

LANDMARKS IN LONDON HISTORY

Week 4. Thames, Trade and Travel





Afbeelding van de

Representation curieuse de l'embrasement de la

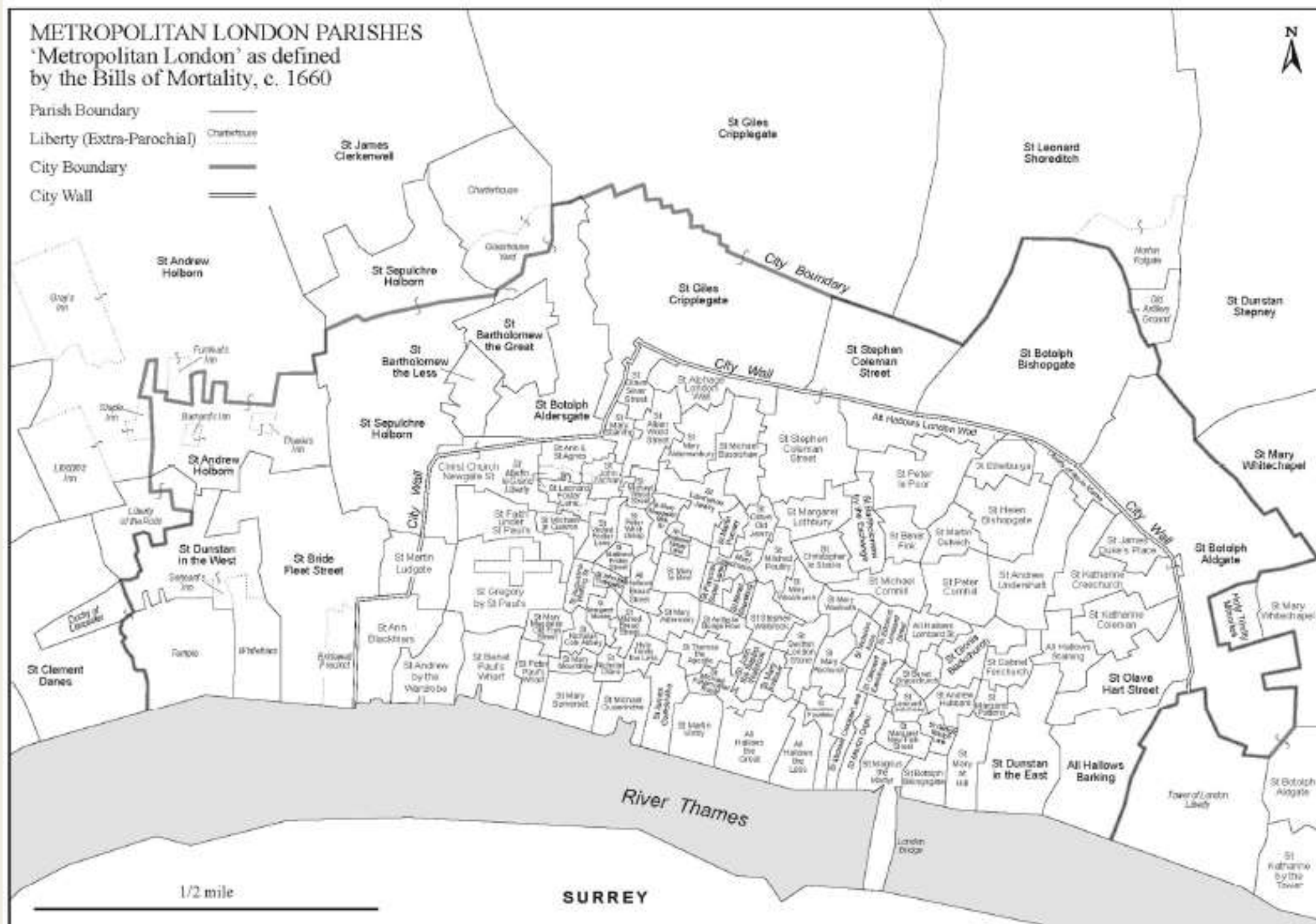
Delineation of the

Accurat Plan der Stadt London nebst Westminster, Southwark und den neu angebaucten Häusern vom Jahr 1767



'Metropolitan London' as defined
by the Bills of Mortality, c. 1660

Chartreuse



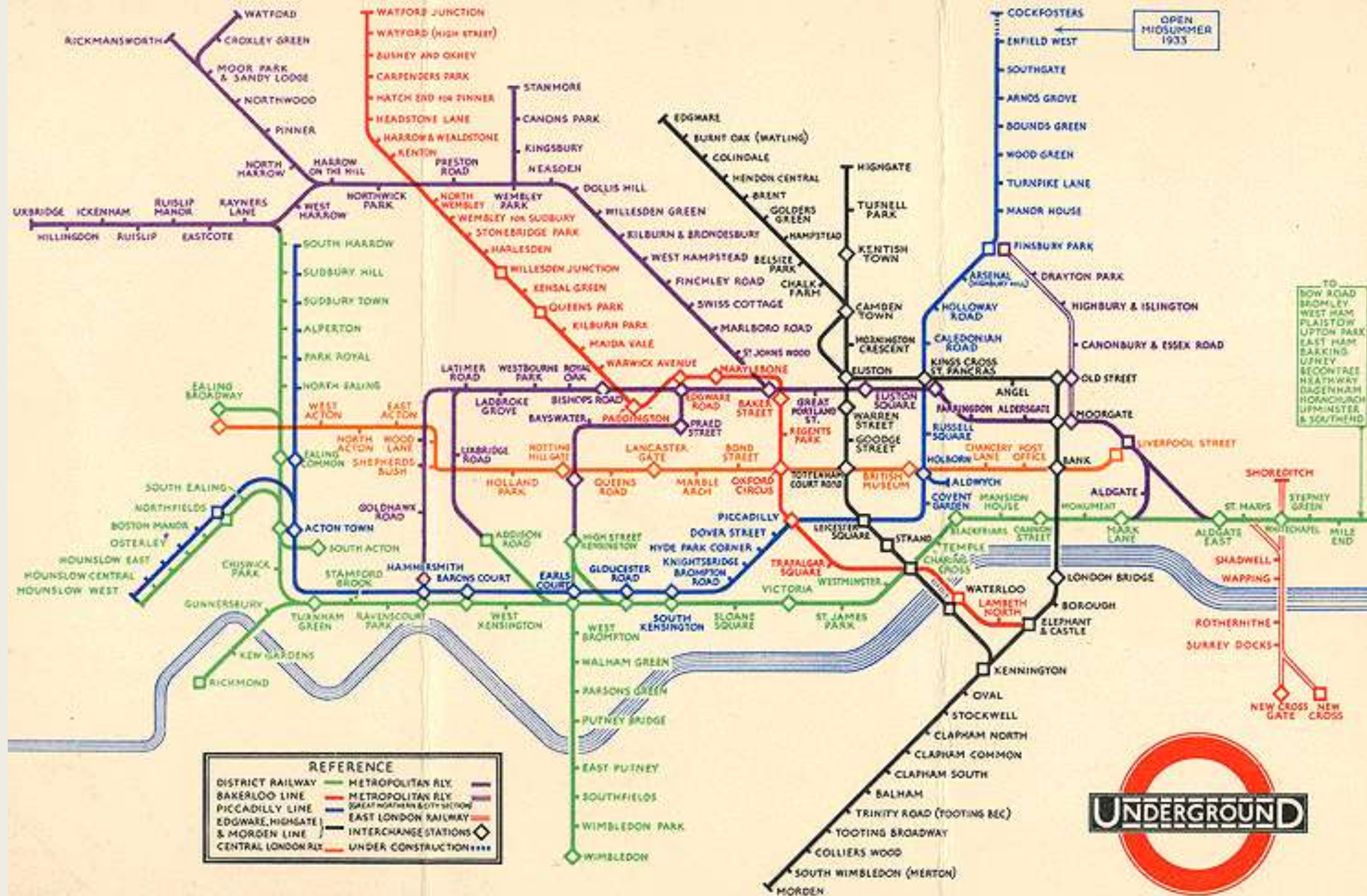
LONDON METROPOLITAN BOROUGH

Reference to Railway Termini

- | | |
|----------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1. <i>Paddington</i> | 7. <i>Fenchurch Street</i> |
| 2. <i>Marylebone</i> | 8. <i>Cannon Street</i> |
| 3. <i>Euston</i> | 9. <i>London Bridge</i> |
| 4. <i>St. Pancras</i> | 10. <i>Waterloo</i> |
| 5. <i>King's Cross</i> | 11. <i>Charing Cross</i> |
| 6. <i>Liverpool Street</i> | 12. <i>Victoria</i> |

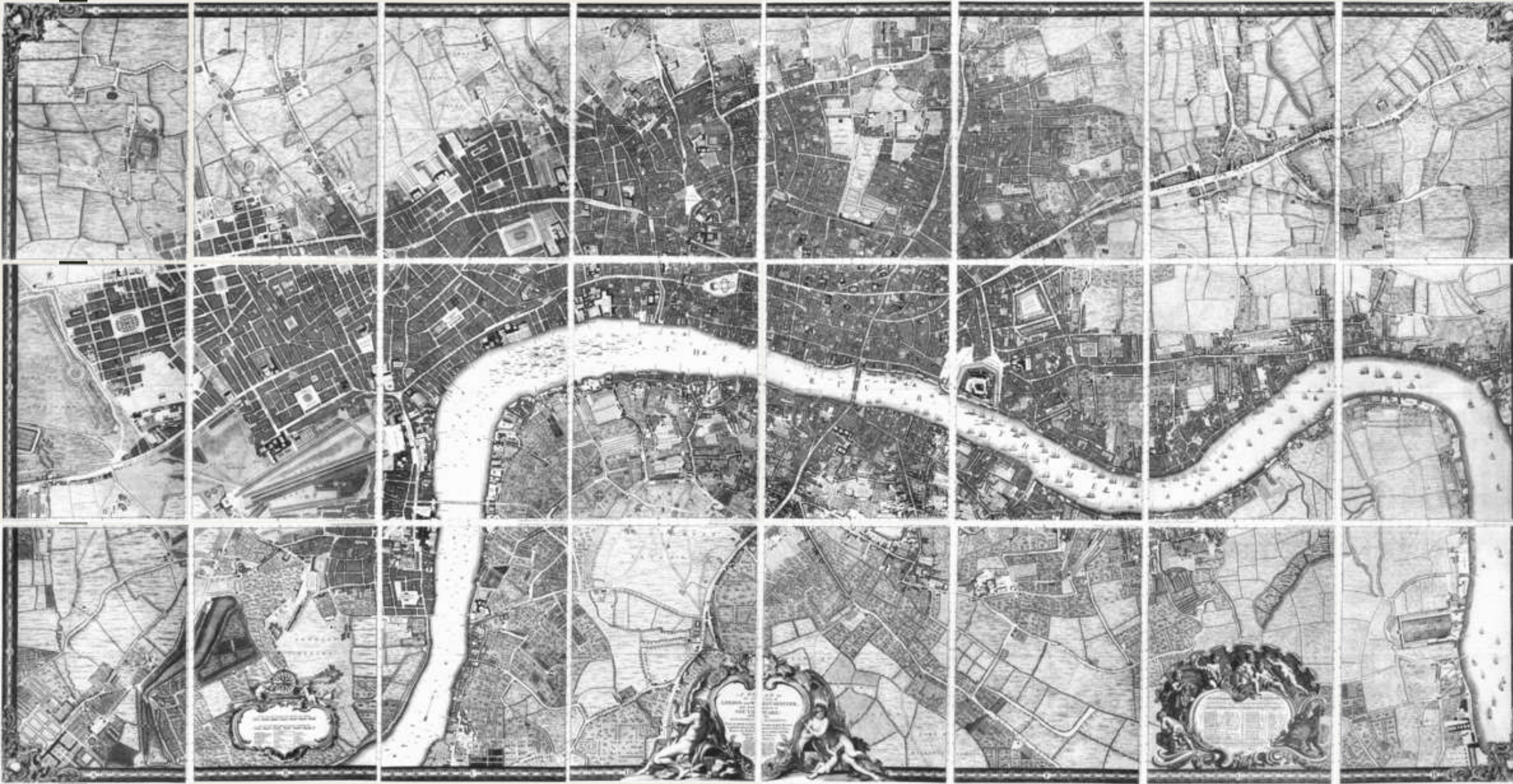


Scale of Miles
0 1/2 1 2 3









John Rocque, Map of London (1746, 24 sheets)



Introducing the Thames

- How do we begin to historically assess the Thames as a historical landmark?
- Can we historically define a natural, fluid feature?
- Do we look to London's foundations in the sum of its people, or its historical events, or in the appearance and character of its buildings...
- Or in the natural environment that gave rise to it?
- How can we assess the changing relations between Londoners and their environments over the city's history?



Introducing the Thames

- 215 miles in length, the second-longest river in Britain
- Runs along the borders of 9 English counties
- Source is at Kemble, Gloucestershire
- The modern Thames has 134 bridges, 44 locks above Teddington, with 20 major tributaries (others now underground)
- Thames valley basin is around 5264 miles
- A green, once-forested area with clay soils
- Varying current and often unpredictable directions of flow

Thames

‘It has been called liquid history because within itself it dissolves and carries all epochs and generations. They ebb and flow like water.’ (Ackroyd)



Carrington Bowles, "A General View of the City of London" (1756-8)

Thames

- 'Never did sun more beautifully steep
In his first splendour, valley, rock, or hill;
Ne'er saw I, never felt, a calm so deep!
The river glideth at his own street will:
Dear God! the very houses seem asleep;
And all that mighty heart is lying still!
- Wordsworth, *Composed Upon Westminster Bridge* (1802)
- 'The Thames shouldered its way past Blackfriars Bridge, impatient with the ancient piers, no longer the passive stream that slid past Chelsea Marina, but a rush of ugly water that had scented the open sea and was ready to make a run for it.'
- J.G. Ballard, *Millennium People* (2003)





Thames, a London River

- Only ten miles of its course runs through Inner London
- London was the lowest point where the Thames could be forded and bridged, as it contained a gravel bed. This gravel subsoil also made it possible for trading craft to land safely, unlike its nearby mud-banks. (The London clay also made it very difficult to cultivate crops).
- Though Julius Caesar landed in Deal, Kent in 54 BCE, and crossed the Thames to bring war to the local leader, Casivellaunus, there is no evidence that a permanent bridge or settlement was established until 43 CE
- Under Emperor Claudius, an army of 40,000 arrive in England. The local Celts again use the Thames as a defensive line.
- The Romans build a bridge thought to be a little east of the modern London Bridge, above the tidal reach, and travel over and crush them. Within a decade a settlement is established, one which Tacitus described as 'filled with traders and a celebrated centre of commerce'.

Why London?

- This point on the Thames was ideal for beaching craft and bridges
- Facing the Low Countries and Europe, London on the Thames was ideal as a military garrison and trading post for a European imperial power
- A junction with four major roads leading south to Chichester and Canterbury, and north to Colchester, York, Chester and beyond
- The rivers which fed into the Thames were also associated with healing powers, religious worship, e.g. the Temple of Mithras at Walbrook, and sacred (or drinking) wells
- After the Romans left, London and its bridge went into decline, with the bridge not rebuilt until the 9th or 10th centuries (either by Alfred or Cnut)
- Up until the 18th century, London remains focused around its primary bridge, and the City of London north of it



Top. Jongh, View of Old London Bridge (1632)

Bottom. William Morgan, Panorama of London Bridge, 1690



LONDON BRIDGE. 8-10



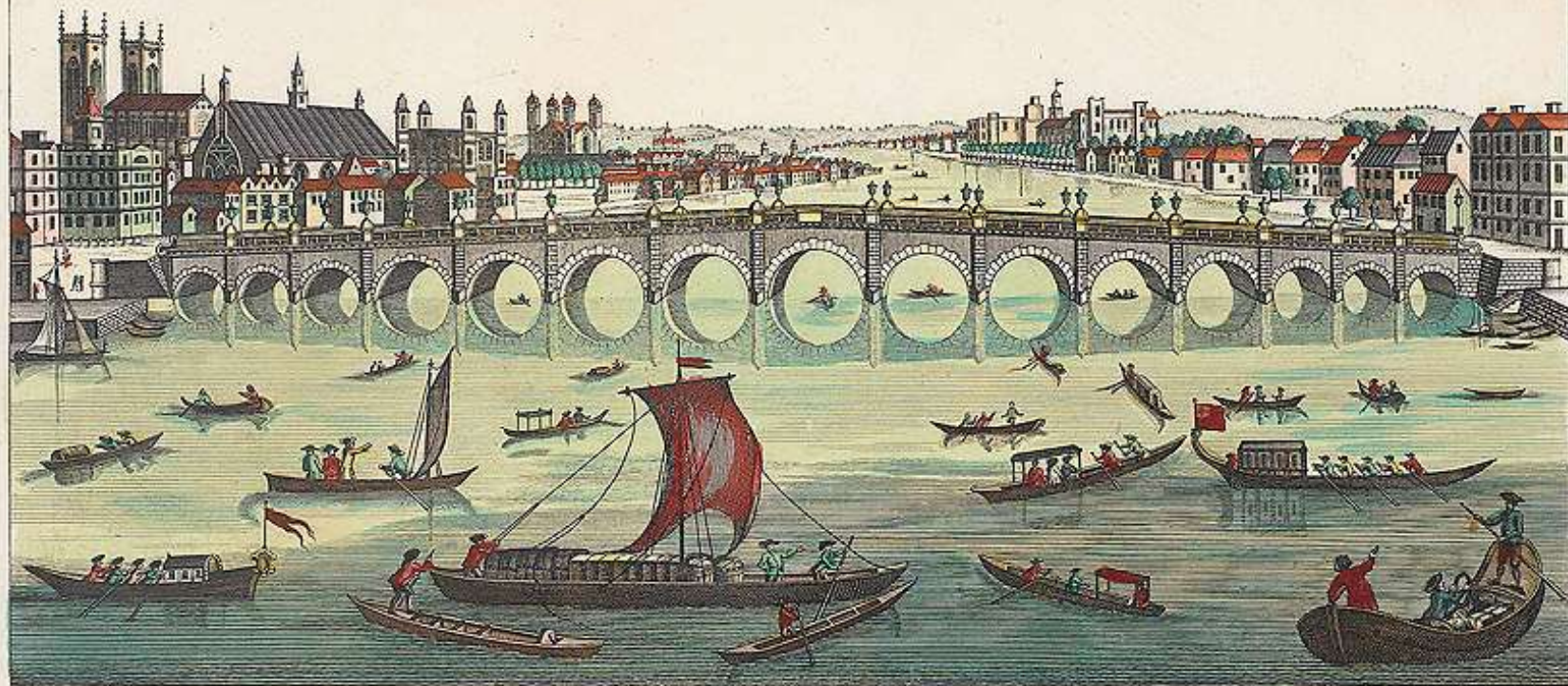


London Bridge

- Bridges over the Thames are believed to have been made of wood up until 1176, which, like the rest of the old City, made it vulnerable to regular fires
- Construction began on a stone bridge in 1176, which stood until 1830
- Henry II dedicated the bridge to St Thomas a Becket, with a chapel and river-level entrance on the bridge
- The old bridge had 19 arches, a draw-bridge, defensive gatehouses, spikes to display the heads of traitors, and many shops
- Major fires destroy the bridge in 1212 and 1633
- In the Tudor era there were 200 buildings on the bridge, some seven storeys high. The cram of traffic often took an hour to cross
- To get around this, some Londoners would travel by ferry, but the narrow arches of the Bridge (and Thames' currents) also made this dangerous

London Bridge

- By 1722 congestion was becoming so serious that the Lord Mayor decreed that 'all carts, coaches and other carriages coming out of Southwark into this City do keep all along the west side of the said bridge: and all carts and coaches going out of the City do keep along the east side of the said bridge'
- From 1758 to 1762, all houses and shops on the bridge were demolished through Act of Parliament. The two centre arches were replaced by a single wider span to improve navigation on the river
- The old bridge was eventually demolished in 1830.
- By 1896, Rennie's new bridge was congested, with 8000 people and 900 vehicles crossing it every hour
- After it was discovered to be slowly sinking, in 1968 the bridge was sold and transported to Lake Havasu, Arizona, by oil magnate Robert McCulloch
- The current London Bridge was completed and opened in 1973



Vue du Pont de Westminster du Côté du Nord de Londres.

Se vend à Amsterdam au Nécessaire de l'Académie Impériale d'Armes de la Cour de France, chez M. de la Harpe, au Palais National, et chez M. de la Harpe, au Palais National, et chez M. de la Harpe, au Palais National.

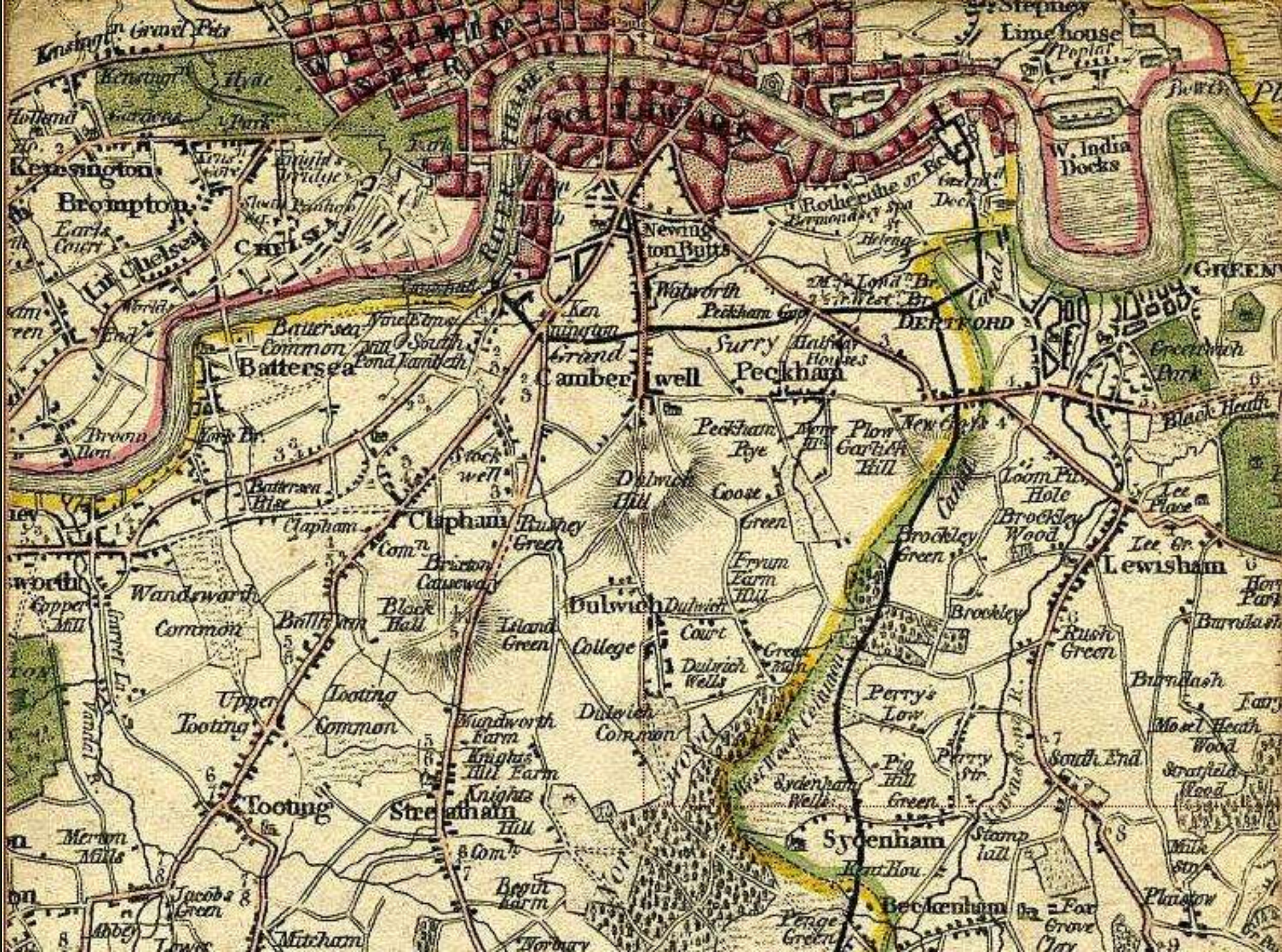
Leizelt, "View of Westminster Bridge" (1780)



Canaletto, Westminster Bridge, with the Lord Mayor's Procession on the Thames (1747)

London's other bridges

- Westminster Bridge opens in 1750, and Blackfriars in 1769
- The nearest bridge was at Kingston, and the Corporation of London and watermen had opposed an earlier proposed bridge at Westminster in 1664
- Bridges follow at Kew (1759), Battersea (1773), Richmond (1777), Waterloo (1817), Queen Street (1819), and Tower Bridge (1894)
- From the early 19th century, the south side of London develops
- Improved traffic, new innovations in draining land, embanking the river and building on clay soils aids its build-up, previously focused just on Southwark and settlements around the dockyards at Rotherhithe, Deptford and Woolwich, and the royal palace and naval hospital Greenwich



Topographical Map
Of The Country
Twenty Miles
Round London
1800 (William
Faden)

CRUCHLEY'S NEW PLAN OF LONDON

SHOWING ALL THE NEW AND IMPROVED IMPROVEMENTS TO THE PRESENT TIME

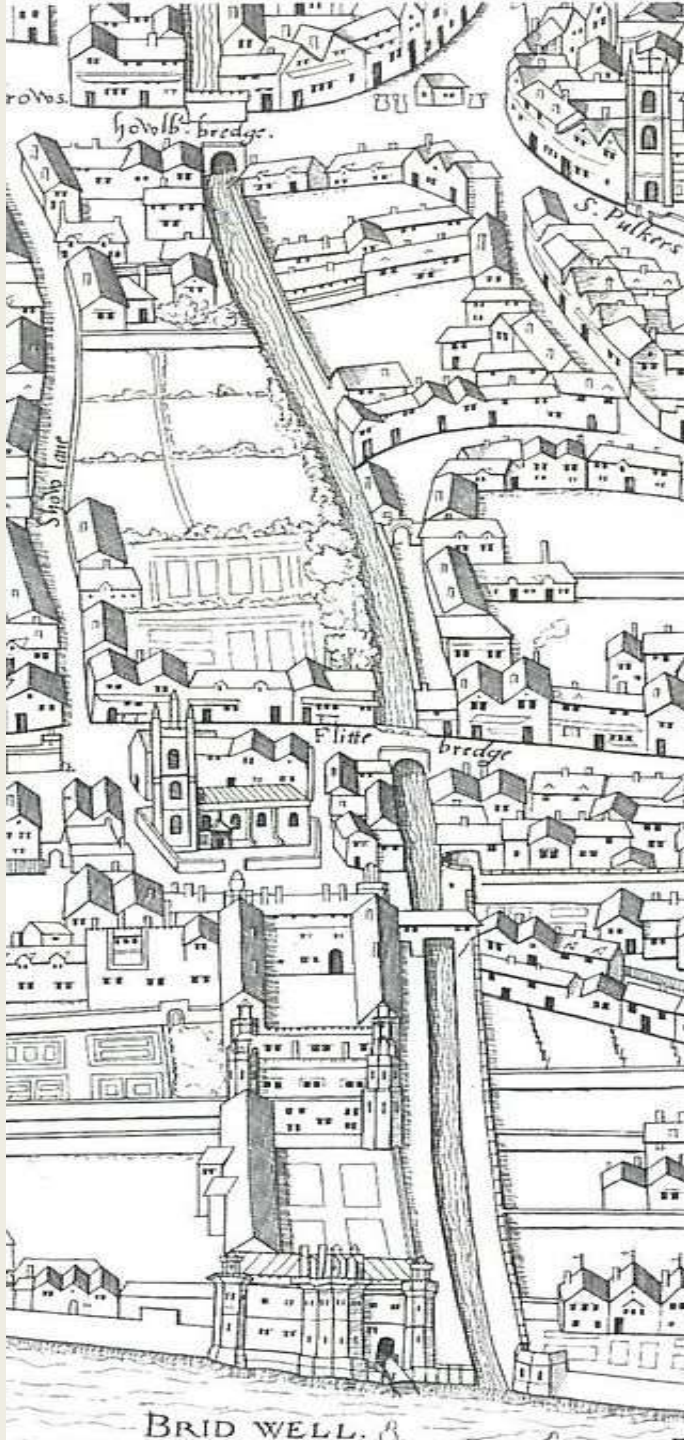




1746 Map of London, Westminster and Southwark
John Roque First Edition. Reproduction courtesy of
Motco Enterprises Limited www.motco.com



FLEET-STREET,—DEEPENING THE SEWER.



"Copperplate" map of London, surveyed between 1553 and 1559

The Fleet River – from Hampstead

- The ‘most powerful of all London’s buried rivers’ (Ackroyd), derived from *fleotan*, to float or flood.
- The western head of the Fleet rose in the Vale of Health (which takes its name from being unaffected by the Great Plague of 1665), in the eastern part of the park, what is now Kenwood House. It emerges in these Hampstead ponds of Caen Wood (now Kenwood).
- Until Victorian times this part of London was grassy, wooded and rural. It appears so in Dickens’ *Pickwick Papers*, where Mr Pickwick and friends speculate on the source of the Hampstead ponds, then a country village.
- As late as the 1840s, the Fleet was a stream in open country as it passed Kentish Town and Gospel Oak.
- Gospel Oak was named after the preachers that spoke there; legend is that St Augustine, who helped Christianise England, was the first, and who also by legend laid the altar stone at St Pancras church (a church along the Fleet which may date from 313-4, one of the oldest churches).

The Fleet River – into London

- Crosses under Regent's Canal, but surfaces at Kings Cross.
- The area was once called Battlebridge, named after a single-track brick bridge (possibly 'Broad Ford Bridge'), corrupted and linked to Boudicca. The area now takes its name from a monument to George IV, built at the Kings Crossroads where the station now stands. It was a 60 ft high octagonal structure with an 11 ft statue on top, considered absurd at the time and mocked, lasting only from 1830-45, but giving the area its name. The building was used for a time as a camera obscura at top, police station below; then a pub; then demolished.
- The Fleet then follows what is now Farringdon Road, and this section was known as the 'Hol-bourne' or Healing Stream, or the River of Wells.
- At Turnmill street, by what is now Farringdon Station, there were three mills in the mid 18th century
- The river is still indicated in names like Herbal Hill, Vine Hill. And further north, as the hill steeps up towards Angel, we can anticipate its course. The Holborn was linked to Lamb's Conduit stream, where William Lamb of the Guild of Clothworkers built a waterway to irrigate his neighbourhood, and where watercress grew.

London's wells

- There was a well at Clerkenwell (*fons clericorum*, well of clerics), where medieval miracle plays were performed, and the Benedictine nuns, Prior and Brethren of the Order of St John of Jerusalem were based.
- There was also a sacred well at St Pancras Church, Pancras Wells, where cows were kept, but the area eventually got a reputation as a gathering point for ruffians and prostitutes (no date given by Ackroyd).
- Other wells at Camberwell, Shadwell, Stockwell, Well Street
- By Battlebridge was also St Chads Well, popular in the late 18th century
- One week in April 1772, over 1000 said to have drunk the waters, which were heated in a cauldron and charged a shilling per gallon, or threepence per quart
- At the beginning of the 19th century it had become a dilapidated pleasure garden, supervised by an old woman known as 'the lady of the well', who would shout to passers-by 'come in and be made whole!' In the pump room, where the water was drawn and heated in a large cauldron was an oil portrait of St Chad, depicted as a chubby man with a red face, cloak and red nightcap.



Entrance to the Fleet River, by Samuel Scott, c. 1750



View of the Thames and the Tower of London, Samuel Scott, 1771

Fleet continues

- The Fleet goes south-west down Cowcross St and down Saffron Hill, where in the 15th century the Bishops of Ely cultivated saffron, and later strawberries
- It then flowed through Blackfriars, under Holborn viaduct, into the Thames at Blackfriars. At one time five bridges spanned it in this area, and the Fleet was the territorial marker of Roman London (and with a key prison)
- By this stage the Fleet had become polluted. Tanneries along its banks and the slaughterhouses of Smithfield polluted it. Once, according to a 1307 petition, it 'used to be wide enough to carry ten or twelve ships up to Fleet bridge, laden with various articles and merchandise'
- Attempts were made periodically to clean it. In 1652 it was complained that it had again become clogged 'by the throwing in of offal and other garbage by butchers, saucemen, and others, and by reason of the many houses of office standing over upon it'

Ben Jonson, 'On the Famous Voyage' (1612)

'In the first iawes [mouth] appear'd that ugly monster
Ycleped [called] Mud, which, when their oars did once stirre,
Belched forth an aire, as hot as the muster
Of all your night-tubs, when the carts doe cluster,
Who shall discharge first his merd-urinous load ...
The sinks ran grease, and hair of measled hogs,
The heads, boughs, entrails, and the hides of dogs.

... How dare
Your daintie nostrils (in so hot a season)
When every clerke eates artichokes and peason,
Laxative lettus, and such windie meate)
Tempt such a passage.'

Christopher Wren attempted to improve the Fleet, widening it, giving it the characteristics of a Venetian canal, with stone wharves and a new Holborn bridge. But its cleanliness doesn't last.

Fleet in London literature

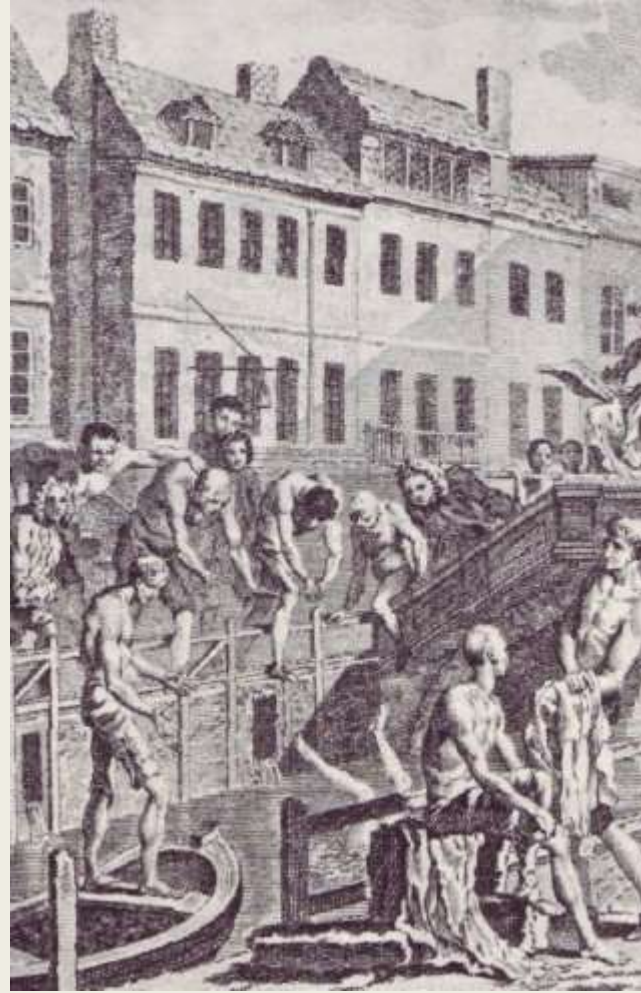
Jonathan Swift, *Description of a City Shower* (1710)

‘Sweepings from Butchers Stalls, Dung, Guts and Blood,
Drown’d Puppies, stinking Sprats, all drench’d in Mud,
Dead Cats and Turnips-Tops come tumbling down the Flood.’

Alexander Pope in the *Dunciad* (1728):

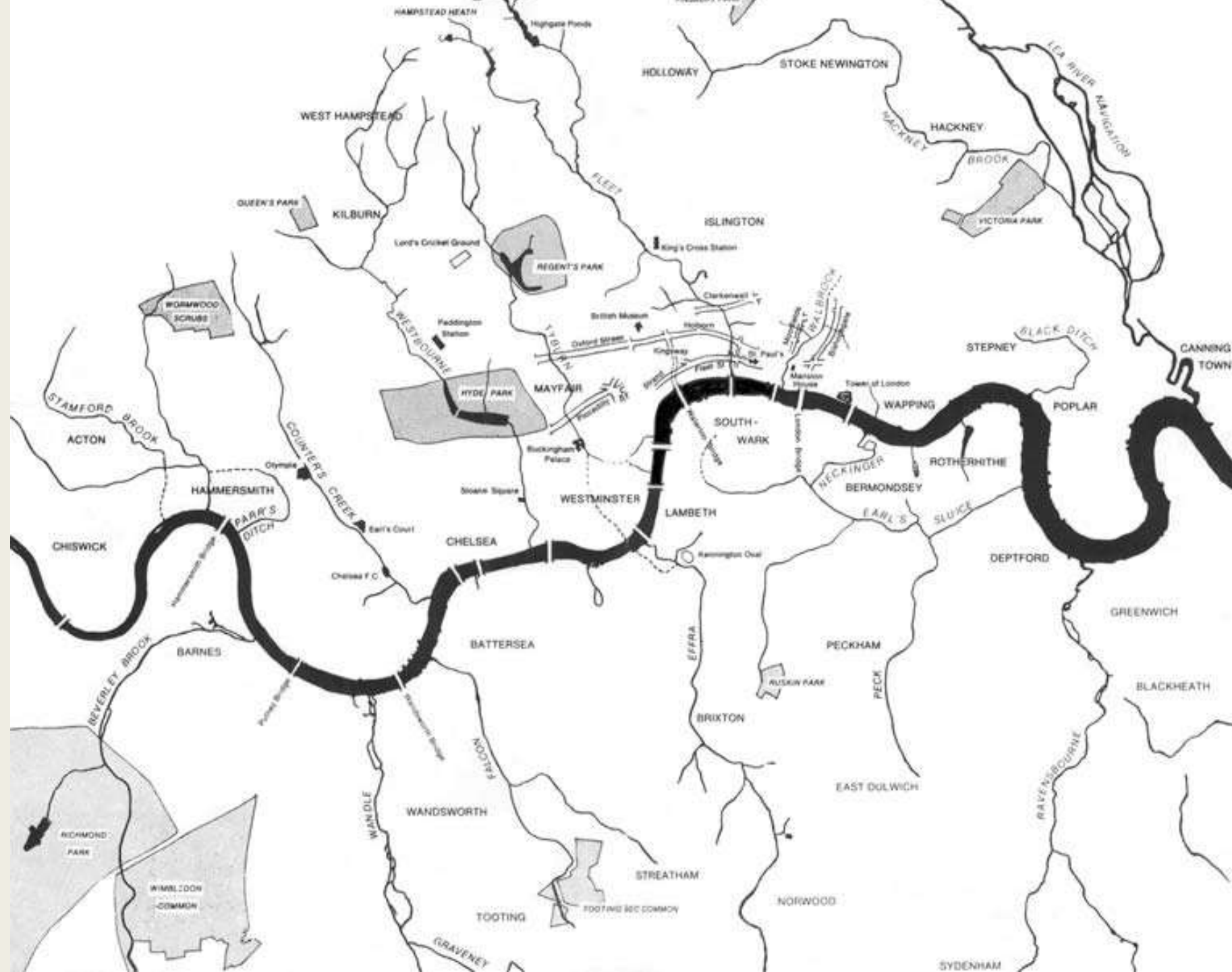
‘Fleet-ditch with disemboguing streams
Rolls the large tribute of dead dogs to Thames,
The King of Dykes! than whom, no sluice of mud
With deeper sable blots the silver flood.
‘Here strip, my children! Here at once leap in,
Here prove who best can dash thro’ thick and thin.’

Ned Ward in the *London Spy*, ‘the greatest good that I ever heard it did was to the undertaker, who is bound to acknowledge he has found better fishing in that muddy stream than ever he did in clear water’.



Fleet continues

- In August 1736, *Gentleman's Magazine* reported that a very fat boar had been spotted leaving Fleet Ditch, and was traced to a Smithfield butcher, who had lost it five months before
- In the winter of 1763 a drunk barber fell into the mud and became stuck, and froze to death overnight
- Only by the 1820s was Farringdon Street built, but in 1846 the river blew up, with fetid gasses and water escaping, houses inundated in the sewer-river, with furniture and cattle swept away
- In 1862 the Fleet undermined the embankment at Clerkenwell and burst into the railway, 'filling the tunnel with sewage for a great distance'

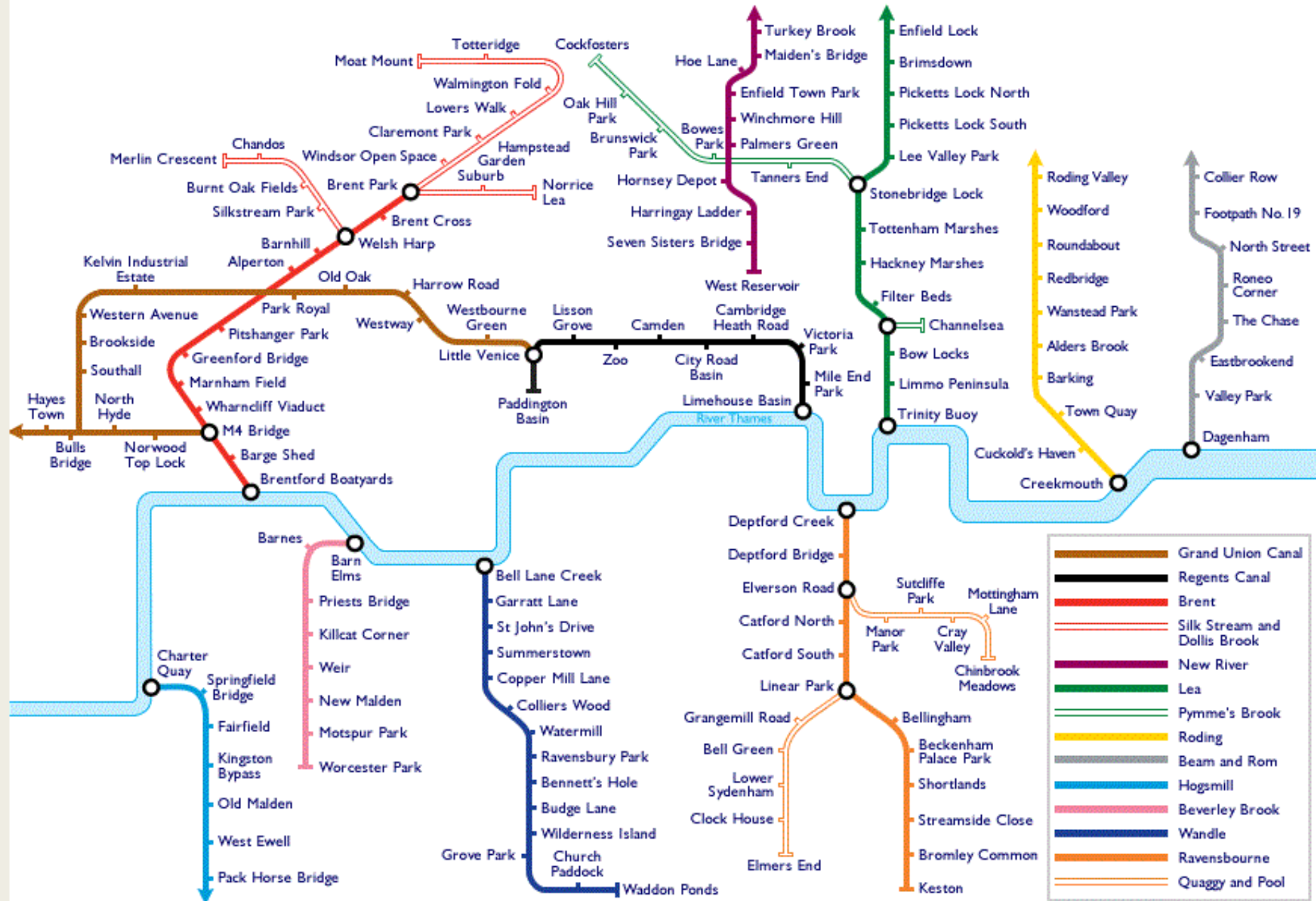


Other London rivers: the Westbourne

- The Westbourne rises in Hampstead, reaching the Thames at Chelsea, passing through Kilburn (cyne-berna, royal stream) and through Paddington towards Hyde Park.
- It results in Knightsbridge, after the bridge over it in Chelsea, and Bayswater, and used to reach the Serpentine. The desolate fields and muddy swamps near it were drained and became Belgravia; its name is commemorated in Paddington Streets and Bourne Street in Chelsea, following its course.
- It is now part of the sewers, and called the Ranelagh Sewer.

Other London rivers: Effra and Tyburn

- The Effra descended from Norwood, through Dulwich, Herne Hill and Brixton, where it was 12 feet wide, supporting large barges.
- King Canute is said to have sailed it.
- Water Lane, Coldharbour Lane and Rush Common reflect the river's course; on Brixton Road, the green verges between house and road were built to distance houses from the river
- The Tyburn also springs in Hampstead, through Swiss Cottage and Regents Park, along what is now Marylebone Lane, whose meandering route reflects its course.
- It is piped across the line at Baker Street station. It went south towards Oxford Street (once known as Tyburn Road, and Park Lane as Tyburn Lane), down South Molton St and Brook St, through Green Park, Buckingham Palace, Pimlico, to the Thames.
- Marylebone is the name of the church of St Mary by the bourne or brook.



Other London rivers: the Walbrook

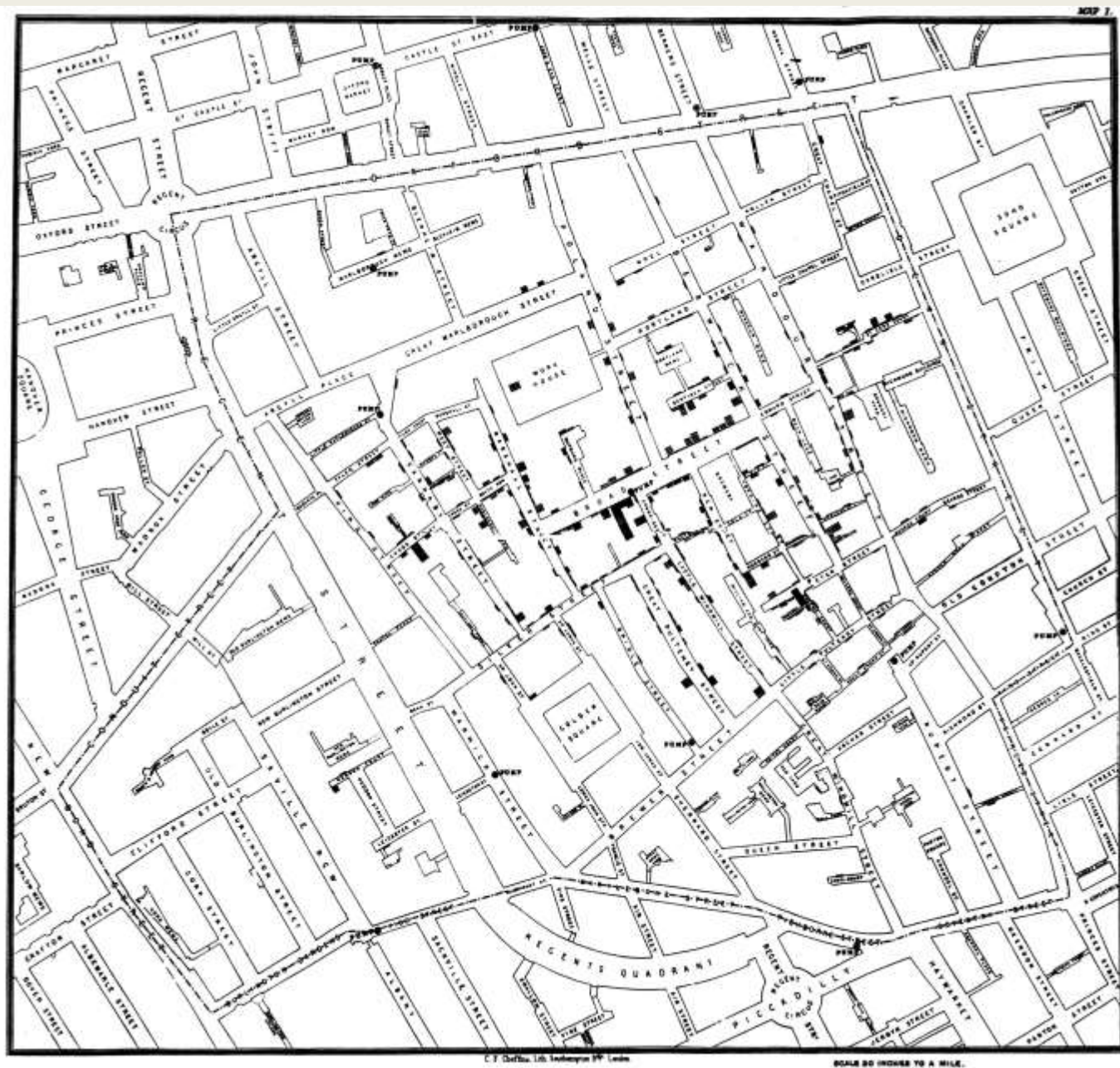
- The Walbrook was already beginning to disappear in the 16th century, with John Stow mourning its loss:
- ‘This water-course, having divers bridges, was afterwards vaulted over with brick, and paved level with the streets and lanes where through it passed; and since that, also houses have been built thereon, so that the course of Walbrooke is now hidden underground, and thereby hardly known’
- It rose in the Holywell Street area of Shoreditch, flowing down Curtain Road, Blomfield Street, north aside the Bank of England, by St Margaret Lothbury, then down Poultry. St Mildred’s church was built on an arch on top of it (since demolished)
- In 1739 the Walbrook was described as ‘a great and rapid stream ... running under St. Mildred’s church steeple at a depth of sixteen feet.’ It went past a temple to Mithras, then down Dowgate (now Cannon Street station), to the Thames, with force
- Archaeological evidence suggests ritual activity took place here: 48 human skulls were found in the bed of the river during mid-19th century excavations, which were deliberately immersed without their lower jaws.

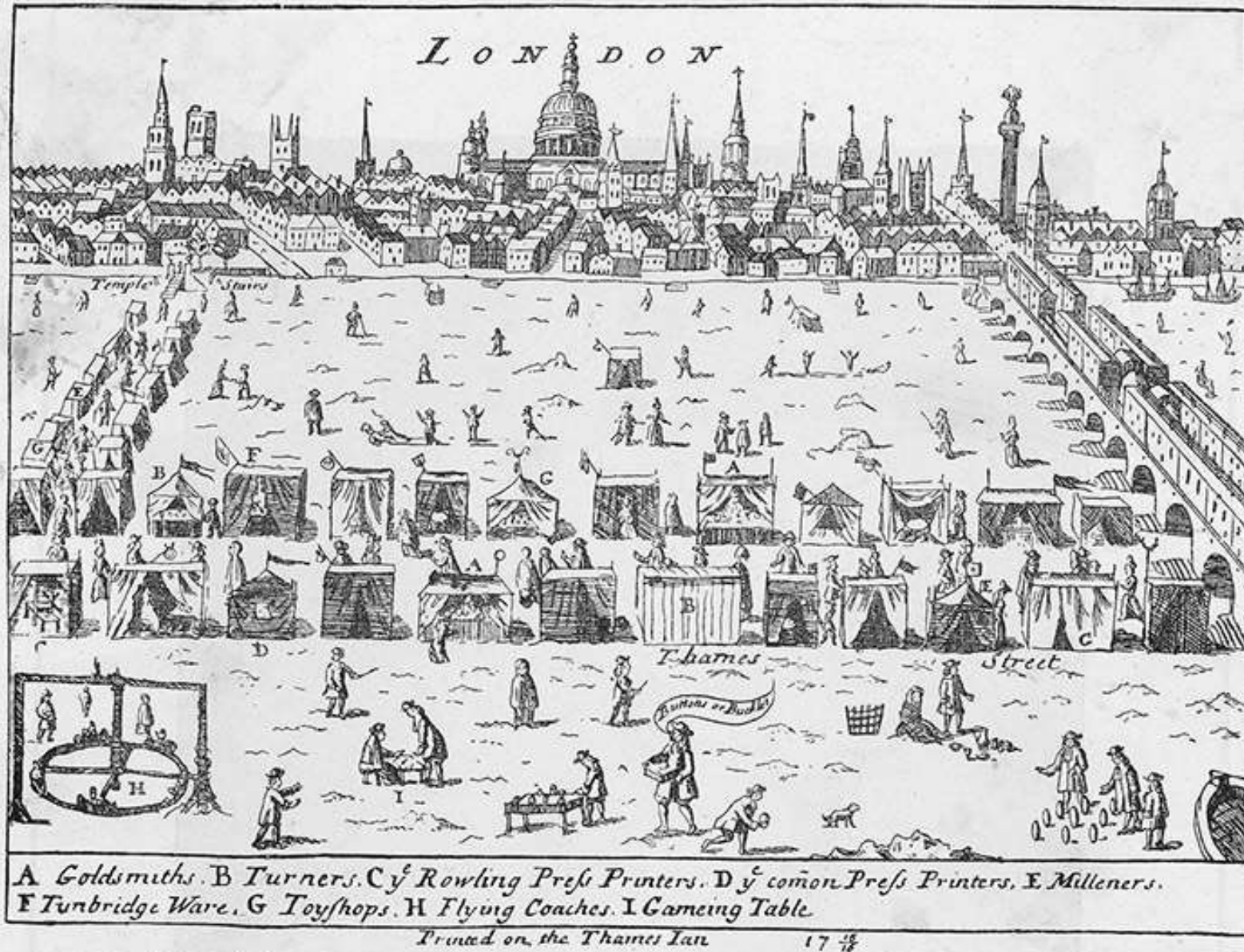
Other London rivers: the Walbrook

- Other rivers include Stamford Brook, from East Acton to Hammersmith;
- Counters Creek, from Kensal Green to White City, Earls Court and Chelsea, by Cremorne Gardens, once a pleasure garden, commemorated in Whistler's paintings
- The Black Ditch once rose in Whitechapel; Hackney Brook rose in Stoke Newington;
- The Neckinger from the Imperial War Museum to Bermondsey;
- The Falcon, where streams from Balham and Tooting converge at Clapham, and reach Battersea;
- The Wandle, Quaggy, Ravensbourne and Roding all define parts of London still...
- And how do contextualise man-made streams like Regent's Canal, the Grand Union Canal, or the sewage network?

Londoners and their rivers

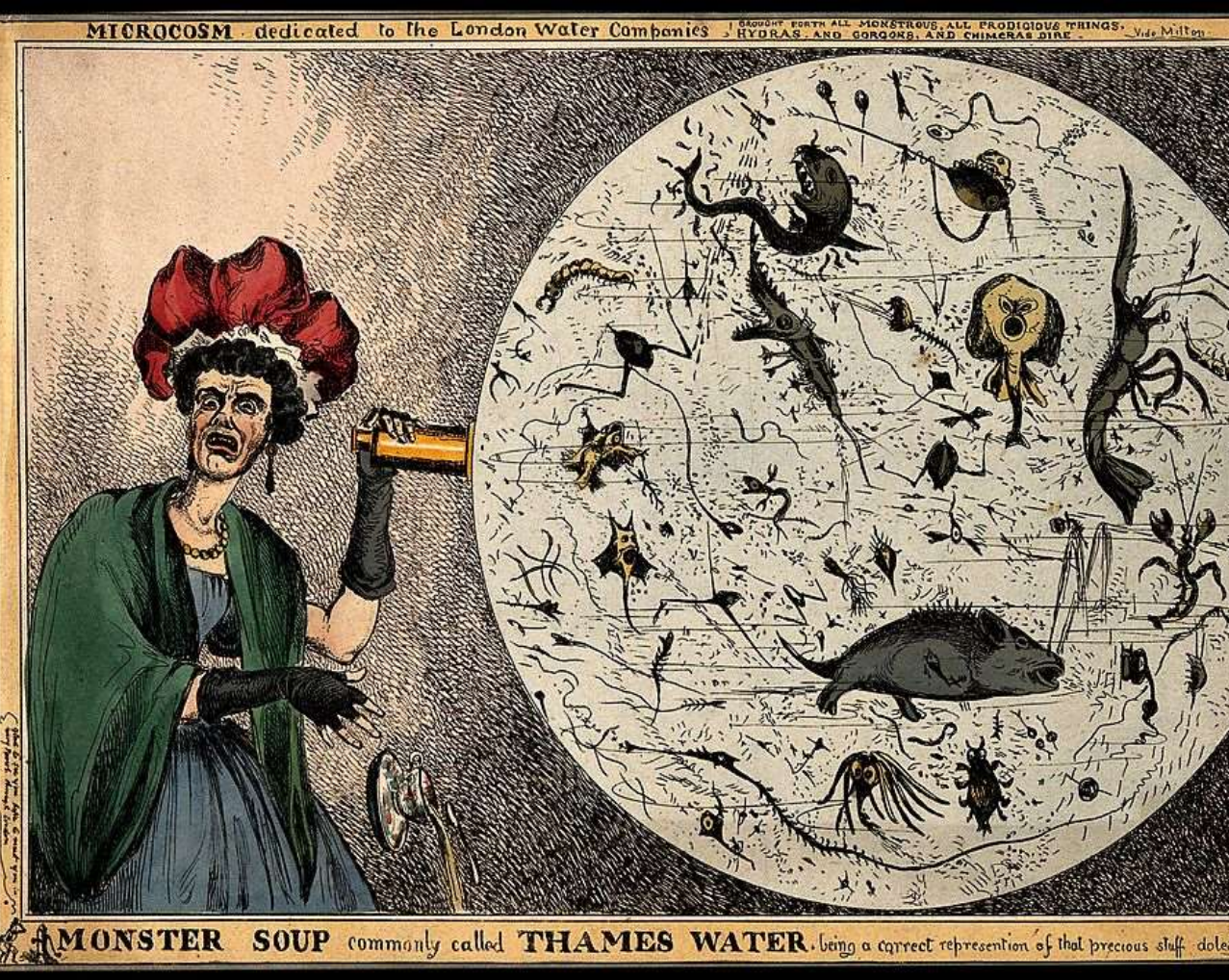
- As well as a mode of transportation and trade, the river itself has been fundamental to London's economic development
- The Thames and its tributary rivers were a source of hydration, and medieval water-carriers were organized into the Company of Water Tankard Bearers, known as 'cobs', with around 4000 in the early 17th century
- Water-mills were established for energy, like those on London Bridge by Peter Morice in 1582, and the river was used for industries like brewing and dying
- Its earliest market, Billingsgate, sold fish, and through London's history many were occupied in trades like watermen, docking, the navy, and shipping
- William Fitz-Stephen (1183) mentions wealthy commodities arriving like 'Arabia's gold, Sabaea's spice and incense ... Nile's precious gems, Norway's warm peltries, Russia's costly sables ... wines of Gaul'
- Wharves and quays like Galley Quay established from the early 13th century





View of a Frost Fair on the Thames, 1715

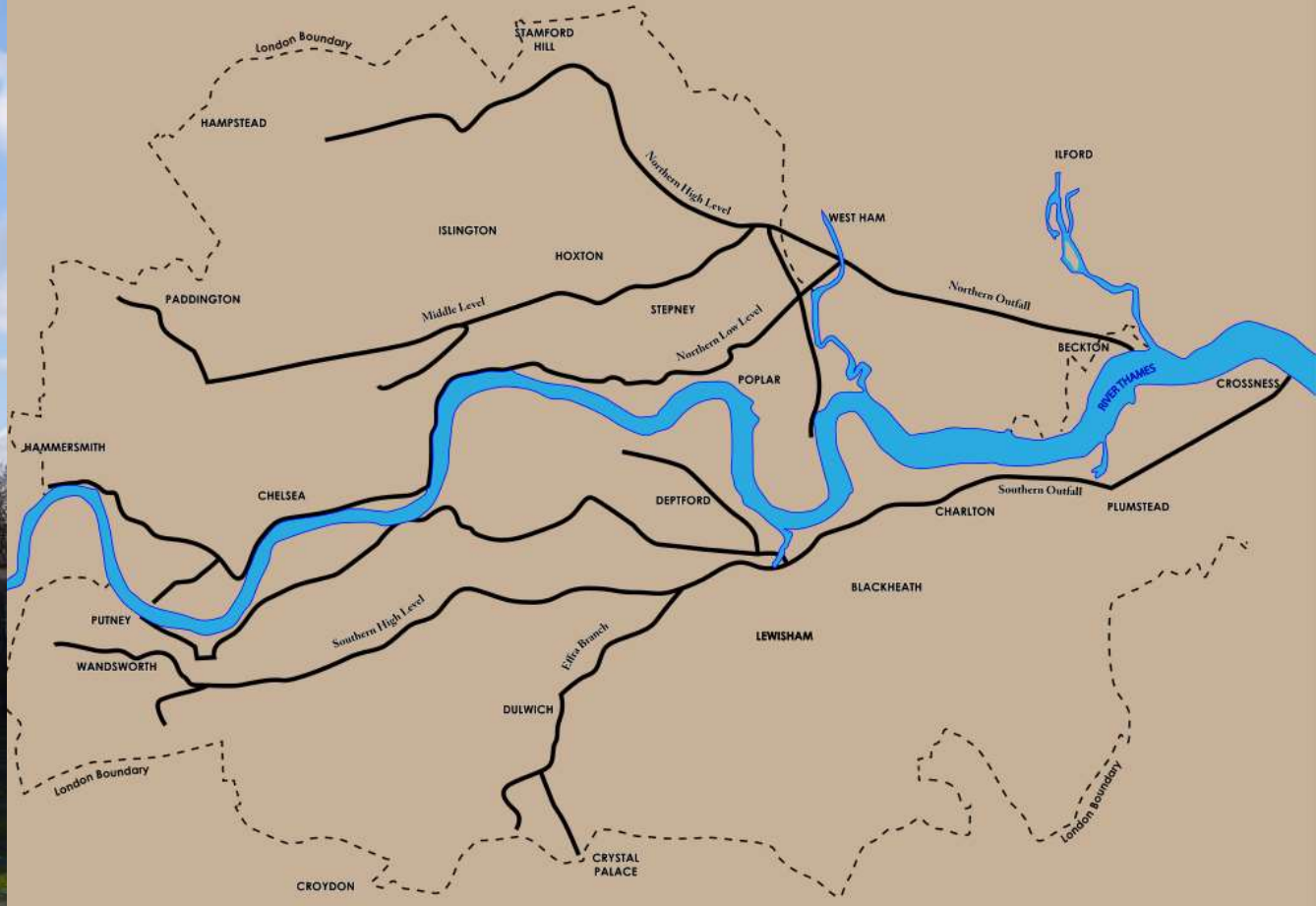




William Heath, "Monster soup" (1828)



"The Silent Highwayman", in Punch (1858).



Drinking water

- London has a long tradition of breweries and distilleries, but many drank from pumps drawing water from polluted sources
- It was commonly believed that diseases were transmitted by miasma
- After an outbreak of cholera in 1854 in Broad Street, Soho, Dr John Snow proposed that outbreaks of diseases like Cholera were spread by water – across London, 10,000 would die
- Pumps were either dug into cess-pits or drew water from burial pits
- The Thames and other rivers continued to be used as open sewers
- Only after the Great Stink of 1858, and a major cholera outbreak, did Parliament approve a new system of sewers
- Joseph Bazalgette's built a vast sewer network by 1870, combining 82 miles of brick-lined sewers, utilizing underground rivers, pumping stations and new embankments like the Albert, Victoria, and Chelsea



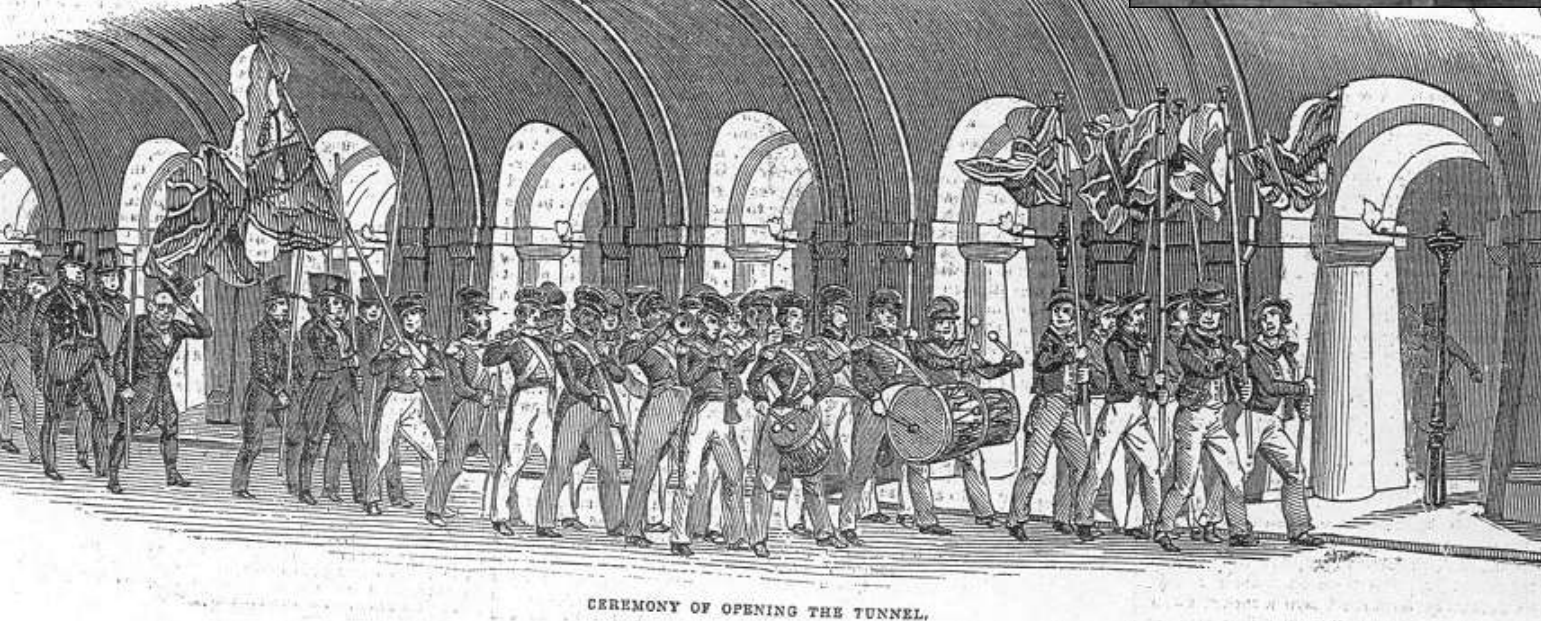
J.M.W. Turner, "Keelmen Heaving in Coals by Moonlight" (1835)



Monet, "Houses of Parliament" (1904)

R: Whistler, "Nocturne, Old Battersea Bridge" (1871)





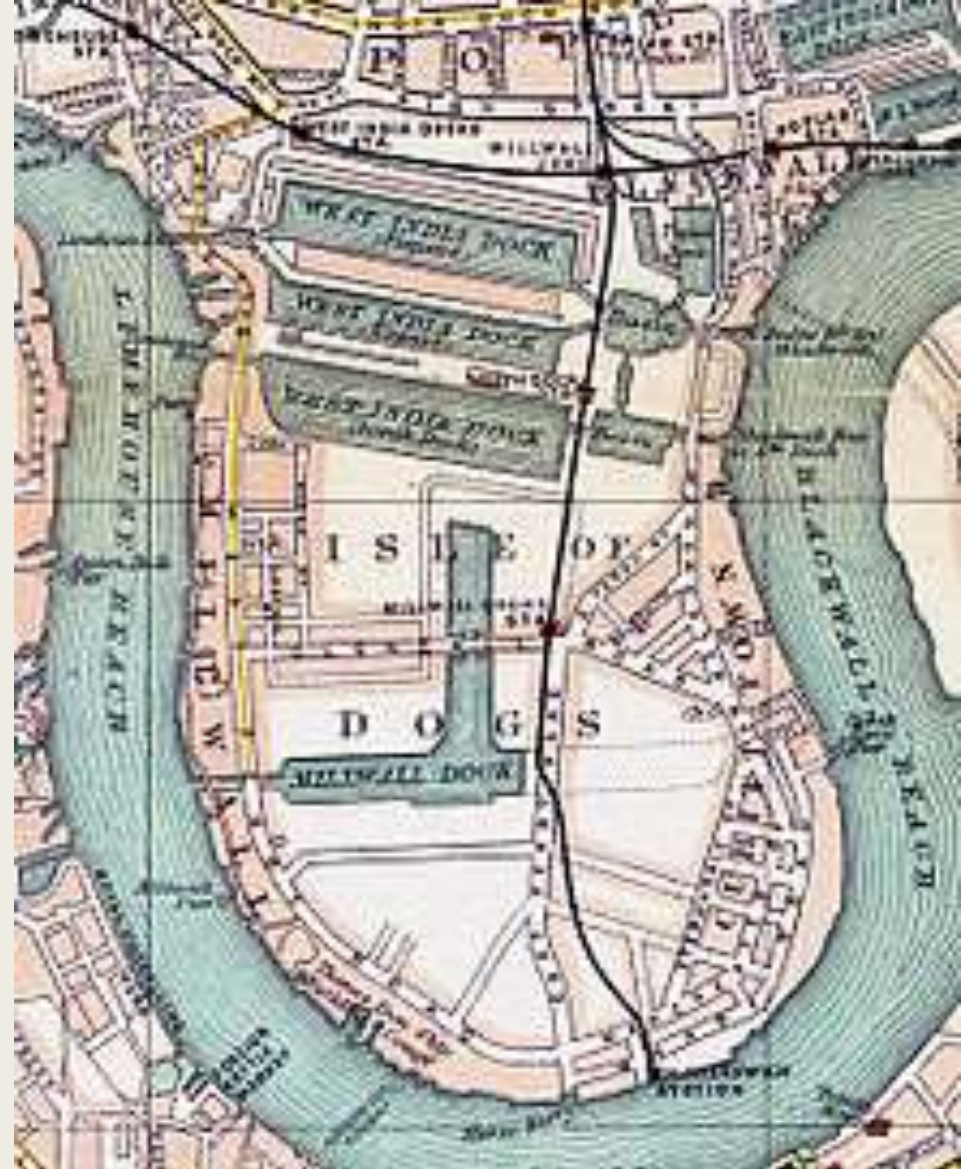
Images from the Thames Tunnel, built by Brunel between Rotherhithe-Wapping, 1825-43, and used as a railway from 1865



Above: Joseph Farington, Painting of the Dockyard (1794)

Left, top: Pieter Cornelisz van Soest, Dutch Attack on the Medway (1667)

Left, below: HMS St Albans, being launched onto the Thames at Deptford in 1747



Growth of the docks

- Military dockyards develop first at Woolwich and Deptford
- While docks were probably first constructed by the Romans, the first modern mention of a dock is in Pepys in 1661, while on a boat to Blackwall
- After the Fire, the 'Commercial Dock' is developed at Rotherhithe, 10 acres in size, with capacity for 120 merchant ships
- The first purpose-built dock for cargo however is Brunswick Dock, Blackwall, 1789
- By 1800, 1775 ships were using a stretch suitable for only 545, with 3500 barges moored
- In response to smuggling, theft, and major river congestion dock warehouses on a much larger scale are built first by the West India Company at the Isle of Dogs (1800)
- Later, the London Dock at Wapping (1805), the East India Dock at Blackwall (1806), and later Surrey Docks at Rotherhithe, and St Katharine's Docks by the Tower (1828)
- The docks became increasingly organized and policed, linked to the City by Commercial Road

The Dirty East End

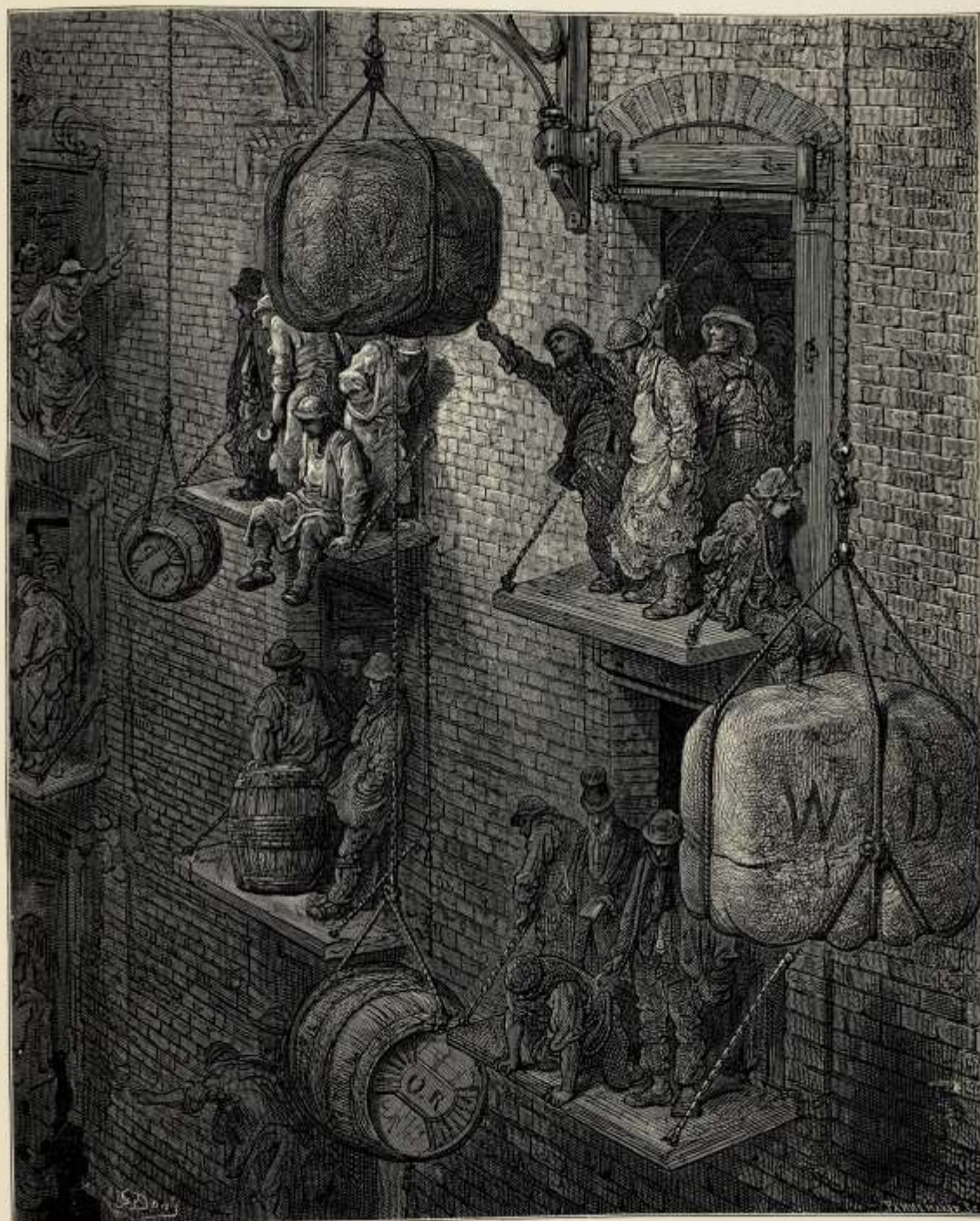
- However up until the late 20th century, the Thames-side was associated with poverty, crime and disease
- Many of Dickens' most desperate scenes and characters are linked with the river, such as Bill Sykes' grotesque death on Jacob's Island (Bermondsey) in *Oliver Twist* or the dragging of the body from the river by the scavengers in the opening chapter of *Our Mutual Friend*
- Oscar Wilde and Conan Doyle would use scenes in the docklands to describe opium dens and a fascinating criminal underworld
- The vast warehouses and their abundance of exotic goods fascinated writers and artists, like Charles Dickens, Gustave Dore and later Virginia Woolf

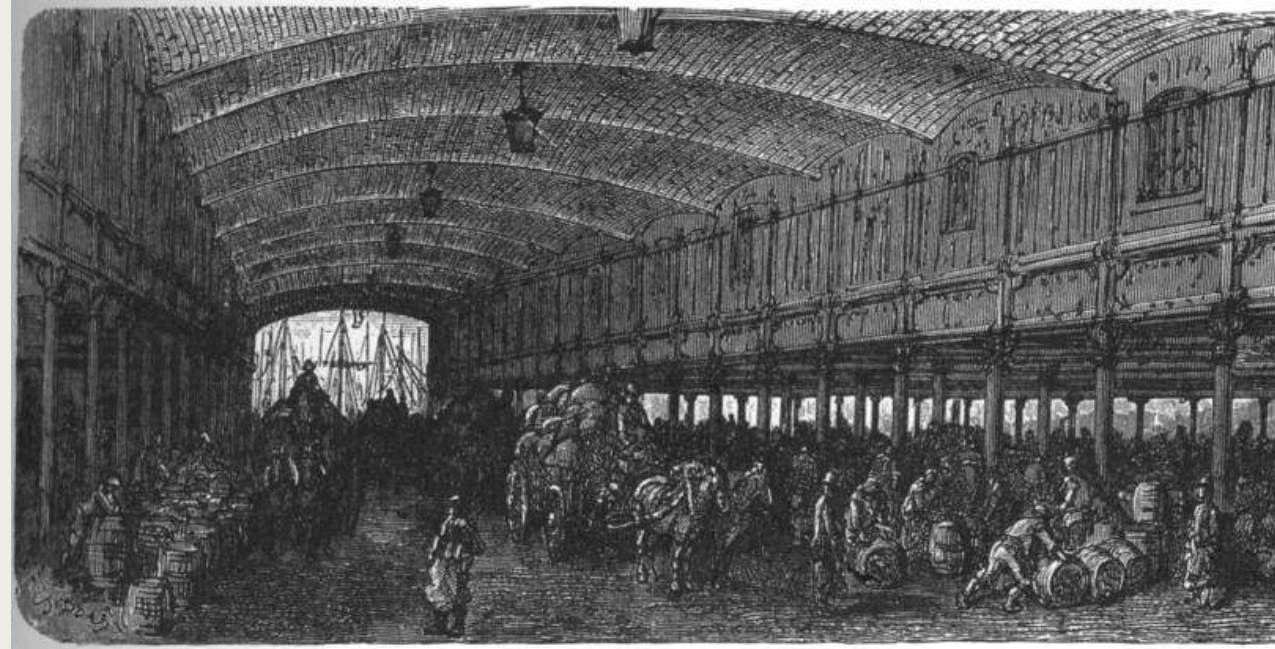
‘Through shabby, slatternly places, by low and poor houses, amid shiftless riverside loungers, with the shipping-littered Thames on our right; we push on to the eastern dock between Wapping and down Shadwell. Streets of poverty-marked tenements, gaudy public houses and beer-shops, door-steps packed with lolling, heavy-eyed, half-naked children; low-browed and bare-armed women greasing the walls with their backs, and gossiping the while such gossip as scorches the ear; bullies of every kind walking as masters of the pavement - all sprinkled with drunkenness - compose the scene, even in these better days, along the roads which stretch from dock to dock - to Limehouse and Blackwall, where the wealth of the Indies is cast upon our shores.’

- Gustave Dore and Blanchard Jerrold, ‘The Docks’, from *London: A Pilgrimage* (1872)

The ‘banks of the river are lined with dingy, decrepit-looking warehouses. They huddle on land that has become flat and slimy mud ... Behind masts and funnels lies a sinister dwarf city of workmen's houses. In the foreground cranes and warehouses, scaffolding and gasometers line the banks with a skeleton architecture’

– Virginia Woolf, ‘The Docks of London’ (1931)







‘Down by the Docks, the placards in the shops apostrophise the customer, knowing him familiarly beforehand, as, 'Look here, Jack!' 'Here's your sort, my lad!' 'Try our sea-going mixed, at two and nine!' 'The right kit for the British tar!' 'Ship ahoy!' 'Splice the main-brace, brother!' 'Come, cheer up, my lads. We've the best liquors here, And you'll find something new In our wonderful Beer!' Down by the Docks, the pawnbroker lends money on Union-Jack pocket-handkerchiefs, on watches with little ships pitching fore and aft on the dial, on telescopes, nautical instruments in cases, and such-like. Down by the Docks, the apothecary sets up in business on the wretchedest scale--chiefly on lint and plaster for the strapping of wounds--and with no bright bottles, and with no little drawers. Down by the Docks, the shabby undertaker's shop will bury you for next to nothing, after the Malay or Chinaman has stabbed you for nothing at all: so you can hardly hope to make a cheaper end. Down by the Docks, anybody drunk will quarrel with anybody drunk or sober, and everybody else will have a hand in it, and on the shortest notice you may revolve in a whirlpool of red shirts, shaggy beards, wild heads of hair, bare tattooed arms, Britannia's daughters, malice, mud, maundering, and madness. Down by the Docks, scraping fiddles go in the public-houses all day long, and, shrill above their din and all the din, rises the screeching of innumerable parrots brought from foreign parts, who appear to be very much astonished by what they find on these native shores of ours.’ – Charles Dickens, ‘The Uncommercial Traveller’

Thames life

- London's histories can be understood in terms of concentrations of settlement, from the old City to the aristocratic West End, and early suburbs of the middling sorts
- Over the 18th-19th centuries, East and South-East London develop around the docks
- The first high-voltage power station in the world was at Deptford, with more power stations at Bankside, Fulham, Battersea
- New docks are built like Victoria Dock near Galleon's Reach (1855), Millwall Dock (1868), Royal Albert Dock (1880), Tilbury (1886), with Surrey Docks expanded at Greenland Dock (1904), King George V Dock, Silvertown (1921), with the Port of London Authority (1909) overseeing further expansion
- By 1930 the port and docks employed over 100,000 people, many on a casual basis, and handled 35 million tons of cargo within a 700-acre area
- The Thames riverside further industrialised, with factories and mills at Lambeth, Battersea, Nine Elms, Wandsworth, Fulham and Brentford



Decline of the docks

- As the power and influence of the British Empire declined by the mid 20th century, so
- New container ships and transit meant that cargo could be lifted from ship to truck, without warehouses or stevedores, and new ports emerged at Dover and Felixstowe
- Existing docks were too small, and many had been badly damaged during WW2
- The Port of London Authority begins closing docks from 1967, with the Royal dockyards last to be closed in 1981
- Edward Heath's Conservative government (1970-4) disagreed with the Labour-dominated Greater London Council about how to redevelop the Docklands, the former considering luxury housing and leisure, the latter industrial estates, social housing and a new tube line

Decline of the docks

- After a stalemate, a London Docklands Development Corporation is set up by Michael Heseltine in 1981 to 'regenerate' the Isle of Dogs, through using public subsidies and land sales to transform the former docking areas into a financial hub with a light railway
- By 1994, the new Canary Wharf has bankrupted its builders and stood empty
- An economic recovery from the mid-1990s centres on property development and tourism along the Riverside
- The river and its docks undergo a marked transformation into a place of living and leisure for the wealthy
- ... While signs of old working class cultures disappear, like docking, shipping, or are marked by political defeats like those of the Print-workers, or the organized tenants associations on the Isle of Dogs