Details on that come later.

The Study of Contentious Gatherings in Great Britain, 1828-1834

Before laying out a concrete plan of research, we have to mention a complementary inquiry that is already well under way. With support from the National Science Foundation, we are studying contentious gatherings in Great Britain as a whole over the seven years from 1828 to 1834. (Several papers listed in the bibliography -- notably those by Schweitzer, Tilly and Boyd, by Tilly and Schweitzer, by Tilly, by Schweitzer, and by Schweitzer and Simmons -- present the rationale and procedures of that study in detail.) The set of gatherings in question includes every one reported in any of the following sources: the Annual Register, Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, Mirror of Parliament, Gentleman's Magazine, Parliament's Votes and Proceedings, the Morning Chronicle, and the Times. Additional evidence concerning the events comes from British archives and from the works of historians specializing in the period. When the enumeration is complete, we expect to have collected about 150,000 mentions of possible contentious gatherings and (after eliminating non-qualifying events as well as cases of insufficient evidence, and consolidating multiple mentions of the same events) to have identified roughly 15,000 events meeting a rigorous set of criteria.

We are using a specially-developed set of computer routines, involving interactive, direct-entry, alphabetic coding via visual-display terminals, to produce machine readable descriptions of the contentious gatherings. At this point, we have completed an enumeration of contentious gatherings for

1828, 1829, 1830 and most of 1831, have machine-coded the first three years and part of the fourth, have done exploratory analyses of the evidence from 1828, 1829, and 1830 plus preliminary tabulations of 1831.

The geographic distributions of the contentious gatherings we have enumerated for 1828 through 1830 runs as follows, in percentages:

<u>Area</u>	<u>1828</u>	<u>1829</u>	<u>1830</u>	<u>total</u>
City of London, Westminster, Southwark	31.9	27.6	10.6	23.4
Kent	4.0	4.5	5.6	4.7
Other Middlesex	4.9	7.3	14.3	8.8
Other Surrey	1.5	2.3	4.5	2.8
Sussex	1.3	2.9	6.2	3.5
Other Britain	<u>56.4</u>	<u>55.4</u>	<u>58.8</u>	<u>56.9</u>
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Number of Events	595	648	1207	2450

Judging from those results, something like 6,500 of the estimated 15,000 contentious gatherings will have taken place in Middlesex or Surrey; of those 6,500 perhaps 5,200 will have come from Greater London. Most of them, in all likelihood, will be regularly-convened meetings of associations and public bodies. But there will surely be enough demonstrations, brawls, turnouts, electoral rallies, celebrations and other sorts of events to make detailed comparisons possible.

The intensive results of 1828 through 1834 will undoubtedly produce valuable results concerning the influence of changing urban structure on patterns of contention. There will be characteristic differences between the contentious gatherings of London and those of other large British cities, rural-urban differences in the dominant issues, participants and forms of action, an approximate geography of contention within London for those seven years. When it comes to singling out the correlates and influence of

alterations in urban structure, however, the 1828-1834 study has two significant drawbacks. First, the time period is too short to show the effects of large growth and important shifts in the location of structures, populations, activities, and gathering places. Second, on the scale of Great Britain as a whole we simply cannot afford the huge expenditure of time and effort required to assemble detailed evidence for each locality concerning internal movements of population, land use, and so on. For London, on the other hand, we can take advantage of the large investment already made by historians, antiquarians and public authorities in reconstructing the city's history from the eighteenth century into the nineteenth.

We can also hope to stimulate comparable work on the part of other researchers. As it happens, David Miller of Carnegie-Mellon University is beginning a study of contentious gatherings in Ireland during the same period, 1828-1834, as our analysis of contention in Great Britain. Miller, an experienced historian of Britain and Ireland, is adopting our procedures for enumerating and coding events in order to facilitate precise comparisons between Ireland and Britain. Later, he will probably extend his work to other periods both before and after 1828. His work will provide another significant set of opportunities for comparison (for example, between Dublin and London), as well as for analysis of the connections between conflicts in Ireland and conflicts in London.

Let us clarify the relationship between the study of London and the existing study of Great Britain. The study of Great Britain will produce, among other things, machine-readable descriptions of the 5,200 contentious gatherings enumerated for London from 1828 through 1834. It will also make available standard data for parishes and wards from the census of 1831. Beyond that, we have no firm plans (and no financial means)

to collect systematic information for small areas of London. The study of London will "borrow" the data from the 1831 census and the detailed enumerations of contentious gatherings from 1828 to 1834, but will require new collections of data concerning a) urban structure, 1755-1835, b) routine assemblies, 1755-1835, c) contentious gatherings, 1755-1827 and, perhaps, 1835 as well.

Plan of Work for London, 1755-1835

We have already done a good deal of exploring. We have enumerated all contentious gatherings in the Annual Register and Gentleman's Magazine for the years 1758-9, 1768-9, 1780-1, 1789, 1795, 1801, 1807, 1811 and 1819 and 1820. In the London Chronicle, 1758-9, 1768-9, 1780 and 1781 have been completed. We have assembled a number of accounts of contentious gatherings and their contexts from the reports in the State Papers, Home Office Papers and Metropolitan Police papers at the Public Record Office, London, and have completed a reconnaissance of the Place Papers at the British Museum. We have also done some similar collecting of evidence for Boston, Massachusetts and Charleston, South Carolina in the same period. That evidence will be useful for rough comparisons. A formal transatlantic comparison, however, is not part of the present analysis. We have also inventoried, assembled and collated a wide variety of other materials, including: maps (showing parish and ward boundaries), business directories, plus historical and social surveys, dealing with the social geography of London during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The research falls under these main headings:

1. documenting contentious gatherings, 1755-1835;
2. describing the redistribution of economic activity, administrative activity and population distribution, 1755-1835;
3. describing changes in the geography and organization of routine assemblies, 1755-1835;
4. relating the changes in routine assemblies to the changes in economic, administrative and demographic structure;

5. relating the alterations in contentious gatherings to a) the changes in economic, administrative and demographic structure, and b) the shifts in routine assemblies;
6. intensive study of three or four small areas.

1. documenting contentious gatherings, 1755-1835. A glance at the three small catalogs of events in the appendices will give an idea of what the material already on hand tells us. The first is a list of all contentious gatherings in London mentioned by the Annual Register or Gentleman's Magazine for 1765, 1766 and 1774. The second is our sample of London events for June, 1828. The third is an enumeration of contentious gatherings and routine assemblies in four areas of London -- St. Marylebone, Westminster, Southwark, and the City -- during the whole of 1828. A comparison of the three catalogs immediately establishes that there is something to explain. The eighteenth-century events include a high proportion of food riots, of trade disputes, and of authorized public gatherings during which people began to make contentious claims. The nineteenth-century gatherings include, among other things, a great many scheduled meetings of associations and public assemblies.

Some of the apparent differences between the two periods undoubtedly stem from the sources consulted for this preliminary enumeration: only a monthly and an annual periodical for the eighteenth-century events, a barrage of publications (some of them daily) for the nineteenth century. That more intense search of the 1828 sources (exactly the sort of search we are now undertaking for our entire period from 1755 on) surely accounts for the much greater number of events identified for 1828 than for the average year of the 1760s or 1770s. But an examination of the relevant archives (notably the State Papers for the eighteenth century, the Home Office papers for the nineteenth) confirms that a shift toward associations and meetings as the contexts of contention did, indeed, occur.

The work under this heading breaks into several segments: a) further enumeration of contentious gatherings; b) search for additional documentation

concerning those gatherings; c) coding and editing of the descriptions of those gatherings in machine-readable form; d) analyzing and mapping changes in the characteristics of those gatherings. We have selected a total of twenty years (including the relevant years between 1755 and 1820 for which we have already done preliminary readings of the Gentleman's Magazine and the Annual Register) spread over the period from 1755 to 1835 for close study. In those years, we will check our previous work on Gentleman's and the Register, do a systematic reading of the London Chronicle (which also went by the name of Commercial Chronicle and London Packet at various stages of its career), attempt some systematic checking of those sources against the metropolitan dailies (e.g. the Times) when they begin appearing in the 1780s, and undertake some further cross-checking of the biases in those sources. For the period from 1828 to 1834, we are extracting the relevant events from the files of our general study of Great Britain.

The "London" in question will actually be at least three geographical units: 1) the southeast counties; Middlesex, Surrey, Sussex and Kent; 2) the built-up area, according to the best approximation we can manage (for the period after 1801, for example, Karl Gustav Grytzell's County of London: Population Changes, 1801-1901 will be a valuable guide); 3) the City, Westminster, Southwark, plus the set of boroughs which were thickly populated at various points in time. London's incessant expansion between 1755 and 1835 will require us to consider a larger and larger city as time goes on. The technical problems involved, however, will be less formidable than they seem, because our coding procedures pinpoint each event precisely in terms of the British National grid-square coordinates system, and thereby permit us to change definitions after the fact.

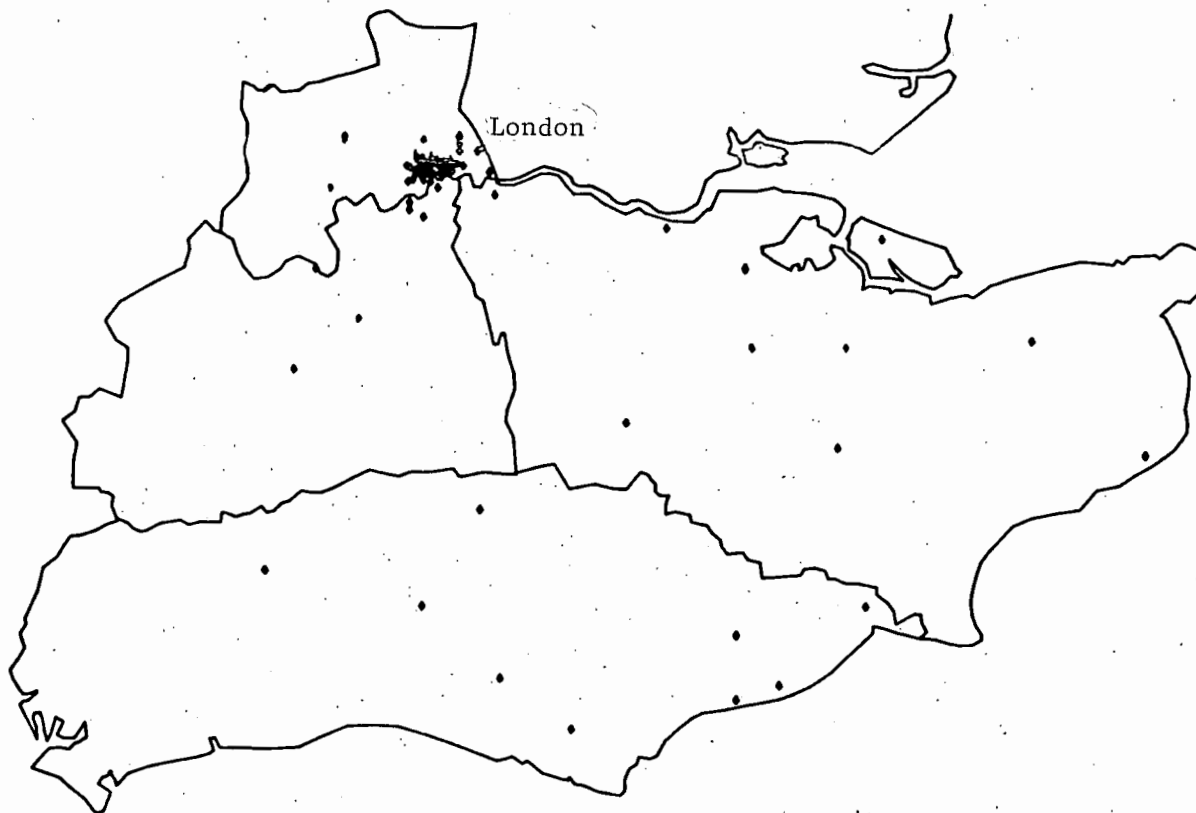
Map 1 is a computer reproduction of the four-county area noted above. We have finer detailed versions of the individual counties, and the grouping as a whole, for use when needed. This four county presentation has some

interesting analytical mapping possibilities. Pictured herein are all the contentious gatherings from our 1828 dataset. It can be seen that the gatherings center heavily in the metropolitan area thereby showing the urbanity of contention in this period. That is in contrast to the rural location of gatherings in 1830 when a laborers' revolt was occurring in the countryside. These data can also be presented in a format similar to map 2; The "Distribution of Finance Related Businesses" listed in Kent's directory for the year 1768, displayed on a London environs map. The concentration of business here is remarkable: we can see the center of the trade in the City near the "Bank", plus some scattered Westminster/West End county bankers offices. Centralized banking had arrived in London by 1768. If we zero in, on the city itself, we can see the distribution of banks throughout the "old city" as presented on map 3, showing city ward boundaries. The asterick on the map is the location of the "Bank of England". Maps 4 & 5 show Shipping Trade and Textile Industries distribution. The majority of shipping is located on London's westside. This concentration led, in a few years, for a call to expand the dockage areas westward to the Isle of Dogs. With our mapping capabilities we can watch the growth of the shipping trades in this period and see the increasing pressure on usable facilities. Textiles show a remarkable citywide distribution, this is in contrast to the more centralized northwest concentrations of the 1830's. Over the intervening years we can watch and see who were the first trades to setup in the northwest and from what areas the other trades followed, likewise who took their places when they moved.

When we have enough information to overlay the two types of data, business and contentious gatherings, we can begin to see some of the relationships between the economic makeup of a particular area (parish or ward) and it's citizens collective actions. For example, is there a prescribed route groups of people involved in the shipping trades take from the eastend to St. James Palace to

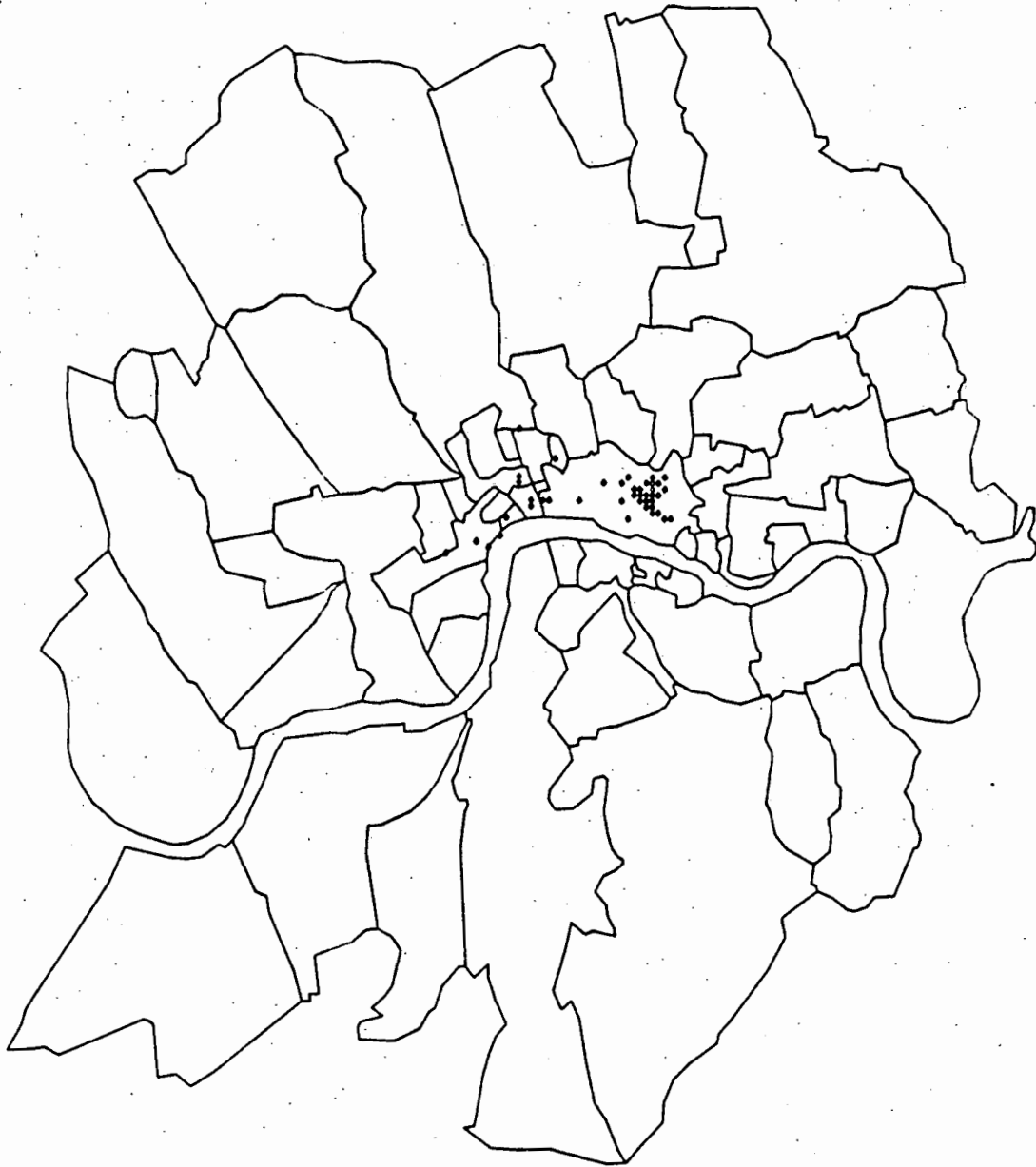
MAP 1

CONTENTIOUS GATHERINGS IN THE LONDON AREA : 1828



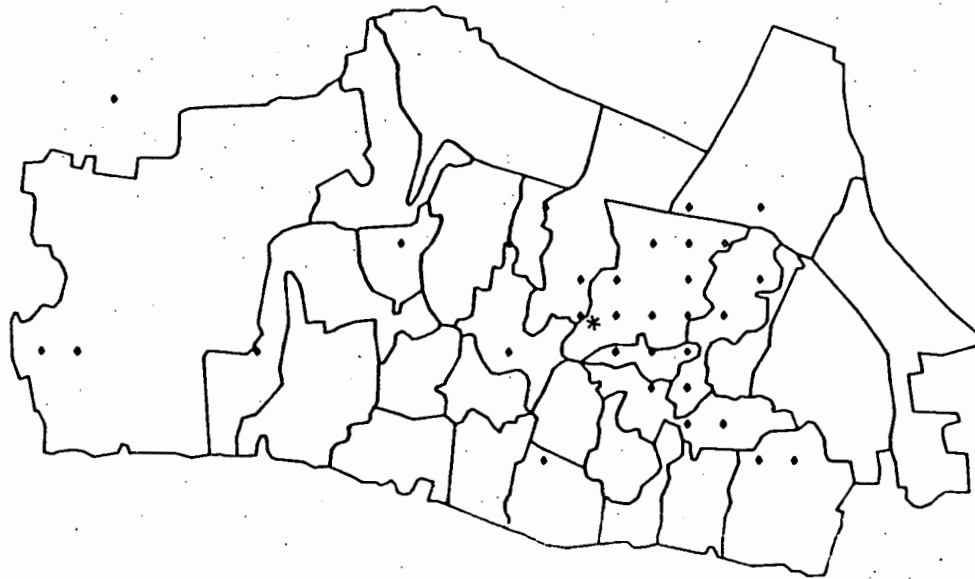
MAP 2

THE FINANCE RELATED TRADES: LONDON 1768



MAP 3.

FINANCE RELATED BUSINESS: LONDON 1768



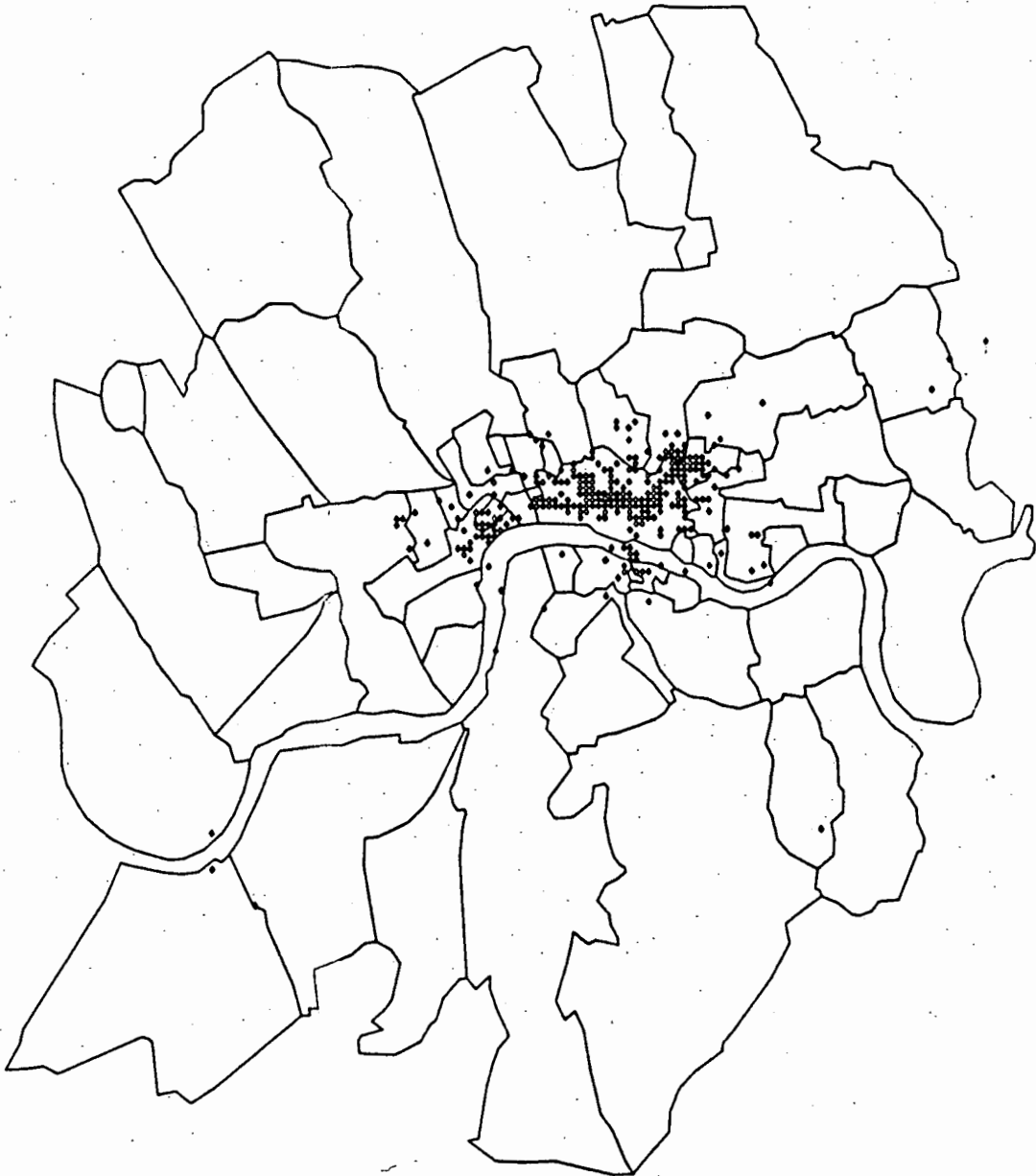
MAP 4

THE SHIPPING TRADES: LONDON 1768



MAP 5

THE TEXTILES INDUSTRY: LONDON 1768



deliver a petition to the King? Or, are the gathering places of linen drapers in close proximity to their places of business? Or, does the makeup of an area's businesses have an effect on the types and participants of collective action in that area? These questions, plus hundreds more, await the collection and analysis of data.

The further documentation of the enumerated events will come from contemporary diaries and biographies, from published historical works, and from a variety of archives. Among the archives, the highest priority will go to the State Papers, Home Office Papers and Metropolitan Police Papers in the Public Record Office, London. The Place Papers and Chadwick Papers, among others, at the British Library are useful for context. In the Clements Library, University of Michigan, the Grenville, Shelburne and Sydney papers promise to yield relevant information.

Once the dossier for each event is complete, we prepare a machine-readable description of the event, using the procedures we have developed for the study of Great Britain as a whole. Because of the way we have designed those procedures, the coded events are immediately available for tabulating and automatic mapping. For the period from 1828 to 1834, the use of the same format facilitates the comparison between London events and those from the rest of Great Britain. The results of this first phase will therefore be a set of analyses of changes in the general characteristics of London's contentious gatherings from 1755 to 1834, a set of annual maps of the locations of different types of contentious gatherings within Middlesex and Surrey (including an analysis of the correlates of different characteristics of contentious gatherings (e.g. the relationships among working-class participation, attacks on property, and location of the event) at different points in time, and a comparison of London events with those from the rest of Great Britain in 1828 to 1834.

We can describe the other main headings of the research program more succinctly.

2. describing the redistribution of economic activity, administrative activity and population distribution, 1755-1835. Here we are undertaking a modest effort, in hopes of undertaking something more serious later on. It is to use the available maps, atlases and scholarly studies to produce a decade-by-decade series of sketches of:

- a. the basic grid of streets and squares;
- b. built-up areas, with some general indications of population densities and predominant types of structure;
- c. locations of major public buildings and monuments, with some indication of their current political and symbolic significance;
- d. principal centers of craft, industrial, and commercial activity;
- e. general characteristics of the population.

For purposes of this description we will speak of a "decade-by-decade" sketch, but we may well shift the years involved to capitalize on the availability of major sources such as the 1801 census and the Lysons volumes.

How complete the collection of local information will be depends on sources we are still in the process of identifying and abstracting; the finished catalog will, in itself, be a contribution to further research on London.

The material we have identified so far makes it clear that a preliminary series of sketches is feasible. Consider, for example, these two

summaries of information contained in Daniel Lysons, The Environs of London . . . Towns, Villages and Hamlets within Twelve Miles of that Capital, published in 1810:

St. George in the East: Made a distinct parish by Parliament in 1727; formerly part of Stepney. An eastern suburb. Bounded by St. Mary Whitechapel, St. John Wapping and Ratcliffe and Mile-End Old Town. Land unoccupied by buildings on north side only. In 1802, the London docks (48 acres) were begun; they were first used in 1805. Many cranes and warehouses. Inhabitants are ropemakers and rigging makers for ships. Large soap manufacture on Old Gravel Lane. Many Danish and Swedish inhabitants. Population increase was great within the last 30 years: 3700 houses in 1794, 4029 occupied houses and another 119 unused in 1801. Many small cottages -- 3800 the current number -- in the upper part of the parish. There are school houses for boys and girls, an almshouse and a medical institution.

Hackney. Northeast side of London. It extends from Carbridge Heath to Stamford Hill, with a circumference of 11 miles. (A detailed enumeration of boundaries follows, as well as a list of major roads.) 3227 acres, 580 arable, 1570 under marsh, 110 occupied by market gardens, 40 by nursery men, and 170 in brick fields. Grassland is occupied by cowkeepers. Vast quantities of brick and tile are made in the parish. Temple Mills used to refine lead. Large silk mills employ between 600 and 700 women. The area is the site of many old mansions. Well Street and Shackelwell are popular districts. There was a college of Protestant dissenters, since torn down, in the 1780s; there is still an academy for dissenting ministers. There is a Jewish burial ground. The area had 983 households in 1756, 1212 in 1779, 1500 in 1789, 1600 in 1793, 2050 in 1801 (when 84 houses were unoccupied); the 1801 population was 12,730. (The account includes a list of schools, almshouses, and hospitals.)

Of course, we will have to compare and verify different descriptions of the same area as much as possible. The published volumes of the Survey of London will be especially valuable in this regard. Although the descriptions in the older sources are imprecise, they are perfectly suitable for coding. They also provide an agenda for further exploration -- for example, to locate the "Catholic, Methodist and Independent meeting houses" in St. George in the East. Other surveys in the same style include John Entick's History and Survey of London, Westminster, Southwark and Places Adjacent (4 volumes, 1766) and Edward W. Brayley's London and Middlesex . . . Survey (5 volumes, 1810).

Appendices D and E to this paper provide more information about available sources of information on urban structure. They include a provisional data-collection form, filled in with abstracts from various nineteenth-century sources concerning London. Such a form simply reminds us of the agenda for examining each source. As part of the research, we are developing a more adequate standard questionnaire and producing a uniform machine-readable record for each source and area.

As Appendix E indicates, our initial collection of information about urban structure and routine gatherings uses parishes and wards as its units of observation. That is, however, no more than a convenience and a

All data are geocoded using the British Ordinance Survey's National Grid reference system. A resolution of one hundred meters is used, making the grid references six digit numbers. Standardization of geocoding allows cross-referencing of locational data with digitized outlines of wards, parishes, and other administrative units. Point-in-polygon algorithms can then be used to recode the discrete data by any area units desired. Computer programs to achieve this recoding are under development.

3. describing changes in the geography and organization of routine assemblies, 1755-1835. For the present, this is also a modest effort. We are collating three bodies of material:

- a. reports of surveillance in the archives mentioned earlier, especially the State Papers and the Home Office Papers;
- b. compilations concerning gathering-places such as de Castro's manuscript dictionary of London taverns (Guildhall Library)
- c. information in the same periodicals we are consulting for the enumeration of contentious gatherings: Gentleman's Magazine, the Annual Register, the London Chronicle and, for the later period, the Times and the Morning Chronicle (for the moment, Hansard, Mirror of Parliament and Votes and Proceedings do not look like useful source for this purpose).

(Appendix C contains a few samples of the descriptions of routine assemblies which appear in the periodicals, and Appendix D lists a number of the relevant compilations. If we can locate sources yielding systematic information about the numbers and sorts of people in public places throughout the city at different points in time, we will certainly use them as well. The basic idea is similar to that for the redistribution of economic, administrative and demographic activity: to prepare decade-by-decade sketches of the principal locations and occasions which brought together members of specific trades, specific political groups, and other sets of people who sometimes participated in contentious gatherings.

4. relating the changes in routine assemblies to the changes in economic, administrative and demographic structure. Given the incomplete evidence we are going to collect under the two previous headings, this effort cannot be terribly ambitious, either. The central idea is obvious: it is to compare the decade-by-decade sketches of population and activity distributions with those of routine assemblies, to see whether the common-sense correlations (e.g. of working-class gathering places with working-class residences) hold up, and to consider whether major changes in the organization of different interest groups correlated with changes in the relationships among their places of residence, work and assembly. For example, it looks as though the rise of political and working-class associations toward 1830 produced a great increase in big meetings in such locations as Southwark's Rotunda, which means in turn that many people left their places of work and residence and traveled across the city to meet their fellows. That pattern of mobilization seems quite different from the one by which John Wilkes and Lord George Gordon got together their giant marches of the 1760s and 1770s.

5. relating the alterations in contentious gatherings to a) the changes in economic, administrative and demographic structure; b) the shifts in routine assemblies. Here we can be somewhat more ambitious than in the two previous cases, because the documentation concerning the contentious gatherings themselves will contain information about these relationships. We can, for example, ask how frequently, and in what way, authorized public celebrations and spectacles such as Lord Mayor's Day, the King's birthday, Guy Fawkes' Day, hangings and other public punishments figured in the contentious gatherings of different periods; our preliminary idea is that they became much less important as time went on. Given the decade-by-decade sketches of urban structure and routine assemblies, we can also determine how much of the changing geography of contentious gather-

ings was readily predictable from the spatial reorganization of the city, and at what points in time the most important alterations occurred. We can examine which participants in contentious gatherings found themselves in alien territory at various points in time; is it true, for instance, that with the increasing class segregation of the city, more and more workers' marches and demonstrations took them away from their home bases and into enemy territory? Were the shady squares of the West End out of reach? Did the changing strategies of policing and crowd control reflect the authorities' awareness of these sorts of alterations?

6. singling out three or four small areas for intensive analysis.

We plan to choose three or four small areas -- parishes, wards, or something else -- for particular study. The ideal area would have the following characteristics:

- a. good, continuous records of land use, economic activity, administrative structure and population distribution from 1755 to 1835;
- b. competent local histories already published, or available in manuscript, over the entire period;
- c. a significant level of local contention over some portion of the period;
- d. some evidence shedding light on the local structure of power, mobilization patterns, routine assemblies and their changes over the period.

Overall, the three or four areas should be of contrasting types with respect to urban structure. For example, sections of Westminster, Southwark, and the City would -- sources permitting -- lend themselves to valuable comparisons. We plan to choose the three or four small areas which best fit all these criteria, to collate and map the available information street by street, to undertake close

monographic studies of the interplay of urban structure, routine assemblies and contentious gatherings in each one, and then to make careful comparisons among them, both for their own sake and for the purpose of generating new ideas about patterns of variation over the whole metropolis of London. At this writing, we have singled out Marylebone parish as one of our study areas. One of our research assistants has compiled a short history of the parish and a bibliography of sources dealing with its history.

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APPENDIX A

A Catalog of Contentious Gatherings in London, 1765, 1766, and 1774

- 765-01-10-01 On Thursday the King opened Parliament, and a body of some thousand weavers marched upon the building to present a petition asking for a prohibition on foreign silks.
- 765-05-14-01 A large mob of weavers marched in procession from Spitalfields to St. James carrying a black flag, with the intention of presenting a petition, setting forth their distressed condition, to the King.
- 765-05-16-01 Eight thousand Spitalfield's weavers assembled in Murfields to again march to St. James Palace. On this occasion the guards were drawn out and effected the correct measure, as no violence occurred.
- 765-05-17-01 The weavers again assembled and marched to St. James without violence, but on their return to Spitalfields they beset the house of some silk merchants and broke the windows. Upon the arrival of the civil and military powers the rioters dispersed.
- 765-05-17-02 On the same day, a crowd gathered outside the residence of the Duke of Bedford in London and were trampled by the horse troops who had been called out to disperse them.
- 765-12-04-01 A numerous meeting of merchants trading with North America was held in London. They met to discuss a remedy to the recent differences between Britain and the colonies. A deputation was appointed to seek the ministry's support for an application to Parliament.

- 765-12-23-01 After the election in Southwark the supporters of Henry Thale Esq. paraded through the town. The cavalcade was made up of horseman and bands of music.
- 766-05-19-01 Upwards of 500 fellows assembled in a riotous manner near Gray's Inn Lane, London; they insulted several people and extorted money from others under the pretense of being distressed weavers.
- 766-06-00-01 Early in June the Haymakers assembled at the Royal Exchange to the number of 440. They prayed for relief because the heavy rains had prevented them from getting work; a collection was taken up for them.
- 766-07-13-01 While a Methodist preacher was presenting his sermon in the ruins of St. Giles in London, he was attacked by a mob, who broke his arm and fractured his skull. The cause of the attack was said to be his statements against the church of Rome.
- 774-07-28-01 A meeting of 500 Middlesex freeholders was held and a resolution passed supporting their worthy member John Wilkes.
- 774-09-26-01 A meeting of freeholders was held at Mile-End, London, for the purpose of nominating persons to represent the county of Middlesex. Mr. S. Glynn and John Wilkes were unanimously approved.
- 774-10-06-01 The polling for Lord Mayor took place; upon John Wilkes being declared the winner, the horses were taken from his coach and it was drawn through the streets by the populace.

APPENDIX B

A Catalog of Contentious Gatherings in London, June 1828

- 828-06-02-01 In London, the freemen of Durham, residing in London, met, resolving to continue their support of Sir Henry Harding, the Member of Parliament from Durham.
- 828-06-02-02 A disturbance occurred at the British Gallery, Pall-Mall, London, when an officer, who had been entrusted with maintaining order among a line of coaches, was run down by an angry coachman. A mob pursued the driver, throwing mud and stones.
- 828-06-02-03 An Association of British Catholics met at Freemason's Tavern, London, to receive the report of a committee which was reworking the rules of the Association; a vote of thanks was passed to the Duke of Sussex and the Duke of Norfolk.
- 828-06-03-01 A meeting of Durham Freeholders, residing in London, was held in the Three Tuns Tavern, London, to nominate a candidate for the upcoming election.
- 828-06-06-02 An open vestry meeting, attended by parishioners, was held in St. Paul's Covent Garden, London. Attempts were made to end the dissension over select vestries that had so long divided the Parish.
- 828-06-08-01 A brawl occurred in Stepney, Middlesex, between several hundred Irishmen, who, on their way home, attacked those who came across their path. Sixteen Irishmen were finally arrested.

- 828-06-09-01 A meeting of British Catholics was held in London's Freemason Hall to discuss the Catholic Emancipation issue currently before Parliament.
- 828-06-10-01 The parishioners of St. James' Parish met in the Public Rooms, Brewer Street, Golden Square, London, to consider parish affairs and the poor administration of their select vestry.
- 828-06-12-01 The East India Company gave a dinner in support of Lord Melville at the Albion Tavern, London.
- 828-06-14-01 The British Catholic Association met in London's Freemason Tavern to consider rules and regulations of the association.
- 828-06-16-01 A disturbance occurred in Sydney Street, London, when a mob, on discovering that a woman had attempted to hang her own daughter, broke the windows in her house.
- 828-06-18-02 At the celebration of the Anniversary of Waterloo in London, the populace thronged the river shores and cheered the Duke of Wellington upon his arrival.
- 828-06-18-03 A dinner was held in London's Freemason's Tavern to celebrate the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts; the Duke of Sussex was thanked for his efforts in the repeal.
- 828-06-21-01 A meeting, to establish a seminary for educating the youth of the metropolis and imparting religious education, was held in London; the Duke of Wellington was loudly cheered.

- 828-06-25-01 Deputies of Protestant Dissenters met in the King's Head Tavern, London. A petition, against clauses in a Bill that would give unconstitutional power to select vestries, was agreed to.
- 828-06-29-01 An affray between English and Irish haymakers took place in Wambly, Middlesex; in the course of their struggle one man was murdered.
- 828-06-00-02 Welsh Calvinist Methodists met at Jewin Crescent, London, to petition Parliament in favor of Catholic claims.
- 828-06-00-04 A meeting of the Congregation of the Calvinist's Worship was held in London. It was agreed that a petition supporting Catholic Emancipation should be presented to Parliament.
- 828-06-00-06 Protestant Dissenters met in St. George's in the East, Middlesex, and petitioned Parliament against Catholic emancipation.

APPENDIX C

Sample Contentious Gatherings and Routine Assemblies for Four Areas in 1828

1. Marylebone: Contentious Gatherings

- 828-02-00-15 A group of Protestant Dissenters assembled at their place of worship in Marshall Street, Golden Square, and resolved to petition Parliament for repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts.
- 828-02-00-76 Another anti-Test and Corporation Acts petition resulted from a meeting of Protestant Dissenters of the Independent Denomination at Paddington Chapel.
- 828-02-20-01 Approximately 1,500 parishioners gathered at the Bazaar, in King Street, Portman-square, to discuss oppressive parish rates and the related issue of the Select Vestry. Mr. Rawford, M.P., chaired the meeting. It was determined that unreasonable parish taxes could be attributed directly to the Select Vestry system. A motion was carried to petition Parliament in favor of opening the St. Marylebone vestry.

Marylebone: Routine Assemblies

The vestry called a meeting (one of a regular series) to let ash contracts and for cleaning the streets. The meeting is set for 9 February.

A fire occurs in a dwelling house and a crowd gathers to watch. This is a common occurrence throughout the area and time period.

2. Southwark: Contentious Gatherings

828-02-00-42 Assembling at their Meeting-house in Union Street, Protestant Dissenters agreed to petition Parliament for repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts.

828-04-00-06 At the Surrey Street Chapel, Blackfriars, a group of Protestant Dissenters determined to send an anti-Test and Corporation Acts petition to Parliament.

Southwark: Routine Assemblies

On 28 January the vestry of St. Savior's had its regular vestry meeting to discuss parish business and set new rates.

At an address on Blackfriars Road a new series of Unitarian lectures is beginning and the streets are crowded with people awaiting the opening of the doors to the lecture room.

3. Westminster: Contentious Gatherings

828-10-04-02 A riot occurred in a brothel on Frith Street, Soho Square, when a man named Goddard attempted to remove his wife and daughter from their place of employment. Goddard and a friend were attacked by about twelve prostitutes. Constables arrested everyone involved in the fray.

Westminster: Routine Assemblies

On 8 February a deputation of Dissenters visited the Duke of Wellington to discuss the fate of the Test and Corporation Acts bill now before Parliament. This is a series of deputations and delegations that visit the government offices weekly.

When Parliament is in session, there are regular gatherings of crowds to gain seats to hear the debates. These crowds begin gathering in the morning outside Commons and clog the streets until the opening of the gallery doors.

There is a "Grand Masonic Festival" in honor of the Duke of Sussex held at the Freemason's Tavern on Monday, 28 January. The tavern also plays host to a number of other similar functions, such as Surgical Society meetings and Butchers Charitable Institution meetings.

4. St. Paul's, Covent Garden: Contentious Gatherings

828-01-10-02 At a "noisy and uproarious" parish meeting held in St. Paul's Church for the purpose of electing a vestry clerk, supporters of incumbent Roche cheered their favorite. Those who backed candidate Corder were parishioners in favor of instituting an open vestry. The latter group loudly booed and hissed the incumbent. Roche won the election.

828-03-26-02 Without consulting non-select parishioners, the Select Vestry had drawn up a list of candidates from which local Magistrates were to appoint two Overseers. Non-select parishioners subsequently held a Petty Session in the vestry-room of St. Paul's Church, Mr. Dow presiding. After eight men had been chosen for recommendation, the meeting was disrupted by Magistrates Sir Richard Birnie and Thomas Halls. Refusing a suggested compromise, the Magistrates appointed two Overseers from the Select Vestry list. The meeting closed with an angry exchange between Dow and Sir Richard.

- 828-04-08-01 Open Vestry proponents had recently defeated a bill designed to impose the Select Vestry on their parish. A two-day Open Vestry was held in the aisle of St. Paul's Church for the purpose of electing parish officers. The Select Vestry candidate for Vestry Clerk, incumbent Roche, was defeated by Open Vestry candidate, Corder.
- 828-04-17-02 Gathering at the Piazza Coffee-House, parishioners resolved that their deposed Vestry Clerk be compelled to relinquish the parish books to his successor.
- 828-06-06-02 A meeting was convened in the vestry room of St. Paul's Church. Inhabitant householders determined to bring the former Vestry Clerk before the King's Bench for refusing to surrender parish records. Parishioners also decided to petition Parliament for repeal of certain acts affecting the local vestry, which they felt had caused turmoil in the parish.
- 828-09-26-01 A violent encounter between Irish and English porters took place in Covent Garden Market. Irish workers used spades, pick-handles, and rocks against their unarmed opponents. An unspecified number of injuries resulted, and twelve men were arrested.

St. Paul's, Covent Garden: Routine Assemblies

On 18 January an election was held for vestry clerk. The hustings were crowded with electors and spectators. There was much shouting and applauding of the candidates.

On 20 January a crowd gathered to hear a preacher speak on the street corner and blocked up an intersection, so numerous were they.

London (in General): Routine Assemblies

At Newgate Prison on 12 March "the concourse of people assembled on the occasion was greater than had been known for a considerable time." The occasion was the hanging of five young men for a robbery conviction.

The Guildhall played host to a Grand Morning Concert for the benefit of the Spanish and Italian refugees. This is one in a long history of such benefit concerts at the Guildhall over the 1828-34 period.

On 9 January the annual meeting of the Association for the Relief of the Poor of the City of London was held at the London Coffeehouse, Ludgate-hill. This is one of the many hundreds of such meetings that happen every day in coffeehouses and taverns throughout the London area.

APPENDIX D

Major Sources of Evidence

For a description of the redistribution of economic activity, administrative activity, and population distribution in the London area from 1755 to 1835, we plan on making a city-wide survey and spotting the major locations of each activity in question. We will proceed for collection and retrieval purposes by dividing up the London metropolitan area into specific geographical units: wards within the City proper, and parishes within the metropolitan area. From here we can compile a data set for each geographic unit. The data set would include: market locations, trade and industry centers, workplaces, major administrative centers (such as Guildhall, Parliament, or St. James' Palace), population statistics, migration information, and architectural, townscape, and street layout data.

While the collection of this information can be an arduous task, we plan to use many of the previously published materials on these topics (see list below). We should emphasize that this step in the research is still exploratory and we do not plan on undertaking a large primary source search.

Three books that provide an overview for the collection of these data are Max Byrd's London Transformed: Images of the City in the Eighteenth Century; Francis H. Sheppard's London 1808-1870: The Infernal Wen; and Hugh Phillips' Mid-Georgian London.

For more specific information on the economic activities in the London area we will consult, among others: Borer's England's Markets; Edward W. Brayley's London and Middlesex; Colquhoun's A Treatise on the Commerce and Police of the River Thames; John Entick's A New and Accurate History and Survey of London, Westminster, Southwark and Places Adjacent; Edward Hasted's The History and Topographical Survey of the County of Kent; Hobsbawm's The Nineteenth Century London Labor Market; Goss' The London Directories 1677-1855; Lysons' The Environs of London; and Passingham's London's Markets: Their Origin and History, which

provide an invaluable guide to hundreds of annually published lists of trades, merchants, banks, companies, inns, and officials.

For information on administrative activity we will consult the following: Welch, Modern History of the City of London: A Record of Municipal and Social Progress from 1760; Rasmussen, London, the Unique City; the London County Council's Survey of London; Wheatley, London, Past and Present; Olson, Town Planning in London, the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries; Leeds, Illustrations of the Public Buildings of London; Cherry, The Evolution of British Town Planning; and Ashworth, The Genesis of Modern British Town Planning.

For population distribution information the following sources will prove valuable: the British Census Reports; Price, "The Population of London, 1801-81;" Shepherd, Social Atlas of London; Redford, Labor Migration in England 1800-1850; Mayhew, London Labor and the London Poor; Carr, "Residential Segregation by Social Class: The Origins of London's East and West Ends;" Phillips, Mid-Georgian London, a Topographical and Social Survey of Central and Western London About 1750; George, London Life in the Eighteenth Century; Saunders, Regents Park, A Study of the Developments of the Area from 1086 to the Present Day; Lawton, The Census and Social Structure: An Interpretative Guide to 19th-Century Censuses for England and Wales; Spate, "The Growth of London 1660-1800," in Darby's An Historical Geography of England Before 1800; and Reeder, "A Theatre of Suburbs: Some Patterns of Development in West London, 1801-1911," in Dyos' The Study of Urban History.

For mapping we will generally consult The Printed Maps in the Atlas of Great Britain and Ireland by Thomas Chubb, Darlington and Howgego's Printed Maps of London 1553-1850, and numerous maps we have uncovered in local histories.

For the changes in the geographic and organizational routine of assemblies, 1755-1835, part of the problem will be simply to identify the locations of those assemblies. We can consult the London directories noted above to locate inns, taverns, and coffeehouses. Likewise, in reviewing sources for contentious

gatherings, information on routine gatherings will surface. Secondary sources, such as London Inns and Taverns by Wagner, London Coffee Houses by Lillywhite, and The Pleasure Haunts of London by Chancellor, will also prove useful.

Stapleton's two works on London streets, London Lanes and London Alleys, Byways and Courts, plus Ekwall's Street Names of the City of London will provide information on place name locations. Barker and Robbins' A History of London Transport, The Nineteenth Century (Volume 1), and Dyos' "Urban Transformation, a Note on the Objects of Street Improvement in Regency and Early Victorian London" will help us analyze changes in urban transportation. Some of the earlier surveys of the London areas, such as Lysons and Entick, will also contain useful information.

For the changes in contentious gatherings in the 1755-1827 period we plan to consult "Sylvanus Urban's" historical chronicle, the Gentleman's Magazine, and the Annual Register, which began publication in 1757. For more specific details, the London Chronicle (also known as Commercial Chronicle, London Packet, and Universal Evening Post), the Public Record Office State Papers, and the Home Office series will provide excellent information about gatherings. From our reading of contemporary sources, such as the Annual Register and the London Chronicle, we can collect information on routine festivals and special celebrations. Whether the information in these sources is complete is yet to be discovered.

For the 1828-1835 period we will add the materials from our study of Great Britain: London Times, Morning Chronicle, Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, Mirror of Parliament, Gentleman's Magazine, Annual Register, Votes and Proceedings of the Houses of Parliament, and vast Public Record Office documents, such as the Metropolitan Police papers and the Home Office files. In addition, we plan to spot-check our findings using other sources, such as Cobbett's Political Register, and for secondary source information we will review, among others, Darvall, Popular Disturbances and Public Order in Regency England; Foster, Class Struggle and the Industrial Revolution -- Early Industrial Capitalism in Three English

Towns; Hayter, The Army and the Mob in England in the Generation Before the Gordon Riots; Hobsbawm and Rudé, Captain Swing; Maccoby, English Radicalism, 1786-1832; Mather, Public Order in the Age of the Chartists; Munger, "Popùlar Protest and its Suppression in Early Nineteenth-Century Lancashire England"; Rudé, "The Gordon Riots -- A Study of the Rioters and their Victims," "The London "Mob" of the Eighteenth Century," Wilkes and Liberty -- A Social Study of 1763 to 1774, and Hanoverian London, 1714-1808; Stevenson, "Food Riots in England, 1792-1818" and "Social Control and the Prevention of Riots in England, 1789-1829"; and Thomis, Threats of Revolution in Britain, 1789-1848.

From our experience in identifying sources for the 1820s and 1830s, we are sure that these publications will lead to a whole new set of sources: street directories, atlases, contemporary surveys, specialized analyses of particular neighborhoods, and others. (The inventory of sources will in itself be a useful by-product of the research.) The real problem is not likely to be the shortage of evidence about urban structure but its abundance and unevenness. The geography of routine assemblies is riskier; in this two-year period of research we may have to settle for very rough sketches of gathering places and traffic flows. Yet any advance we make on either front will be a significant contribution to our own research and to other people's work on London.

LONDON STUDY

Topographical Unit Questionnaire

Appendix E

COUNTY: () Middlesex () Surrey TOWN: _____
() Sussex () Kent

PARISH: _____ PLACE: _____

SOURCE INFORMATION

YEAR OF SOURCE _____ AUTHOR: _____

TITLE _____ PAGES _____ to _____

POPULATION INFORMATION

() YES () NO AMOUNTS, LIST _____

HOUSES _____ OCCUPIED _____ UNOCCUPIED _____

TYPES OF POPULATION _____

ECONOMIC INFORMATION

() YES () NO LIST TRADES, INDUSTRIES, MANUFACTURING AND MARKETS.

LAND USE INFORMATION

() YES () NO LIST TYPE OF USAGE AND OWNERSHIP

CHURCHES: _____

Number of () C of E, () DISSENTING, () CATHOLIC, () JEWISH

SCHOOLS: _____

PUBLIC BUILDINGS: _____

TRADE HALLS: _____

POLITICAL INFORMATION

() YES () NO LIST PARISH - OFFICERS, NUMBER OF PRECINCTS, ETC.

OTHER INFORMATION

() YES () NO LIST ITEMS NOT NOTED ABOVE

NAME OF PLACE: St. Mary-le-Bone
COUNTY: Middlesex YEAR OF INFORMATION: 1832
SOURCE: John Gorton, A Topographical Dictionary of
Great Britain and Ireland, vol. 2, Pt. 2, pp 777-779
BOUNDARIES GIVEN? () YES (✓) NO. If yes, list them:

INDUSTRIES MENTIONED:

Portman Market (Hay + straw)

POPULATION INFORMATION; STATISTICS, COMPOSITION

678,808 inhabitants

OTHER INFORMATION OF INTEREST:

Parish church: St. Mary-le-Bone
Parish Chapel
4 district churches
Chapels: Episcopal (several),
Roman Catholic, Baptist, Scots
Presbyterian, Wesleyan,
Methodist, "and other Protestant
Dissenters."
Charity-School
School of industry

National schools and other
seminaries
Middlesex Hospital
Portman Market
Regent's Park

GCL STUDY

Topographical Unit Questionnaire

RAS 7-79(2)
GBS Form 79-2

COUNTY #: 22 TOWN: London

PARISH: _____ PLACE: Candlewick Ward

GRID # FOR UNIT CENTER _____, _____

EXACT ADMINISTRATIVE LOCATION: Middlesex ; London Same as above
county town

SOURCE INFORMATION

YEAR OF INFORMATION: 7 5 6. SOURCE; AUTHOR: William Maitland

TITLE The History and Survey of London from its Foundations to the Present Time
Vol. 2

PAGE(S) 853 - 854.

POPULATION INFORMATION

YES NO

IF YES, EXACT AMOUNTS? LIST: _____

HOUSES _____ : OCCUPIED _____ UNOCCUPIED _____

YEAR IF DIFFERENT FROM SOURCE YEAR _____

TYPES OF POPULATION: _____

ECONOMIC INFORMATION

TRADES LISTED IN AREA? YES NO IF YES, LIST TYPES: butcher, haberdashery,
tinmith, ANY NUMBERS? YES NO

MANUFACTURING LISTED? YES NO IF YES, LIST TYPES: tinware, turnery - ware,
fishing tackle, bird cages, cutlery, hats, ANY NUMBERS? YES NO

LAND USE INFORMATION

BOUNDARIES IF ANY: Bounded on east by Bridge Ward, on south by Bridge
and Doughty Wards, on north by Longhorn Ward, on west by Doughty and
Wellbrook Wards.

LAND USAGE: TYPE _____ ; LOCATION _____

OWNERSHIP INFORMATION? YES NO

CHURCHES Parish churches: St. Clement's Eastcheap, St. Martin's Abchurch,
St. Michael's Crooked-lane. O'Leary; French Episcopal, Continued on next page
two meeting-houses.

GCL STUDY
Topographical Unit Questionnaire

SCHOOLS NA

PUBLIC BUILDINGS NA

MAJOR ROADS N/A

POLITICAL INFORMATION

ANY INDICATION OF DISTRIBUTION OF POLITICAL POWER IN THIS AREA? YES

_____ NO

CODER A x A 1 DATE 07 30 79 ENTERER _____ DATE _____