

and sent the cloth in different ships to the marts, which began on Maundy Thursday and also at Pentecost, later in the summer to St Bavo's Fair (held after the Feast of the Assumption) and finally the *Koudmarkt*, which started on the Thursday before All Hallows Eve. The names of the ships, masters, departure port and mart (and year) are summarized in Appendix 3. Imports are not recorded, and it is assumed that these were recorded in a separate (and now lost) ledger. However, a list of sales – summarized in Table 2 – reveals the variety of goods imported to England from which, so the 'Boke' suggests, Kytson enjoyed a 25 per cent profit. It is of little surprise to read in the introduction that this astute merchant invested his profits in real estate with properties in Dorset, Lancashire, Nottinghamshire, Somerset, Suffolk and within the city of London. He bought the estate at Hengrave in 1531 and thereafter set about rebuilding the hall.

This edition also contains two other manuscripts. One is the account of the *Sinxten mart* made by Kytson's nephew Thomas Washington, who acted as his factor in Antwerp in 1536, which consists of a small book of twenty-six pages. This is published in Appendix 1. The second was written by Kytson's clerks between 1512 and 1539 and is comparable in size to the 'Boke'. It duplicates the material in the 'Boke' but occasionally provides information which supplements the edition. This is interposed using a smaller typeface and indented. The text of the 'Boke' is a complicated one and the editor has done his best to fulfil one of his objectives and to make the material accessible to a wider readership. Yet the methodology and abbreviations used are likely to present some challenges to this readership. It is, for example, not a good idea to retain the 'idiosyncrasies of spelling' and to present the same word with different spellings in the text (especially with places). The reference to the code used by Kytson to purchase goods is also unclear: are we presented with a converted sum or do we need to do the calculations? It is likely that some readers will find aspects of the methodology unclear and this important section could have been better presented and explained.

Much can be gleaned from this volume and it will be a welcome addition to anyone interested in London during the time of the Reformation as well as economic and social historians. It is clear from his 'boke of remembrauce' that Sir Thomas Kytson was a shrewd merchant who managed a successful career during a time of great instability. There is nothing in his will to suggest this, yet his ledger book not only reveals a man with an eye for a good deal but also explains the mechanics of trade during a particularly turbulent decade.

## **Christian Steer**

University of York

**Judy Z. Stephenson**, *Contracts and Pay: Work in London Construction 1660–1785*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2020. xii + 261 pp. £101.00 hbk. doi:10.1017/S0963926821000912

In this revisionist study of the construction industry in early modern London Judy Stephenson draws on evidence from previously unused account books to demonstrate that by equating sums paid to obtain services with what workers (regardless of skills or length of contract) earned, historians such as Elizabeth Gilbert, Leonard Schwartz, Steve Rappaport and Jeremy Boulton have overestimated wage rates in the building industry by between 20 and 30 per cent. Many of the figures these scholars used were sums paid to contractors rather than directly to labourers, and Stephenson argues that paying greater attention to the former, as managers of projects, will enable a more accurate understanding of the metropolitan economy to be obtained. Following this critique of existing historiography, in chapter 2 Stephenson details forms of extraordinary (new build) and ordinary (maintenance) work carried out in London, dividing these forms of labour into seven categories: public or institutional projects; infrastructure work; house building; construction of commercial premises; repair and maintenance of public and commercial buildings (including churches); repair and maintenance of private and residential properties; and interior and decorative architectural work.

Stephenson provides a prosopography of contractors who worked on metropolitan projects in chapter 3, demonstrating how these investors, interconnected by apprenticeship and marriage, were able to access significant levels of financial capital. Resources and networks were vital when it came to negotiating contracts, and in chapter 3 Stephenson explains how those for major building projects were put out to tender and varied depending on the type of work to be carried out. Day rates and contracts by great (with payment when all work had been completed) existed, but contracts by measure were most common, minimizing risk by enabling the progress and costs of work to be monitored. Profit margins are the focus of chapter 5, where Stephenson unpacks the costs to bosses of sourcing labourers and materials; running sites; employing accountants; and providing workers with necessary tools, as well as highlighting that contractors lost out when clients made deductions if their expectations were not met.

The next two chapters offer comparisons of wages across metropolitan construction sites. In chapter 6, Stephenson is the first historian to use the day books kept by the mason contractor William Kempster to investigate real wages paid to those working on St Paul's Cathedral in the 1700s, linking this data to that for Westminster Abbey and the Office of the King's Works. Wages varied depending on the skills needed to carry out specific tasks while the number of hours worked fluctuated according to time of year, contract duration and individual inclination, with some workers taking on overtime, particularly night shifts. In chapter 7, Stephenson turns to ordinary maintenance work carried out at London Bridge, comparing her data with that for work carried out at Westminster Bridge and the Middle Temple. Bridge House pay records reveal unskilled labourers' wages to have been lower than estimated previously, and do not appear to have risen across the long eighteenth century. Most workers were paid by the tide or day, a system which enabled wage costs to be kept low, but few were employed for a full working day.

In the final two chapters Stephenson draws overall conclusions from her evidence, arguing that few workers were able to work the hours necessary to maintain high standards of living because perquisites were rare, contract lengths variable and advanced skill levels no guarantee of high wages. Considering the wider significance of her findings, Stephenson asserts that evidence from the London building trades demonstrates that waged labour was a prominent feature of the English economy well before the late eighteenth century and that complex managerial systems

were in place, but that the sector had distinct features which make using such data to measure broader economic trends in Europe and Asia, as various historians have sought to do, problematic.

By paying greater attention than previous scholarship to the role of contractors, and by providing a persuasive critique of existing readings of various account books, Stephenson has produced an important study which historians of guilds, wages, credit relations and economic growth within and beyond London will need to engage with. Gender historians might build upon the work of Stephenson too, since it would be useful to know more about the role played by women such as Elizabeth Gregory and Sarah Spoore, individuals who get only brief mentions in this book. In the decades around 1700, women were engaging in business activities in novel ways, and understanding how the (male-dominated) building trades fitted into a metropolitan economy where (female-dominated) service sectors were starting to predominate will enable scholars, building on the findings of this fine monograph, to write more nuanced studies of economic developments in early modern London.

## **Tim Reinke-Williams**University of Northampton

**Andrew Israel Ross**, *Public City/Public Sex*. *Homosexuality*, *Prostitution*, *and Urban Culture in Nineteenth-Century Paris*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2019. xi + 264pp. \$110.50 hbk. \$34.95 pbk. \$34.95 eBook. doi:10.1017/S0963926821000924

Andrew Israel Ross' cultural history of public sex and desires brings right in front of our eyes the sexual connotations of the nineteenth-century Parisian urban landscape. In his fascinating study, he shows how passers-by could easily read the street and gather, willingly or not, information about the availability of sex. Ross' aim in this book is to unveil and make sense of nineteenth-century urban development in relation to urban sexual culture, by looking at two forms of sexuality and their publicity: prostitution and homosexuality. The study draws on recent work about the cultural urban landscape of pre- and post-Hausmannization Paris, on the gendered use of the streets, and on the commercialization and massification of pleasures in the late nineteenth century. His arguments stem mostly from the analysis of the police archives, specifically those produced by the section in charge of the regulation of prostitution in Paris.

In chapter 1, Ross argues that the municipality and the police, by trying to limit and control the overt display of sexual pleasures from the late Restoration onwards, actually created new forms of display, which were added to the language of public sexual culture. For instance, the use of a 'gros numéro', visible from the street to indicate the entrance of a brothel made the brothel all the more conspicuous to passers-by. But the visibility of sex in the urban landscape was not only a consequence of administrative changes: as shown in chapter 2, men looking for same-sex relations used the newly built urinals as a place of encounter, subverting the initial goal of the municipality of making the city more hygienic and more accessible and usable to men. But as Ross explains, the public