

BOOK REVIEWS

Tim Everson, *Seventeenth Century Trading Tokens of Surrey and Southwark*, Galata Print Ltd, 2015. Price £37 (+£3 p&p). Softback, 129pp, many colour illus, 10 maps. ISBN 978 1 908715 08 1. Available from Galata Print Ltd, The Old White Lion, Market Street, Llanfyllin, Powys SY22 5BX (also from their website: www.galata.co.uk).

With the publication in spring 2015 of this excellent, eagerly-awaited and completely up-to-date catalogue of Surrey 17th century trading tokens, Surrey once again has its own major catalogue and work of reference on the subject.

Guildford Museum houses arguably the finest collection in the world of Surrey 17th century trade tokens, comprising its own collection amassed over the past 100 years; the collection of Dr Frederick Bailey Penfold (died 1941), owned by the National Trust and on permanent loan to Surrey Archaeological Society; and the collection of the late John Lancaster Wetton (died 1988), which was acquired by Surrey Archaeological Society. Photographs of many of the tokens in Guildford Museum, especially those in the Penfold and Wetton collections, were taken by Brian Wood for Project Matrix at the Surrey History Centre, Woking, and he has allowed them to be used in this book. Thanks to the financial generosity of Peter Preston-Morley at London Auctioneers Dix, Noonan & Webb, many more tokens housed in the British Museum were able to be photographed. Without this crucial support, the book would have been a lesser work.

It is important to remember that these tokens were struck, issued and used extensively at a time of great stress and emergency, so only a few of the pieces are in pristine condition. Nevertheless, the resulting photographic quality is as good as in any other contemporary work. The pieces come in a range of values, shapes and sizes. Most of the Surrey tokens were for the value of ¼d (farthing = ‘fourth thing’ or quarter of one penny); a number of ½d (halfpenny) and interestingly even 3 pennies. Mainly they are round in shape, but some are square, octagonal, and even heart-shaped. The metals used were mostly brass or copper, but a few were struck in pewter or lead.

What can be learned from studying this book? Imagine for a moment being transported back in time over 350 years to a Surrey that was recovering from the horrors of the Civil War. Perhaps a small disc of copper or brass with unusual writing and engraving has been dug up in a garden, maybe found inside an old cottage, or possibly tucked away in an old piece of furniture. Much pleasure can be derived by discovering these local artefacts, so it is no surprise that previously unrecorded Surrey pieces continue to turn up occasionally. The present author’s catalogue provides a fresh, fully updated and comprehensive record of these tokens that were issued and used in Surrey between about 1650 and 1670. The interregnum at the end of the Civil War and the execution of Charles I, up to and including the early part of the reign of Charles II, were extremely turbulent times, with virtually no low-value Regal money available in general circulation. Effectively the country was bankrupt. In desperation, about 20,000 tradespeople across England and Wales during that brief period of twenty years, mainly men but also women, gradually took it upon themselves to order, issue and use emergency unofficial money, in a determined effort to allow everyday village and town life to continue as normally as possible. Strictly speaking, such tokens were illegal and, in theory, the issuing of them was strictly forbidden. However, first the Parliamentarians and later the government of Charles II turned a blind eye to their existence because the situation was so dire. Guildford even issued its own town tokens in 1668, well into Charles II’s reign. It was a round brass farthing and was probably intended to provide some relief to the poor and needy of the town parishes. A contemporary saying can still be remembered by some older folk: ‘So poor, he hadn’t even got two brass farthings

to rub together'. Because this was virtually the only time that brass farthings were in general circulation, this saying indicates how vitally important their very presence must have been 350 years ago.

The majority of people could neither read nor write at the time these tokens were being used, so many of the pieces contain a basic detail that local users would recognise and accept on trust, confident that the issuer would redeem them for the value stated. Spellings were often not as we know them today. From various 'finds' recorded, these local tokens must have often travelled and been accepted in nearby villages. Some male issuers added their wife's first name initial to their own, which helps when trying to trace the identity of an issuer. Often the issuer's trade is described, allowing a better understanding of what Surrey life was like in the mid-17th century. Much invaluable information can be gleaned from these tiny pieces of metal. Local place-name spellings provide clues to the vernacular of the time – Abenworth for Abinger; Darkin for Dorking, and Ebisham for Epsom. Just say the old names out loud and the way those place-names were pronounced will be appreciated! Godalming's town name is spelt in six different ways on just seven tokens, with two of the issuers calling their town Godlyman. Guildford had six spelling variations on its 32 tokens.

Trade tokens of the 17th century have been painstakingly catalogued by several experts during the past 150 years, with three of their books having become accepted as standard reference works on the subject. It should be remembered that the earliest published listings of 17th century trade tokens were researched before the advent of photography and electricity, and in every case the Surrey tokens formed just a part of an overall national study. William Boyne produced his opus in 1858 (Boyne 1858). George C Williamson produced a new and revised edition of Boyne's work in two volumes in 1889 and 1891. This catalogue is known as Williamson's Boyne and is referred to as BW throughout Mr Everson's new book. It was reprinted in three volumes in 1967 (Williamson 1967) and it remains an important source of reference to this day. In addition to these national catalogues, three authors – Hooper, Wetton and Williamson – have produced Surrey-specific token data, much of which has been published in *Surrey Archaeological Collections* (*SyAC*). Importantly, Mr Williamson was resident in Guildford in the years that his work was prepared and published. He made a significant number of contributions to *SyAC* during his years spent in Surrey (eg Williamson 1891). Wilfrid Hooper (Hooper 1943) produced a study of Surrey tokens during the years of the Second World War. John Wetton and his son Nick Wetton produced an important updated work, specifically on Surrey tokens (Wetton & Wetton 1959). These authors' works featured in *SyAC* as well. Michael Dickinson (1986) produced his national catalogue nearly 100 years after Williamson's Boyne. Robert Thompson and Michael Dickinson (Thompson & Dickinson 1996) have produced the listing of a major private collection of 17th century trade tokens, a monumental work on the Norweb Collection. Tim Everson, by concentrating exclusively on Surrey and neighbouring Southwark, has been able to research and publish each piece in far greater detail. Thus he presents us with the most comprehensive and accurate listing ever produced of purely Surrey tokens.

Tim Everson's catalogue is divided into two sections, Surrey 1 and Surrey 2, both having maps indicating the geographical spread of the tokens. Being critical, the five pages of maps should have been larger. Surrey 1 includes 287 tokens of rural Surrey parishes, alphabetically listed by village or town, from Abinger to Woking. Surrey 2 lists 754 pieces in Southwark, Bermondsey, Rotherhithe and Newington parishes, broken down into the actual streets where the tokens were used and circulated. There is a seven-page concordance with Williamson and Dickinson. Designs and devices appearing on the tokens are indexed, as are the named trades and named signs, each time using modern spellings. A three-page index of surnames will be of immense potential help to local historians and family history societies.

The author has carefully studied the combined data from previous works, corrected mistakes and inaccuracies, then added previously unrecorded Surrey and Southwark tokens. This has enabled him to create a Surrey-specific catalogue with a completely new and

user-friendly numbering system. In each case, the old references in Williamson's Boyne (BW) and Norweb are cross-referenced. Where a Dickinson reference is different from BW, it too is cross-referenced under 'D' in the BW column. Mr Everson has researched and collected local tokens and paranumismatica for over 30 years. For several years he was Local History Officer at Kingston upon Thames Museum, to which he generously donated a group of Kingston upon Thames 17th century tokens. He has also produced another major work on the farthing tokens of James I and Charles I (Everson 2007), as well as having had articles published in the Spink *Numismatic Circular* and *SyAC*.

Between 2010 and 2015 Tim Everson was the Honorary Editor of the *Token Corresponding Society Bulletin*. Thus he is eminently suited and well qualified to produce this new listing of Surrey tokens. The quality of the resulting book is of an extremely high standard, as is to be expected of all Galata publications – painstakingly compiled and profusely illustrated with excellent actual size photographs of almost every one of the 1041 pieces that are listed in the catalogue. These photographs are essential for such modern catalogues as they show small variations and record the correct readings. Previous lists of Surrey tokens have contained errors and omissions, so Mr Everson has taken full account of all these problems, adding the latest previously unrecorded tokens and introducing a completely new and easy to understand numbering system.

Mr Everson's book will appeal to casual enquirers, family historians, specialist token enthusiasts and Surrey researchers as well as students of the local history of this war-torn period in the county. This listing is a welcome addition to Surrey's recent social history. It is being used already by London auction houses and it will provide the definitive guide to Surrey 17th century tokens for a long time to come.

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Kathryn Atherton, *Dorking in the Great War*, Pen and Sword, 2014. Price £12.99. Softback, 192pp, 213 illus, ISBN 978 1 473825 52 9.

This is one of a series published by Pen and Sword marking the centenary of the First World War and detailing the effect the conflict had on the populations of a large number of towns and cities throughout the country. Each book takes a chronological approach and examines the changes in attitude and compensatory action as the toll of war dead mounted.

Sources for this period are plentiful with both death notices and official versions of local events reported in the local press, and with the minutes of various committees available for research. These sources have been effectively mined and a picture painted of a community firstly detached from the unfolding reality – the Dorking and District Whippet Racing Association were attending a Bank Holiday meeting in Eastbourne as the Germans marched into Belgium. In the early years of the war recruitment was brisk, led by the sons of the local great and good. Anti-German feeling ran high – a German maid was arrested and charged

with breaching a 5-mile movement restriction on foreigners when her employers brought her from London to Abinger, and a local businessman with a foreign name felt compelled to announce in the local paper that he was not German.

As the number volunteering fell conscription was brought in. At first food producers amongst others were allowed exempt status, but as the war in the trenches ground on even men previously rejected as medically unfit were enlisted. A few disappeared and their names were listed in the local paper with a request that readers should turn them in.

As the war progressed Dorking saw major fluctuations in population as training camps were set up and troops passed through by train on their way to the front. The railway station was also used as a trans-shipment point for returning stretcher cases and ignorance of the true conditions in the trenches must have been reduced when a military hospital was opened at Anstie Grange.

By 1917 food shortages became acute and rationing – more associated in the public mind with the Second World War – became severe and lack of fuel made for cold schools and homes. Outbreaks of measles, whooping cough and diphtheria, all then killers, became increasingly common and it is these descriptions of hardship that most clearly illustrate the effect of the war on ordinary people, particularly the poor.

This book will undoubtedly find a market, but it is not without its problems. The information on the prisoner of war camp at Felday, Holmbury St Mary is simply incorrect (see Newell *et al*, this volume, 149–64) – it was not a civilian internment camp, it did not open in 1916 and it is unlikely ever to have housed 1000 men. There are also disconnects – perhaps, given the bias in the available sources, inevitable. The cheerful, bunting-decorated fund-raising activities jar when placed beside the increasingly numerous death notices – perhaps they jarred at the time, after all, fairs and parades are public, grief is private. Quaker opposition to the War gets a cursory mention but were no other doubts expressed – again perhaps only privately? This reviewer would also have liked to see some mention of the effects of the influenza epidemic of 1919 (although this may not have been within the author's remit) particularly given the hardship experienced by returning soldiers. Memorials to the dead there were aplenty but less help for the wounded in body and mind in a country with no universal health-care system.

JUDIE ENGLISH

Malcolm Lyne, *Archaeological Research in Binsted, Kingsley and Alice Holt Forest, Hampshire*, British Archaeological Reports no 574, Archaeopress, 2012. Price £50. Softback. x + 350pp, 109 figs, 45 b/w plates. ISBN 978 1 407310 73 2.

All researchers dread 'the backlog' that dogs their failure to publish with each passing year. A rush of satisfaction must accompany any author's achievement of 'closure', such as this publication of an extensive, multi-disciplinary programme of work undertaken within north-east Hampshire over 30 years ago. It involved an ambitious programme of fieldwalking and standing buildings surveys, a study of documentary sources and place-names, excavations of two Roman pottery waster dumps within Alice Holt Forest, a series of kiln-firing experiments, with the results supplemented by those of nine other excavations undertaken by the author in partnership with others.

With so many disciplines involved, however, this review will be limited to three aspects that are better understood by its author: the archaeological landscape survey, the stratigraphy of the larger waster dump and the Roman pottery that was excavated from it. The last two, which comprises the greater bulk of the monograph, concerns the part-excavation of Alice Holt dump 52, the largest, longest-lasting and best-sequenced Roman production site so far published from the Forest.

The landscape study was of an area west of the forest and south from the river Wey, but which included much of the catchment of its Kingsley Stream tributary, and which represents a 42km² segment through the Gault and Greensand outcrops that continue through Surrey to Kent.

A brief geomorphological introduction lacks a geological map or any sense of what makes the topography of the area so distinctive. Its outstanding feature is a malmstone plateau that rises from steep cliffs to afford prospects of the chalk dip-slope to the north and more magnificently southward across the whole of the western Weald, and is deeply dissected by the defiles of many springhead streams.

The landscape survey is in period chapters, but which sites are old discoveries rather than new is not often made clear. It would also have been best to explain the limitations of the fieldwalking programme, such as how many ploughed fields were walked, and by what methods. Some of the boldest assertions of the survey are based on air photos, of which nineteen are published, supported by observations in the field and collected finds.

One air photo (pl 1) shows a large feature on a hill overlooking the Wey that, although alternatively suggested as being geological (p 8), could be a circular enclosure. Disturbances that suggested its interpretation as a 'henge' or 'causewayed camp' – later posited as 'the Millcourt henge' – are not, however, readily discernible. Also not obviously apparent are the 'circular embanked enclosures', possible 'cursus' and 'long barrow' east of Binstead on another air photo (pl 13 and pp 8–9), as well as a 'rectilinear temenos' enclosing a 'Romano-Celtic temple' and 'small winged ?priest's house' said to be part of the same feature complex (R 11). All are suggested to have been serviced from a spring in the adjacent hangar, but this part of the malmstone edge is extensively quarried almost certainly at a much later date. If such features exist at all nearby, they may have been associated with such activity. It is not encouraging that the only recovered find from the vicinity is a simple struck flake that is interpreted as an 'axe-shaped implement' (fig 5 inset).

The earliest clearances are said to have begun during the early part of the 1st millennium BC with the creation of three large, ovoid enclosures in Kingsley and another in Binstead. While these certainly exist, no evidence is provided for such a dating and they could be much later and result from medieval assarting. A smaller ovoid enclosure, suggested as having possibly surrounded an Iron Age farmstead of 'farmer/potters', is less convincingly identified from an air photo (pl 6 and p 24), but the destruction of the area by a golf course precludes any further illumination.

Perhaps the boldest assertion for the later 1st millennium BC is that a series of disparate lengths of hedge define an Iron Age 'oppidum' that had been 'enlarged at least three times' to enclose 370ha (p 17). Despite a Late Iron Age coin die apparently detected nearby, the identification of so important a regional monument requires more convincing evidence than this enjoinder of gaps. An associated claim is that two later prehistoric pottery 'pit kilns', 70m apart and excavated just outside the 'oppidum', included one (IA 23) that fired calcined flint-gritted Saucepan Pots, and the other (IA 24) vessels of later fabrics and forms. If true, these would be nationally important discoveries of early, simple updraught kilns, but their reporting provides no convincing evidence, since the published plans and sections are too small to be coherent and cannot be correlated with the descriptions in the text. Those of Phases 1 and 2 of pit IA 23 are illustrated, but there are none for Phase 3, which is suggested to have provided some vestigial evidence of a degraded kiln substructure. No burnt clay debris was found in association, which is odd for a pottery kiln, and the only conclusion must be that, although IA 23 might have been the heavily truncated lower part of a simple kiln structure, it could as easily have been a pit with tertiary bonfire usage, but not necessarily for pot making.

The interpretation of IA 24 as a kiln is even more tenuous, despite its 'black earth' fill containing 'blackened stone fragments'. The pit was only 30cm deep, with a 'mound of potsherds' including most from a sand-and-flint-tempered storage jar and four others in different fabrics of which a comb-decorated fragment is identified as being of TR3 type, ie

terra rubra. Although there seems no reason for IA 24 to be interpreted as a kiln, further east in Wheatley, a sherd scatter from handmade vessels in sandy and calcined flint and sand-tempered fabrics with 'a few pieces of fired clay oven or furnace lining' seem more likely to represent production firing, although not necessarily of pre-Conquest date or more sophisticated than a surface bonfire. However, sherds in similar fabrics are recorded from five locations within the Roman pottery complex of Alice Holt and may represent the origins of the industry.

Some of the claims made for the survey area during the Roman period are challenging. A villa at Wyke is almost certain, since a bath-house was uncovered there in 1818. The survey adds five more plus several other major building complexes, largely on the basis of air photos. Along 3km of the south-facing malmstone edge, a '?winged corridor villa' (R 2), another 'winged corridor villa' with a 'square ?Romano-Celtic temple' (R 5), a 'villa enclosure' (R 8), a 'substantial stone building' (R 4) and a 'building' with appurtenant vineyard' (R 21) are identified. However, these seem imperceptible on the published photos as does a 'small corridor villa' (R 12), a 'courtyard villa complex' (R 40), a 'substantial stone building' (R 4) and the religious complex previously described further north (R 11). If even half of the above identifications are true, it would represent the most remarkable concentration of villa-status complexes in Britain, matching only the density of comparable estates within the Bay of Naples.

In addition to a shorter account of another waster dump, one-third of the monograph presents the results of excavations on AH 52, one of the larger examples of the 95 so far recognised within the Alice Holt cluster. This represents only part of a more widely-spread manufacturing complex, with those of Farnham to the north-east being considered certain to have been the largest of all (Lyne & Jeffries 1979, 11). The results of the work at AH 52 has long been anticipated because of its potential for understanding the complexities of ceramic sequence within this important industry, at least for its earliest two centuries of production.

Magnetic survey located five probable kilns within the *c* 500m² of AH 52, but no plan of them is provided. The excavations were of *c* 4% of the mound in its north-western quadrant, and here, 35 stratigraphic phases were identified from before AD 55/60 to the second half of the 3rd century, including 24 through the 0.5m of Phases 1 to 9 of the Neronian to early Antonine periods. In summary, the stratigraphical sequence ran as follows.

The shallow postholes and raised areas interpreted as hut floors of Phase 1 yielded 95 sherds, including 22 of a calcined flint and sand-tempered fabric not previously recognised in the 1979 series (*ibid*, 18). Their similarity to sherds from the possible production site of IA 25 and to some Silchester fabrics prompts the speculation that the latter may have been produced at Alice Holt. The phase is undated, but the other sherds are more certainly early Roman and from kilns in the vicinity.

The basal features were sealed by a sterile layer, upon which those of Phase 3 are suggested to have spanned the last 30–40 years of the 1st century AD. Eight sub-phases were discerned, with successive floors and alterations of workshop rooms associated with a kiln just outside the area of the trench. Not until further reconstruction in the early 2nd century of Phase 4 was a simple, surface-built kiln constructed within the trench area, which was soon replaced by others outside, and then by another simple example that was uncovered in the early Antonine levels of Phase 8A, although largely destroyed by replacements.

A much more sophisticated kiln, most probably of double-flued updraught type, was constructed over that of Phase 8 during the later Antonine period, with adjacent warming hearths and various modifications identified until the later sub-phases of Phase 10. This is identified as the earliest such structure to have been uncovered at Alice Holt, with all earlier kilns, including those of AH 52, having been surface-built (p 222). A major rebuild in the early 3rd century included its southern and northern flues being twisted east and west, a refinement surmised to have enabled hot gases to better circulate, and with the former replacing an earlier loading platform. The last firing of the floor of this Phase 11 kiln was archaeomagnetically dated to *c* AD 220, and the floor of its major rebuilding of Phase 11b

to *c* AD 250. Although there were some later modifications, activity within the excavated areas is concluded to have ceased by *c* AD 270 on the basis of an absence of white-slipped coarsewares of later Roman types.

The earliest half metre of the stratigraphy of AH 52 is comparable to the most complex of urban sites and must have presented challenges in excavation and interpretation. Can it really have been so easy, however, to distinguish individual sub-phases so positively, let alone 24 of them, within such frequently disturbed ground? There is little allowance for doubt, and the narrative is not made easy to follow or question when the 21 sub-phase plans show so few context numbers – a shortfall that is exacerbated by the use of dual series for layers and cut features. It is also confusing that numbered sub-phases are preceded by another not numbered, as in sub-phase 11 being followed by those of sub-phases 11A to D.

Although it is conceivable that the calcined flint-gritted pottery of Phase 1 was made in the vicinity, and that Alice Holt supplied Silchester with the ware, indistinguishable fabrics found in large quantity at a probable production site 9km further east in Tongham (Jones 2011, 9) implies a more dispersed transitional industry. There is, after all, no certainty of its production at AH 52.

Also, the sterile basal layer is assumed to have been short-lived before Phase 3 began in the early Flavian period with standard post-Conquest coarseware forms. However, some are jars of Class 3A even in sub-phase A contexts. The form has not previously been recognised as being particularly early (Lyne & Jefferies 1979, 25), and not all the corresponding illustrations seem to be of ‘atypical’ or ‘early’ examples, as judged. Their presence could, therefore, suggest that the hiatus had lasted much longer than assumed, perhaps until the final decade of the century.

Both kilns that pre-dated the more sophisticated example of Phase 10 were simple structures of ‘clamp’ and ‘bonfire’ type that operated concurrently with others implied to have been a little more advanced, although not by much since it is thought likely that ‘all earlier kilns had been surface-built and appreciably smaller’ (p 222). Reduced wares can only have been made in these latter or in ‘clamps’, but much of the orange/brown pottery, especially storage jars, is thought to have been made in open fires. There is said to have been a ‘sharp decline’ in the use of bonfires and clamps ‘after the initial years’ of the industry, and another in the late 2nd century, with the former becoming more prevalent than the latter (p 222). If so, such bonfires must have been large, and very wasteful of fuel.

Finally, some comments on the pottery found within AH 52 are warranted. An assemblage of 850 items of pottery is illustrated, and although the greater bulk is of coarsewares, an important contribution to our understanding is that oxidised finewares represented a small, but significant component of the industry during the 2nd century. They include copies of Dr. 37, Dr. 38 and Curle 11 forms, some lead-glazed, and there are mica-dusted bowls and flagons and at least one imitation of a Rhenish Ware beaker. Although few examples were found, they could be more common in one or more of the other kilns of the mound.

In large part, the typological succession and relative proportions of coarseware forms conform to the current consensus, although both this, and the reasoning applied to the AH 52 corpus, most often still relies on circular arguments. Thus, that Phases 8 and 9 are dated to the 3rd quarter of the 2nd century, and Phase 10 to its last quarter, is wholly based on forms (p 194), by which is meant commonly accepted dates for certain vessel types or traits as perceived from consumer sites. Since re-deposition very often bedevils such assemblages and especially those of this transitional period, there is rarely any precision about dating. This is especially important in the AH 52 sequence because it is during this period that a more sophisticated kiln was built, and earlier ‘Atrebatian-derived’ types began to be superseded by the ‘non-local derivatives’ of a fundamentally different repertoire of later Roman forms. However, the usually applied dates of convention need not necessarily be right, and nor can it be known what proportions of the earlier types comprise residual material perhaps serially redeposited.

Some vessel forms are key to understanding the major ceramic shift that is presumed to have begun in the late Antonine period. Later types of Class 3B became the dominant

jar forms of the 3rd century industry. These deserve to be reclassified separately from the few earlier examples that more closely resemble those of Class 3A than any BB1 form, and include all nine illustrated from Phases 8 and 9, and five of twelve from Phases 10–10C. The marked increase of the classic later Roman 3B types only begins in Phase 10D in which they represent 14% of all pottery. In the same sub-phase the earliest Class 5A bowls appear, but with two out of three with ‘incipient’ flanges, as also six of seven in Phase 11 and a majority with fully lid-seated flanges only achieved through the remaining sub-phases of 11A–D. The same rise through sub-phase 10D and Phase 11 is reflected in the straight-sided dishes of Class 6A. Also, just as for the 3B jars, the earlier types of the Class 1A narrow-necked form also warrant separate classification from later examples that first appear in Phase 10D, more developed variants following through Phase 11. The larger, but related, Class 1C types are present in Phase 11, as also the later bead-rimmed storage jar variants of Class 4 and cable-rimmed ‘beehives’ of Class 10, although internally-grooved body sherds of the latter were present in sub-phases 10–10C.

The introduction of several of these new Class sub-forms is suggested to have been later than was surmised in 1979 by between ten and twenty years. Although possible, this is by no means proven by this new account. The only empirical dating that pertains for this major change of form repertoire can only be implied from the last firing of the Phase 10 kiln in sub-phase 11A to around AD 220. How much earlier had been Phase 10D is a matter of speculation.

Thus far is enough, and as good a place as any, to conclude this review, although other comments would have undoubtedly been forthcoming by others with different capabilities. Despite the stridency of some comments made above, Malcolm Lyne is to be congratulated in finally bringing to fruition the results of his intensive burst of multi-disciplinary work, and all in a single volume. Never since has such a rigorous study of a small area been published, even though many have been undertaken or attempted. The price of the monograph may be considered steep, but the contents make it a compelling purchase for very many reasons.

One final note. Just as for several other BAR publications of recent years, there was clear need for peer review and independent editing of this monograph before going to press, and the responsibility for implementing these procedures must surely reside with the publishing house.

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Louise Fowler and Anthony Mackinder, *Medieval Haywharf to 20th-century Brewery: excavations at Watermark Place, City of London*, MOLA Archaeological Studies Series 30, 2014. Price £15. Softback, xiv + 107pp, index and CD-ROM, 68 b/w and col illus. ISBN 978 1 907586 23 1.

This monograph, by Louise Fowler and Anthony Mackinder, complements and cites earlier monographs on the excavations, which have revealed a succession of waterfronts that have marked the steady expansion of the City of London into the Thames since Roman times.

Watermark Place succeeded Mondial House on a site just east of Cannon Street Station. Mondial House was built as the switching centre for international telephone traffic, when demand far exceeded the lines there were to carry it and highly lucrative rates could be charged. Building commenced in 1969, long before Planning Policy Guidance note 16, and as the foundations were to be deep, any build-up could be, and was, simply removed. Archaeologists were aghast.

Subsequently finding that all was not lost was a bonus, as was being able to read a thoroughly well-written account of the excavations. These were in the south-western corner of the site, where there had only been a single basement car park. The Roman and early medieval waterfronts and buildings to the north had been lost (though the lack of a Period 1 in the account implies some enigmatic early remains). Period 2 starts in the 13th century. Documentary research has led to an understanding of five ever-lengthening plots stretching down to the river from Upper Thames Street with lanes between them. These were in two parishes: All Hallows the Great and All Hallows the Less. The names of the tenements on the plots and of the lanes changed with ownership or usage, and were sometimes reapplied nearby. Haywharf Lane, now All Hallows Lane, was west of the site. The excavations took place on two tenements – II and IV – both lying to the east of Haywharf Lane.

Some of the people attracted to the site were well-to-do and built well. As the tenements grew first one then another advanced into the Thames. Altogether fourteen waterfronts were recorded behind the present one. The first was a 13th century stone-built dock wall on tenement II, perpendicular to the river, possibly of the hay wharf. Later, further south, came Waterfront 2, parallel with the river – wooden, with external bracing. In the mid-14th century a more splendid wooden Waterfront 4 was built on tenement IV with rear bracing – this had been designed for a straight run, but (poorly) adapted to wrap around the corner into a dock.

The monograph has little to say on the hay wharf, although it was still operating at the beginning of the 14th century. An early trade associated with the area was rope making with Thames Street being known as the Roperie at one time. Brewing started in the 16th century, and expanded across both tenements – several hearths/furnaces were found that support the documentary evidence.

As with other riverside sites, there was good survival of finds in the waterlogged fills behind the waterfronts. The cover of the monograph shows an attractive pilgrim badge – a rare one of St Michael spearing a dragon (though the dragon is missing) in a tin-lead alloy. Leather survived well, with fine examples of late 13th century decorated leather knife sheaths. Some 14th century cordage was found to be of coir, then in use in southern India, and not commonly found in Europe until the 18th century.

A site that had long been thought to be a lost cause redeemed itself.

This monograph reads well and has a particular strength in the clarity of the site plans, which are all of the same style, each including an inset showing the part of the site in question. I would recommend this as the first monograph that anyone new to London's waterfront archaeology should read, before progressing to the more prolific sites.

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