



London and Londoners, 1500-1720

*A conference hosted by the Centre for Renaissance and
Early Modern Studies at the University of York
8-9th September 2022*

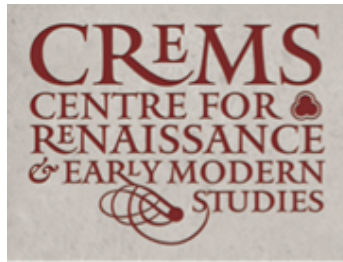
We are pleased to present keynote talks by Professor Vanessa Harding, Professor Laura Gowing and Professor Tracey Hill who have each made such distinguished contributions to London history.

Scholars are continually finding interest and enjoyment in the study of England's metropolis. To misquote Samuel Johnson, 'When an academic is tired of London, they are tired of life; for there is in London all that life can afford'. Though scholarship has been written on London for generations, the city still draws in the researcher. Each new construction alters our perspective, whether that be using new sources, applying different methodologies, reframing old questions, or asking new ones. This conference provides a chance to re-evaluate past understandings and take stock of the landscape around us as it is now.

In 2004, Vanessa Harding discussed some of the then current key themes to emerge within the scholarship of early modern London.¹ 'Religion, space, and the moral community of London' were marked as salient in the recent historiography but also 'health, demography, poverty and poor relief, sexuality, crime and policing, governance, politics'. According to Harding, 'the big questions of ten or fifteen years ago have been replaced by a diversity of approaches, and, while one cannot predict the future of London's historiography, it promises to be interesting'. Slightly more than fifteen years on, this conference seeks to examine how that future has transpired. We feel that current scholarly interest especially lies in race, gender, sexuality, dis/ability, as well as the geographical and digital 'turns'. This conference is also drawn to new perspectives on older questions of class, community, and identity. Encouraging work from across disciplines including history and literature.

Thank you to the Centre for Renaissance and Early Modern Studies (CREMS) at the University of York, the Society for Renaissance Studies and the Economic History Society for their generous funding and support of this event.

¹ Vanessa Harding, 'Recent perspectives on early modern London' *The Historical Journal*, 47 (2004).



Society for Renaissance Studies



Registration

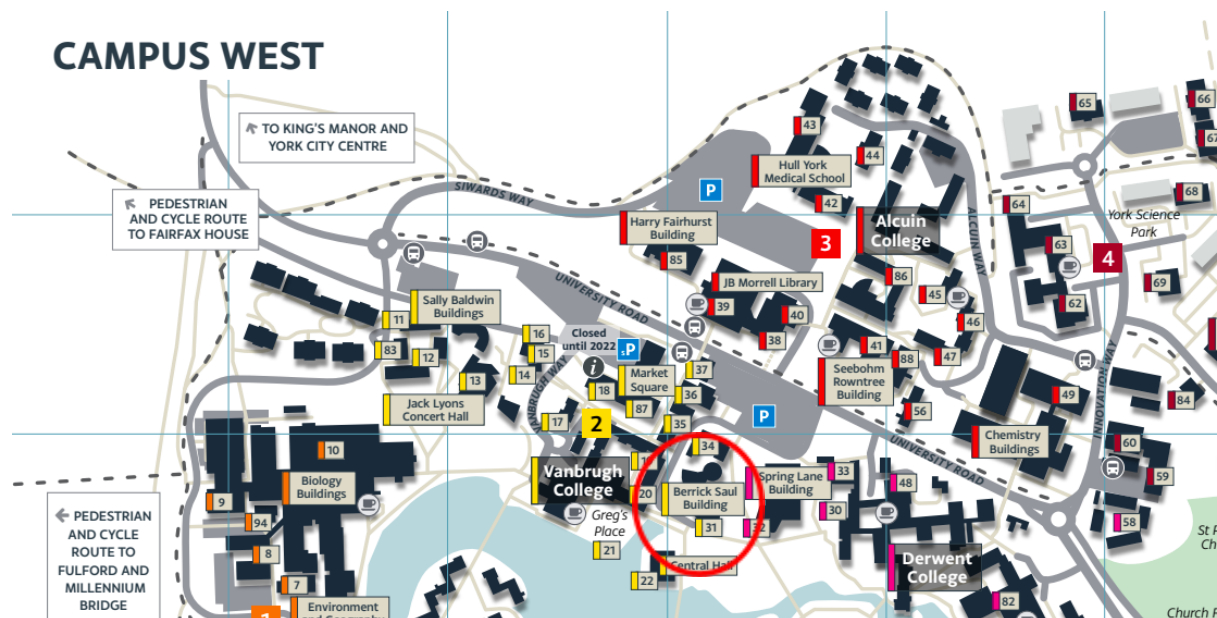
Please ensure you are registered here: [London and Londoners, 1500-1720 Tickets | Eventbrite](#). The ticket includes notice of whether you would like to attend the conference dinner which we will be organising for the evening of Thursday 8th September. Please note that the deadline for confirmation that you would like to attend the dinner is Monday 1st August. We cannot guarantee a place at the dinner after that date. Our intention is to find an affordable restaurant suitable to host a large number and to get a set menu or price-per-head for each of you to pay on the night. More information will be provided closer to the time to those of you who express an interest.

We will also be streaming the conference to virtual attendees so that they can watch proceedings. Likewise, please pass this information on to anyone you feel may be interested.

Travel to the University of York

University of York, Heslington West campus:

Our main campus is in the south east of York within walking and cycling distance of, or a short bus ride from, the city centre. Our address is: University of York, York, YO10 5DD. Parking is limited, so we suggest alternative transport where possible. Once you're here, it's easy to get around campus by bus, bike and foot. The 66 and 67 bus routes travel between the city centre, the railway station and the University's West Campus and more information can be found [here](#). An interactive campus map can also be found [here](#). If you are travelling from overseas, more information can be found [here](#).



The Berrick Saul Building

The conference is being held in the centre of the University of York's 'Campus West' in the Humanities Research Centre in a building named the Berrick Saul Building. The Berrick Saul Building is on the north shore of the lake and circled red in the above map.

The conference room is in 'The Treehouse' **BS/104 Meeting Room** on the top floor of the Berrick Saul Building. This is where all conference business, including welcomes, papers and refreshments, will be. As you go through the main entrance into the foyer turn immediately right and take the stairs or the lift to the first floor. Once on the first floor, turn slightly to the left and through the double doors immediately opposite which take you into a

narrow glass corridor. This will lead you into the Treehouse. The first floor is home to an open plan desk space for researchers and is a designated quiet area and we ask delegates to keep this in mind when entering and leaving the first floor.

Accommodation in York

York is a popular tourist city meaning there are a lot of hotels, B&Bs and Airbnb. These can also become quite expensive during peak times, so we encourage booking accommodation a few weeks in advance.

Franklin House

The University of York has a limited amount of on-campus accommodation in Franklin House located on the Heslington West campus. This accommodation is quite reasonably priced and can be booked [here](#).

Premier Inn and Travelodge

York has four Premier Inns, two located in the city centre (both on Blossom Street near the railway station) and two a few miles to the north of the City. Details for these can be found [here](#). Details for Travelodge hotels in York can also be found [here](#).

Visit York

[Visit York](#) has lots of information about various types of accommodation in York.

Other information for speakers

We have worked to fit the many excellent proposals we accepted into two days. As a result these are both very full days. While people are welcome to attend all panels if they wish we will have a 'come-and-go' policy where you are strongly encouraged to take your own breaks as and when you like. Our lovely campus has lots of outdoor space and indoor cafes to get away and we have also booked a seminar room in the same building as the conference room. This will serve as a physical 'Breakout room' where you will be able to sit and relax or chat with other attendees.

Our 'Breakout room' is on the ground floor of the Berrick Saul Building: **BS/008 Seminar Room** and will be open from 8:00am on the morning of both days. There will be a sign on the door.

During both days tea and coffee will be provided as well as a light conference lunch which meets a range of dietary requirements. Thanks to our generous funders we are able to

provide this to speakers free of charge. Please do feel free to bring your own food and drink if you wish.

There are shops and cafes on campus where you can buy refreshments. There is a Nisa a short three-minute walk from the Berrick Saul Building in the Market Square of Campus West near the main bus stop.

The University of York has a range of multi-faith rooms and dedicated prayer rooms on campus and arrangements for these can be found [here](#).

We have approached several colleagues about chairing panels at the conference. If you have not been approached but would like to chair a panel then please do get in touch with us.

If you require information about anything that has not been covered in this booklet please contact Jess and Joe on the conference email: londonandlondoners@gmail.com

Abstracts and biographical information

Day 1: Thursday 8th September

10:00-11:00 - The Parish (Chair: Joe Saunders)

Anna Cusack (Birkbeck) - 'There is no Cage to secure Night-walkers and other felons': The role and decline of the 'cage' in the parishes of early modern London.

In the bustling streets of early modern London, located at major thoroughfares throughout the metropolis, Londoners would have come face to face with those 'confined to the cage'. Parish cages were a lock-up of sorts, used for more serious offences than those simply warranting communal humiliation in the stocks, pillories, or at whipping posts, especially as a form of punishment for unknown individuals and the poorer sort. All stages of the life cycle were played out in the cage, especially births and deaths, evident in parish registers and vestry records. However, cages were not just lock-ups, they were, at times, used as temporary accommodation, employed heavily by parishes after 1630, which is indicative of the stress experienced by suburban parishes facing down the myriad of social problems presented by exponential population growth. The cage no doubt maintained a fear factor within communities at the best of times and this was intensified in plague years when confinement may have been viewed as an extension of household quarantine and a likely death sentence. The humiliation of being confined to the cage was made all the greater due

to their public and prominent positions, the most well-known cage being located on London Bridge.

This paper examines the use and eventual decline of the London cages and presents new research into the role they played as a tangible part of the everyday landscape, exploring how they were perceived and used by authorities to maintain some sort of social control within London parishes and communities

Anna Cusack completed her PhD at Birkbeck, University of London in 2021 funded by The Mercers Company Studentship for Doctoral Research on the History of London. Prior to this, she undertook a BA in history also at Birkbeck and an MPhil in early modern history at the University of Cambridge. Her PhD research examined the marginalised dead of London during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, specifically the treatment of the remains of suicides, criminals, and religious outsiders such as Quakers and Jews. She holds a research assistant position at the University of Leicester for the 'Diversity and Change in South Wales' project and another research assistant position with the University of Erfurt on the 'Religion and Urbanity: Reciprocal Formations' project. She is one of the ECR board members for *History Journal* and has also worked on the AHRC funded 'The Power of Petitioning in Seventeenth-Century England' project along with being one of the historical consultants for the 'Execution' exhibition opening at the Museum of London Docklands at the end of this year. She co-runs a slightly neglected blog about the dead of early modern London and is currently juggling various other projects and jobs both inside and outside academia.

Jonah Miller (KCL) - Redefining the parishioner: parish politics in post-Restoration London

In the decades after 1660, Londoners battled over who counted as a 'parishioner' – a member of the local community with the right to vote at parish meetings. Religious fragmentation and rapid population expansion made this a difficult question: should ratepaying Dissenters or Jews be enfranchised, or the rapidly proliferating lodgers and house-sharers around the edges of the city? What about the growing number of women who headed their own households? Canon law provided no answers and most of these questions were not settled by statute until later in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Londoners were left to argue over parish suffrage themselves, often leading to litigation in the ecclesiastical courts. The records of the London consistory court, the Court of Arches, and the court of the Vicar-General's Peculiar jurisdiction contain extensive evidence of disputes over voting rights and electoral procedure, revealing a local political culture struggling to adapt to social and religious change. Previous scholarship on the politics of London's parishes has concentrated on contests over select vestries in the period before 1640 or after 1740. This paper bridges the gap and broadens the analysis to discuss wider questions of political identity, inclusion, and exclusion in the transition from an early modern city to a modern one.

Jonah Miller is a Research Fellow at King's College, Cambridge. His first book, *The Constable's Staff: Gender and Policing in Early Modern England* is under contract with CUP. He has recently started a new project on the legal histories of arrest in England and the British Atlantic world.

This paper is based on research undertaken for a PhD at King's College London, supervised by Laura Gowing. A more narrowly-focused paper on a series of contested parish elections in early eighteenth century Chelsea is out in *Social History* in 2022.

Mark Jenner (York) - Rubbish, Rates and Recusants: Rethinking the Politics of the Parish in Early Modern England

This paper takes as its point of departure a remarkably detailed early C17 London Star Chamber suit which grew out of disputes over the collection of scavengers' rates for street cleaning and supplements it with research into the social and environmental regulation of early modern London. It aims to refine and revise two themes in the historiography of the capital and its inhabitants. [1] By elucidating the language and the issues which sparked this controversy, and by tracking some of its participants across civic society and into the murky world of Newgate informants and government spies, the paper will examine both the micropolitics of parochial neighbourhood and reputation, and the proto-public sphere of confessional strife. All too often, it will suggest, the first has been the exclusive focus of social historians of the metropolis, while the second has fallen to historians of Elizabethan and Jacobean religion and (high) politics. [2] By highlighting the ways in material, more-than-human, dimensions shaped such local dissensions, it will argue that historians of Londoners lives need to rethink their treatment of the social and of social relations.

Mark Jenner is Professor of Early Modern History in the History Department, in the Centre for Renaissance and Early Modern Studies and in the Centre for Eighteenth Century Studies at the University of York. He works on the social and cultural history of early modern England and on the social history of medicine. He has served on the Editorial Boards of *Social History of Medicine* and *Urban History*. Mark began research by investigating 16th and 17th century English conceptions of cleanliness and dirt, examining the environmental regulation of London as a way by which to reconstruct people's perceptions. He will soon complete this manuscript for publication by Oxford University Press. He is also completing a book derived from a major research project funded by the Wellcome Trust which examines the uses, distribution and perception of London's water between 1500 and 1830.

11:00-12:00 - Trust and Social Relations (Chair: Jess Ayres)

Mary Morrissey (Reading) - 'Poore Englyshe captives redeamyd': Charitable giving and foreign trade in early modern London

Throughout the early modern period, collections of money were made at the public sermons at Paul's Cross and the Easter sermons at St Mary's Spital. While various charitable

purposes might benefit from these collections (the poor of the city, or the veterans of the Dutch wars), one of the most common charitable causes supported was the ransoming of sailors taken captive in the Mediterranean by Turks or European powers and off the coast of North Africa. Records of the Court of Aldermen tell us something about how these collections were made, and how the ransom may have found its way to its intended beneficiary. In this way, we can see something of the patterns of personal, familiar and civil connects that motivated and enabled these attempts to rescue mariners and travellers from the galleys. This adds nuance and depth to our understanding of the charitable giving of Londoners in the early modern period and the effectiveness of the discourse of 'fraternity' promoted by trade guilds and corporations, even in context of international trade.

Mary Morrissey is the author of *Politics and the Paul's Cross Sermons* (OUP, 2011) and various articles on early modern preaching culture, particularly in London. She is one of the co-editors of *Sermons at Paul's Cross, 1520-1640* (OUP, 2017). She is currently editing John Donne's sermons at Paul's Cross and the Spital for *The Oxford Edition of the Sermons of John Donne*, gen. ed. Peter McCullough and is planning a book-length study on *Ways of Belonging in the Works of John Donne*.

Patrick Wallis (LSE) - Trust in London, 1330-1680

Who did the people who lived in medieval and early modern London trust? How were strong ties formed? And did the sources of trust change between the thirteenth and seventeenth centuries in the face of urban growth, commercial expansion, reformation and state formation?

This paper presents novel, long-run evidence on the types of connection that fostered trust between Londoners. We explore the networks created to secure inheritances and the care of children using the records of London's Orphans' Court, a part of the Court of Aldermen that emerged over this period. We study 26,955 Londoners who acted as sureties in 14,977 recognizances made between 1330 and 1680. Each recognizance involved a small cluster of individuals willing jointly to secure the wealth and property left to citizens' orphans.

We can identify the degree to which individuals who trusted each other enough to share this task were connected by three of the major sources of trust – kinship, guild membership and neighbourhood – discussed in existing literature on urban society. These allow us to evaluate how the significance of each of these sources of trusting relationships changed over time.

We uncover a long-run transformation in the nature of strong social relationships in London. Neighbourhood is a consistently important source of trust in the seventeenth century once addresses are reported. However, as we show, the role of guilds in fostering community was substantial until c. 1500, but disappeared entirely by the mid seventeenth-century. In its place, kinship grew more important in trust networks. [250 words].

This paper is the result of a collaborative research laboratory involving thirteen second- and third-year undergraduates at the department of economic history at LSE. [Ammaarah Adam; Raphael Ades; Will Banks; Canbeck Benning; Gwyneth Grant; Harry Forster-Brass; Joe

Miller; Daniel Phelan; Seb Randazzo; Owen McGiveron; Matthew Reilly; Sebastian Serban; Carys Stockton]. The project was led by Professor Patrick Wallis and has expanded into a broader collaboration with Dr Michael Scott (Manchester) who has been working in detail on the records of the Orphans' Court. The project focused on social capital and guilds in London and ran 2018-19.

Patrick Wallis is a professor of economic history at LSE. He works on economic, social and medical history, with a long-standing interest in guilds, apprenticeship and other topics in economic and social history. His books include *Apprenticeship in the Early Modern Europe* (2019), *Medicine and the Market in England and its Colonies, 1450-1850* (2007) and *Quackery and Commerce in Seventeenth Century London* (2005). He is a former editor of the *Economic History Review*.

Daniel Gosling (TNA) - Londoners and the Commonwealth Court of Exchequer

The Court of Exchequer was one of the few equity courts in England and Wales to survive the civil wars of the 1640s. Other, more notorious, conciliar courts such as Star Chamber had been abolished by parliament during this period, viewed as fora for royal injustice. It's particularly interesting, then, to examine the records of those courts that did persist into the Commonwealth.

This paper looks at the experience of Londoners in the Court of Exchequer between 1649 and 1660. Once a court exclusively for money matters pertaining to the Crown (or royal officers), by this period the Exchequer was a court which could hear private cases concerning a myriad of issues from tithes to customs. Drawing on the contemporary finding aids for the as yet unlisted bills and answers for the Court of Exchequer held at The National Archives (E 112), this paper shows what cases Londoners were bringing to the court in the interregnum, and what that tells us about London life during this time.

This new research was borne from the ongoing cataloguing of E 112, and so this paper will also describe how specialists at The National Archives are working to open up these fascinating records.

Dr Daniel F Gosling is Principal Legal Records Specialist at The National Archives, specialising in the records of the pre-modern central law courts. Dr Gosling holds a PhD from the University of Leeds, completed in 2016. His thesis examined the use and interpretation of the Statute of *Praemunire* in the late medieval and early modern periods. Before joining The National Archives, he worked as Archives Assistant at The Honourable Society of Gray's Inn, working with early modern legal collections relating to legal education.

Dan was previously Chair of History Lab, the national network for postgraduate students in history and related disciplines, based at the Institute of Historical Research in London. He currently sits on the council of the British Record Society, and is a member of the Royal Historical Society and Selden Society.

Dan's recent research includes analysing the legal records relating to the Bear Garden in Elizabethan and Jacobean Southwark, and the Equity Court of Exchequer. He recently published 'The Records of the Court of Star Chamber at The National Archives and elsewhere', part of the open access volume *Star Chamber Matters: an early modern court and its records* (2021).

12:00-12:10 - Break

12:10-12:50 - Microhistories (Chair: Anna Cusack)

Jamie Gemmell (KCL) - Reckoning with Race in Early Modern London: The Trial and Testimony of Edward Francis

Edward Francis, described as a “blackamore” servant, laboured within the Tower of London during the late seventeenth century. In 1692 he was tried at the Old Bailey for attempting to poison the fellow members of his household with rat poison. Francis’s trial and testimony allow us to consider how individuals racialised as black navigated early modern London in the wake of increasing English involvement in racialised systems of enslaved labour. Carefully reading Francis’s testimony through Premodern Critical Race Studies, this paper moves away from simply demonstrating the presence of Black individuals in early modern London and asks precise historical questions about their lives and worldviews. I begin by suggesting how early modernists might use and engage interdisciplinary approaches to the study of race and racialisation. Specifically, I argue for greater attention to the ways in which race was practiced and refuse concrete racial ontologies in favour of more fluid, though nonetheless violent, processes of racialisation. I use this broader historiographical intervention to grapple with how Atlantic conceptions of slavery and freedom may have impacted London life and try to piece together how Francis may have understood his own positionality. What emerges is a careful study of Francis’s actions that demonstrates how interdisciplinary work on race and racialisation can help us to ask new questions about early modern London and its inhabitants.

Jamie Gemmell is a historian of race and power in the early modern Anglo-Atlantic World. Currently, his research traces the lives and worldviews of early modern Londoners racialised as black through an interdisciplinary approach to the of race and racialisation. He is an LAHP PhD student at King’s College, London, and about to begin a project titled “Reckoning with Race in Early Modern London, 1655-1712.” He is currently a lead on a publishing project with the Northern Early Modern Network and an intern at the University of Maryland’s Slavery, Law, and Power Project. He is a History Masters by Research Graduate from the University of Edinburgh and former Editor in Chief of Retrospect Journal. In 2021 he co-edited “Race in Retrospective” in collaboration with RACE.ED. This special issue traced an unofficial genealogy of race and coloniality at the University of Edinburgh and Scotland. In 2019 he launched jamesknightjamaica.com, a digital transcription project that seeks to

draw attention to James Knight's 1742 manuscript on the history of Jamaica and encourage greater engagement with early Anglo-Jamaican history.

Tim Reinke-Williams (Northampton) - Placing and Alewife in Early Seventeenth-Century London

This paper uses depositions presented before the London commissary and consistory courts between December 1626 and April 1628 to piece together the life of Joane Nevil, an alewife from St Sepulchres in Holborn accused of various forms of immoral and illegal behaviour by several acquaintances. The material, which I am developing into a microhistory, engages with several themes of the conference. Issues relating to family and sexuality are addressed through contested narratives relating to marriage formation and bigamy, while the institution of the alehouse as a space of communal sociability but also intoxicated disorder looms large. Deponents gave extensive descriptions of the metropolitan topography they inhabited, drawing attention to specific parishes, streets, and rooms in their testimonies. Rather than being possessed of a civic identity which extended across London and between Londoners, deponents were sensitive to geographical origins and placed newcomers within their own small interconnected worlds. Witnesses also referred to credit, friendship and occupational identities which were shaped by ideas about gender but also age, with longevity of relationships and residency mentioned frequently. Finally, the material can be linked to other matters of concern to scholars of early modern London since the references to how marriage should be formed, the nature and quantity of alcohol it was appropriate to consume, and the role of public houses in local communities, were central to the religious, social and political contestations which historians of early seventeenth-century England have labelled the reformation of manners.

Tim Reinke-Williams is a Senior Lecturer at the University of Northampton, a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society, and a convenor of the British History in the Seventeenth Century seminar series at the Institute of Historical Research in London. Tim is a historian of society, economy and culture in early modern Britain, with specific interests in women's work and social relations, the fashioning of the gendered body across the life-cycle, and migration. His first monograph, *Women, Work and Sociability in Early Modern England*, was published by Palgrave in 2014, and he has published articles in *Continuity and Change*, *Cultural and Social History*, *Gender and History*, and *History Compass*, as well as producing an edited collection for the *Cultural History of Shopping* series, focusing on the period c.1450-1650, which was published by Bloomsbury in June 2022. Currently Tim is completing his second monograph, *Leaky Bodies: Manhood, Sex and Power in Early Modern England*, and a co-authored article with Dr William Farrell (University of Leicester) on migration from Ireland, Scotland and Wales to London, c.1600-1800, after which he intends to focus on researching women who brewed and sold alcohol in England, c.1580-1740.

12:50-13:30 – Lunch

13:30-14:10 - Science and Knowledge (Chair: Jess Ayres)

Barbara Bienias (IHS, Warsaw) - A centre in the periphery? Mapping the science of Early Modern London

The development of scientific practice in Early Modern London has gained an impressive scholarship. And although a significant part of it refers to the epitomes of the early Royal Society, there have been studies taking into account 'vernacular science'. Deborah Harkness's *The Jewel House: Elizabethan London and the Scientific Revolution* (2007) is a fine example of a focus on the individual endeavours of citizens, which – in her view – eventually 'laid the social foundations for the Scientific Revolution in England'. Such studies show how the often neglected aspects of the London activity and locality bear significance in a broader context of knowledge production. This paper analyses these more recent and now classic attempts (E.G.R. Taylor; Christopher Hill) to show early modern London mathematical practitioners and artisans as forerunners of modern science in England. In this perspective, I will revisit some of the claims concerning early modern astronomy and astrology in London, with reference to prominent almanac-makers, such as Edward Gresham, Thomas Bretnor, Edward Pond, and Arthur Hopton. My aim will be to show the research possibilities which stem from the reappraisal of popular sources (such as almanacs and prognostications) in 'localising' London scientific interests and networks. I will also emphasise the benefits of using new digital tools, e.g. based on the Map of Early Modern London project (<https://mapoflondon.uvic.ca>), to visualise data about early modern science-makers.

Barbara Bienias holds a PhD in British Literature and is an Assistant Professor at the Institute for the History of Science of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw. Her main research interests comprise the history of early modern astronomy and astrology in England, epistemology in early modern Europe, science and literature, manuscript studies, and semiotics of culture. With Prof. Jarosław Włodarczyk, she is currently preparing the first critical edition of Edward Gresham's *Astrostereon* (1603), a little-known – and overtly Copernican – English astronomical manuscript.

Jasmine Kilburn-Toppin (Cardiff) - Knowledge, Experiment and Secrecy at the Seventeenth-Century Tower Mint

The early modern Tower of London had many associations for contemporaries. A multifaceted site of contested jurisdiction, it was a royal stronghold and prison, a palace, an archive, and the site of the Royal Mint, the Ordnance Office, and Royal Menagerie. Though it was a royal institution, its successful functioning and legitimacy depended upon the labour and expertise of city dwellers. Periodically, the know-how of foreign or 'alien' craftsmen was also sought out for technical improvements. Moreover, the Tower was a tourist destination for affluent and well-connected foreign travellers, dignitaries, and merchants.

This paper, focusing particularly upon the Royal Mint, explores the Tower as a major transnational site of knowledge production and interchange. We find that in the production of coin and the testing of bullion and specie at this site, an uneasy dynamic operated between secrecy and openness. There was in general a principle of secrecy concerning all minting activities, and yet movement through the site was hard to control. Curious gentlemen natural philosophers visited the Mint, particularly hoping to glimpse the assay trials in which precious matter underwent separation and transformation. Moreover, the skilled practitioners who worked within these sites authored treatises which circulated throughout the city, and which claimed to reveal workshop secrets and the reports of official trials to interested parties. With an eye to the social and political dynamics of technical knowledge creation and exchange, this paper explores the multifunctionality of sites of knowledge production, the social and professional range of those involved in trials and experimentation, and the challenge of managing embodied knowledge and 'secrets' within urban space.

I am Lecturer in Early Modern History at Cardiff University and FRHistS. My research interests include artisanal and mercantile cultures, urban space and architecture, material memorialisation, and networks of craft and 'scientific' knowledge. My recent monograph explored artisanal identity, architecture, and material culture in early modern London [*Crafting Identities: Artisan Culture in London, c. 1550-1640* (MUP, 2021)]. I've published in *The Historical Journal*, *BJHS* and *Social and Cultural History*. I'm currently in the final phase of a new book, co-written with Dr Becky Higgitt, on knowledge production, vernacular 'science', and London institutions - *Science Incorporated: London Sites and Cultures of Knowledge and Practice, 1600-1800*. Inspired by urban and spatial history teaching at BA and MA level, I am co-author of a new student guide, *Researching Urban and the Built Environment* (with Dr Elaine Tierney and Dr Charlotte Wildman), published by MUP in July 2022.

14:10-14:50 - Suppression and Regulation (Chair: Emily Rowe)

Christopher Whittell (Cambridge) - 'The Clippers Clipped': Charles II and the Treasonous Coiners in Early Restoration London, c. 1660-1665.

Despite Charles II's triumphant return as the restored king of England in May 1660, much of his monarchical authority was still fragile. This included his powers over the country's coinage, traditionally the sole prerogative of its monarch, but which had been 'usurped' by the Republic during the 1650s. This paper will study how the restored monarchy attempted to re-establish this authority. This was through the suppression of one of the biggest threats to this, which were the many coinage criminals, such as coin counterfeiters and clippers, who were widespread in London at the time. Indeed, coinage criminals within London were considered such a big threat to the restored monarchy that Charles II may have personally overseen the suppression of them. It will be shown that this was due both to the Republic's failure to suppress them, and the economic problems that afflicted the country just before the Restoration. It will subsequently look at who these coinage criminals were in London at the time, showing it attracted a variety of people, from employees of the royal household to ordinary women also playing an important role, and will thus analysis their reasons for

undertaking the crime, despite the severe consequences for doing it. Finally, it will look at how the authorities investigated and suppressed these coinage criminals in London, by adapting many of the practical and judicial methods that were innovated during the Republic, but unlike then, were used successfully during the early years of the Restoration, to restore royal authority over the coinage.

I am a PhD student at Queens College, University of Cambridge. My thesis, which I have just completed, is called *Coinage Crimes and Society in England During the Period of the British Republic, 1649-1660*. The thesis studied coinage crimes, which included the deliberate and criminal degradation of the official coinage by private individuals, such as the counterfeiting and clipping of it, during the British Republic. It analysed the background of the Republic's policy against it, caused by the economic and political problems resulting from the English Civil Wars of the 1640s, and showed how this policy became an important part of its state formation process. It also studied how society and the courts viewed the crime, and who the coinage criminals were, as well as their motivations for undertaking it during this period. My research interests are in Early Modern History, especially of the economic and monetary history of the 17th century. I have presented various papers related to this area, on subjects ranging from trade tokens to the early modern portrayal of the British monarchy on its coins and medals. I am currently close to completing two articles relating to this for publication in peer review journals, and there are another two in progress.

Karen Waring (Bath Spa) - Search and the City

The royal incorporation of the Stationers' Company in 1557 confirmed its position as the principal trade body for the practitioners of London's book trades and crafts, and resulted in the Company gaining a near monopoly for the regulation of the print industry. A key clause in its charter gave the Stationers' Company the right to search 'any place, shop, house, chamber, or building of any printer, impresser, binder, or bookseller whatever within our realm of England' so that it could 'seize, take, hold, burn ... any and all of those books and those things which are or shall be impressed or printed against the form of any statute, act, or proclamation made or to be made.'

This paper will examine the Company's use of search and seizure in London between the years 1557 and 1605. Early volumes of the Stationers' Registers offer tantalising glimpses into the organisational procedures that lay behind the Company's regulation of London's book trades, and which often involved much travelling across the City. Although used sparingly in the early years, from the 1580s onwards search and seizure became a significant feature of the Company's business, both as a means of enforcing its ordinances and as a social activity. How the Stationers' Company enacted its searches throughout this period not only illustrates the shifting political, social, and practical dimensions of the search as a regulatory mechanism, but also demonstrates the ways in which such publicly functioning systems of regulation were important for maintaining a sense of community.

Karen Waring was recently awarded a PhD by Bath Spa University. Her thesis, 'The Textual Sociology of the Stationers' Registers, 1554-1605' is concerned with the materialities, the

contexts, and the agencies that were instrumental in defining the Stationers' Registers, and which contributed to their significance as cultural artefacts. She is co-editor with Ian Gadd of a [forthcoming] edition of the Stationers' Company's *Liber A*, a volume of official correspondences and documents compiled between the 1550s and 1790s.

14:50-15:50 - Spaces of Transgression in Early Modern London (Chair: Mark Jenner)

Emily Vine (Birmingham) - Domestic Baptism and 'transgressive' practice in seventeenth-century London

Domestic baptism caused great anxiety for the bishops of London throughout much of the seventeenth century, with continued attempts to regulate its form, and to discourage its administration by midwives. It was permitted only when the child's life was in danger, and midwives licenced by the diocese of London had to swear to prevent 'Baptism of any child, by any Masse, Latine service or prayers then such as are appointed by the laws of the church of England'. Such concerns were often justified, as London homes were frequently the setting of transgressive baptismal practices which took place behind (semi) closed doors. In 1604 for example, a report circulated that the new-born daughter of Lewis Tresham was to be baptised according to the Catholic faith, and that the christening would take place in secret 'at the Spanish Ambassador's house'.

This paper analyses examples of nonconforming baptismal practice that took place in private lodgings, and houses attached to the Catholic embassy chapels, across the Cities of London and Westminster. Utilising court and State Paper records and personal writing, it shows that domestic baptism offered important opportunities for communal prayer, sociability, and religious fellowship located away from places of public worship. In focusing on practices of visiting, hospitality, and connections between homes, it makes the case for the centrality of informal collective practice which was rooted around the experiences and authority of women, and which took place not in the churches or meeting houses, but within and between households of shared faith.

Emily Vine is a Research Fellow in the Department of History at the University of Birmingham, where she works on the Leverhulme Trust funded project: 'Material Identities, Social Bodies: Embodiment in British Letters c.1680-1820'. Prior to this she was a Postdoctoral researcher at the University of Leeds, working on a project which explored Protestant correspondence networks in the British Atlantic. Before this she held the 2018/19 Thornley Junior Fellowship at the Institute of Historical Research, and taught undergraduate History at both Queen Mary University of London (QMUL) and King's College London (KCL). She is currently working on a monograph based on her PhD (from QMUL) which explores the intersection between domestic religion and the life cycle in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century London. She is a co-editor of the edited collection 'Religion and Life Cycles in early modern England' (Manchester University Press, 2021).

Kathleen Lynch (Folger) -“Till a more convenient place can be found”: Licensing non-conformity in 1672 London

Following King Charles's Declaration of Indulgence in 1672, a procedure was quickly stood up to create and distribute licenses for congregational worship outside the established church. This short-lived process was abruptly stopped when Parliament forced Charles to withdraw the indulgence the following year. The repurposing, new building, and commissioning of spaces for nonconformist worship neither began nor ended with the licensing. But the process of application enabled a rethinking of the place of churches in the symbolic logic of the city, and this fostered and formalised new patterns of sociability and community.

Issues of safety from obstruction, harassment, bodily harm, and arrest were considered in the selection of sites as were the juxtaposed layers of jurisdictions—ecclesiastical and civic and national—in the London metropolis. The documents raise issues about the relationship of domestic to private space, as so many of them were issued for rooms in ministers' homes. They provide evidence, not available in the built environment, of the ways place was described—variously locationally, directionally, or relationally. By and large, these licenses are indifferent to parish boundaries, thereby disrupting that organizing principle for the place of church in the city. As a paper mapping of London, these documents illuminate the processes by which people came to know their city and the place of belief differently in an emerging multi-confessional environment.

In early September, Kathleen Lynch retires as Executive Director of the Folger Institute at the Folger Shakespeare Library, a position she has held since 1996. Recent highlights of her work there include supervision of Before 'Farm to Table,' a \$1.5 million, three-year collaborative research project funded by the Mellon Foundation, and Critical Race Conversations, a 50 th anniversary project in 2020-21. Lynch has published the monograph *Protestant Autobiography in the Seventeenth-Century Anglophone World* (Oxford University Press, 2012). New work on the resetting of the terms of amity for English Protestantism includes "'We Protestants in Masquerade': Burning the Pope in London" for a special issue of the *London Journal* on "London as a Theatrical Space" (co-edited by Tracey Hill and Andrew Gordon, 2022) and "'Business either of Truth or Eternity': Marvell's view from 1672," in *Imagining Andrew Marvell at 400* (co-edited by Matthew C. Augustine, Giulio J. Pertile, and Steven N. Zwicker, forthcoming OUP). She curated "Open City: London, 1500-1700," a Folger exhibition in 2012.

15:50-16:15 - Break

16:15-17:15 - Place and Space (Chair: Vanessa Harding)

Tabitha Stanmore (Bristol) - A feminist reading of early modern London

How did the physical fabric of early modern London benefit or disadvantage its inhabitants? Who lived within its walls and could navigate the city with ease, and who was constrained by the city's architecture? Using feminist approaches to urban planning, this paper will explore how the landscape of early modern London impacted different demographics. Able-bodied citizens who could navigate the city freely would have had a very different experience to aliens, the disabled, or socially isolated groups, all of whom were restricted either intentionally or unintentionally by their surroundings.

The paper will consider London both pre- and post- the Great Fire, using the disaster as a moment through which we can gauge decision-makers' priorities as the city was rebuilt. It will explore how the newer, planned city compared with its older iteration, which had evolved relatively organically. Identifying what was built back fastest can tell us a great deal about which groups were prioritised and which were left behind: this in turn can lend insight into different groups' experiences of the city, and how the physical fabric impacted their daily lives. The paper will include discussion of male and female experience, people with disabilities, aliens and citizens, and deliberately isolated groups including sex workers and prisoners.

Tabitha Stanmore is a Teaching Associate at University of Bristol. Her doctoral research focussed on the role of service magic in late medieval and early modern English society, and particularly how liminal groups were simultaneously rejected and embraced in urban spaces. Her first monograph, *Love Spells and Lost Treasure: Service Magic in England from The Later Middle Ages to the Early Modern Era* will be published with Cambridge University Press in spring 2023.

Daniel Sik (UC Louvain) - Speculative building as morally disturbing in Early Stuart London

The explosive demographic growth in Early Stuart London, paired with the escalating value of land, resulted in tens of thousands of landlords. Amongst them were aspiring speculative developers, who were confronted with high building costs. Their concerns are addressed in the 1654 publication *'The Purchaser's Pattern.'* The author asserts that a property development only needs to exceed a 'sleeping hole' as much as it allows the land to yield profit - how to build was primarily dependant on economic factors. However, this was an attitude that disturbed the existing social order, an order held steadfast by ethical frameworks, which we can generally categorise as twofold.

The first is well demonstrated Stow's *'Survey of London,'* where he nostalgically reads histories of chivalric charity into the built fabric of London. In his opinion, the feudal virtues of estate ownership were disrupted by its economic commodification; to place virtue for sale was not only avaricious and usurious, but also deeply uncharitable. The second is demonstrated in the humanist ambitions for a Magnificent capital, notably affirmed by the court. Magnificence, Aristotle reminds us, is a virtue. Thusly, the architectural ambitions of the classically inclined had distinctly ethical dimensions; precepts transgressed by building developers who they deemed vulgar - lacking in taste and decorum.

These species of moralising architectural criticism span an impressive range of literary sources (e.g. legal records, city comedies, and ethical treatises). Through a cross-examination of these records, I will reveal in this paper how the moral inclinations of London's speculative builders were lithified in the city's built environment, as well as how this environment was perceived by Londoners.

I am a doctoral researcher in the institute for landscape, architecture and the built environment (LAB) within UCLouvain (Belgium). My research is funded by the FNRS, under the joint supervision of Prof. Dr. Nele De Raedt and Prof. Dr. Anne-Francoise Morel. The topic of my thesis is *'Unmagnificence: the vices opposed to magnificence and the development of architectural thinking in 17th Century England,'* which deals with the function of moral polemics in architectural criticism. This paper results from some of the fascinating findings of my research, which has a special focus on London and its surrounding areas. Originally coming from New Zealand, I completed my Masters of Architectural studies in the University of Auckland. My thesis was supervised by Prof. Michael Milojevic and titled 'Beauty,' looking at current literature surrounding perceptual psychology and its potential impact on the understanding of architectural aesthetic preference. Following this, I worked in an architectural office, alongside teaching in the University of Auckland. During this time, I assisted with two courses titled *'Premodern Architecture and Urbanism'* as well as *'Worlds of architecture,'* and ran two design studio papers titled *'Covering Privates: Domestic*

Claire Turner (Leeds) - 'Crying and Roaring at their Windows': Spatial Boundaries and Plague Outbreaks in Seventeenth-Century London

Histories of the plague in London have often focused on the spaces of the shut-up household, the walls of the city, and the dark, narrow, and desolate streets. This paper will turn our focus from the spaces of plague-time London to its spatial boundaries. Many social interactions took place at the window in early modern London. People conversed with each other, peered into houses, and passed items to those outside. Windows sat at the threshold between outdoors and indoors, public and private. However, during outbreaks of plague, they also acted as an unstable threshold between sickness and health. Windows played an important role in experiences and understandings of epidemic disease. By exploring the various sights, smells, sounds, and objects which passed through these apertures, this paper reveals how windows were sensory portals which readily permitted the passage of horrifying phenomena through them. The devastating sight of quarantined children, the screams of infected plague victims, the stench of shut-up households, and the disturbing textures of contagious letters all contributed to the perception of windows as dangerous sites at the threshold of sickness and health. As well as these sights, sounds, and smells, people began to believe that windows were the perfect opening through which the plague itself could funnel in and out of buildings. Clearly, experiences of disease in early modern London were heavily influenced by the dissolving of spatial integrities, and this paper will reveal just some of the richest examples.

Claire Turner is a third-year PhD student at the University of Leeds. Her PhD is provisionally entitled 'Sensing the Plague in Seventeenth-Century England' and explores intersensory experiences and understandings of epidemic disease in the early modern period. She is currently Publicity Officer for the IHR's History Lab Committee and Communications Officer for the Northern Early Modern Network.

17:15-18:15: Vanessa Harding - Early modern London: the place of plague? (Chair: Anna Cusack)

How can we assess the way plague shaped the evolution of early modern London? For three centuries, London experienced repeated outbreaks of plague with longer periods when it lingered at a lower level. Plague was by far the single most significant cause of death, apart from infant mortality, killing perhaps 200,000 people in the 16th and 17th centuries. No part of the growing metropolis escaped completely. And yet it seems to have made less of an impact on the historiography than one might expect. John Stow noted London epidemics in his chronicles, but his Survey says nothing of them; Strype gives a sentence to the 1665 epidemic in a chapter on the Fire. In recent times, apart from studies that focus on plague itself, the topic gets limited attention. Was plague so much a part of London life that it can pass almost without remark? Or should we regard it as foundational to the identity of early modern London and Londoners?

Evening - Conference dinner

Day 2: Friday 9th September 2022

8:30-9:00 - Welcome

9:00-10:00 - Literary Places I (Chair: Emily Rowe)

Emily Derbyshire - Geographic characterisation in Ben Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair*

Ben Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair* (1614) concludes with a puppet play which translates the myth of Hero and Leander into the context of early modern London. In Jonson's play, the Hellespont becomes the Thames, Leander is a dyer's son from Puddle Wharf, and Hero a Bankside dweller travelling to Fish Street to eat herring.

In his retelling, Jonson engages satirically with Christopher Marlowe's epyllion *Hero and Leander*. By supplanting the tale into a vividly realised representation of contemporary London, Jonson distinguishes between his own brand of geographical 'realism' and Marlowe's erotically charged fantasy. Whereas Marlowe's characters are held immobile

within literary space (see Marjorie Garber), Jonson's characters are represented as dynamic bodies moving through and manipulating their urban environments.

However, on closer inspection, Jonson's London is not as 'realistic' as it at first seems. His manipulated puppets are not wholly dissimilar from Marlowe's constrained characters, and his geographic representations of London are built upon the slippery foundations of wit.

Inspired by recent theoretical developments in the fields of cultural geography and New Character Criticism, this paper will argue that just as Jonson's London is a turbulent geographic space constructed through the language and actions of his characters, so his characters are formed and transformed as they act in and move through the city's shifting topographic networks. Jonson's methods of 'geographic characterisation' reveal a playwright more interested in the slipperiness of character and indeterminacy of topographic space than is generally recognised in modern scholarship.

Emily Derbyshire is a Lecturer in Liberal Arts at the University of Bristol. She completed a PhD in 2017 on the relationship between topographic representation and dramatic characterisation in Ben Jonson's city plays. Her research interests lie in the interdisciplinary relationships between cosmology, geography, and literature. She is currently working on two new projects: one exploring representations of stillness and motion in Francis Godwin's *The Man in the Moone* and Johannes Kepler's *Somnium*, and another on the therapeutic use of Shakespeare for dementia sufferers.

Kerstin Grunwald-Hope (Bath Spa/ Bristol) - Remembering the Horsemen of Smithfield: Chivalric Nostalgia in John Stow's *A Survey of London*

John Stow's 1603 *A Survey of London* brings early modern London to life. However, according to *Survey* scholarship we cannot rely on the portrayal of the seventeenth-century City in the *Survey* because Stow felt nostalgia for the pre-Reformation past. In this paper, I challenge the modern-day dismissal of Stow's nostalgia as a limiting affliction and argue that nostalgia in the *Survey* blends synchronic and diachronic historical awareness to create a chivalric memory culture. Drawing on memory studies, I explore how nostalgia in the *Survey* communicates unprecedented topographical change in the City through the lens of horsemen and their equine customs in Smithfield. My new approach establishes chivalric nostalgia as a hitherto unrecognized literary device and purposeful memory strategy. Both discoveries reveal the complexity of Stow's nostalgia and the importance of Smithfield's horsemen in London's rich civic history. On the one hand, a widely cherished chivalric heritage enables the *Survey* to imbue the horsemen taking part in the Smithfield tournaments and the weekly market with synchronic nostalgia. On the other hand, diachronic thinking in the *Survey* raises the alarm over urbanization eroding equine topography in early modern Smithfield. The dynamics between the synchronic and diachronic historical consciousnesses achieves a timely and critical agenda which serves Stow's present. It is the legacy of chivalric nostalgia in the *Survey* that we can reimagine today's fully urbanized Smithfield as the once equine heart of the City.

Kerstin Grunwald-Hope is currently a SWW DTP funded PhD candidate in early modern literature at Bath Spa University and the University of Bristol. Her research interests include the history and culture of early modern London, portrayals of how religious reforms and topographical reconfigurations changed civic customs in the period, the early modern revival of chivalric romance and its adoption into civic culture, and the place of nostalgia in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century historiography. In her thesis “A notable Shew of Horses”: Equine Encounters in *A Survey of London*, she investigates nostalgia surrounding horse-related customs in John Stow’s (1603) *A Survey of London* as an important historical and social engagement with the Reformation and early modern urbanization. Her essay ‘Remembering the Horsemen of Smithfield: Chivalric Nostalgia as Memory Strategy in John Stow’s *A Survey of London*’ is the joint winner of the 2022 Curriers’ Company London History Essay Prize.

Orlagh Davies (Durham) - ‘you came from Hackney school’: dramatic depictions of women learning in London in the seventeenth century

What, where, how and if even women should be educated were all hotly debated questions in the early modern period. In the seventeenth century, London was an important city for this debate, with girls’ schools proliferating to such a degree in Hackney that the area became known as ‘The Ladies’ University of the Female Arts’, multitudes of tutors from Europe and beyond arriving in the city to find work and, of course, the immediate influence of the Court and its attitudes towards female education.

Multiple plays across the seventeenth century depict women being educated in London. My paper will explore some of these dramatisations, including Thomas Dekker and John Webster’s *Westward Ho!* (1604), William Wycherley’s *The Gentleman Dancing-Master* (1672), and Thomas D’Urfey’s *Love for Money; or, the Boarding-School* (1691). These plays show both a variety of ways in which women are educated, whether by private tutors in the home or at girls’ boarding-schools, as well as a variety of curriculums being taught, from writing literacy to dance.

I will interrogate the importance of London as a setting for these plays’ pedagogical themes, and query how subgenres such as City Comedy impact how female education is presented. Overall, my paper will ask the following: is there a distinct way in which women are presented as being taught in London and, if so, what is this distinct way and why does it exist?

Orlagh Davies is a PhD candidate in English Literature at Durham University. Her thesis is provisionally entitled “‘When she went to school’: Dramatic Representations of Female Education on the Early Modern Stage, c. 1590-1730’. Before beginning doctoral research she completed an MLitt in Shakespeare and Renaissance at the University of St Andrews. The impetus of Orlagh’s research derives from an ambition to broaden the early modern canon, both in terms of the literature studied and the elements of early modern life considered, especially female education. Interests outside of her doctoral research includes Shakespeare’s dramaturgy and intertextualities, the afterlives of early modern literature, women’s autofiction, and representations

10:00-10:40 - Literary Places II (Chair: Kerstin Grunwald-Hope)

Andrea Hugill - John Jewel's 'Challenge Sermon' at Paul's Cross

In recent years, Torrance Kirby has effectively argued that John Jewel's 'Challenge Sermon', preached at Paul's Cross, was the cause of significant social change. Kirby even goes so far as to suggest that an epistemological shift that held ontological significance resulted from Jewel's preaching of the 'Challenge Sermon' at Paul's Cross on November 26th, 1559. Kirby argues that Paul's Cross played an important role in the transformation of religious and political identities, and he describes Paul's churchyard as "a popular forum for the articulation of diverse viewpoints in a restless market of religious and political ideas..." Kirby describes an emerging culture of persuasion "and with it the birth pangs of a modern arena of public discourse." This new scholarly development invites a thorough review of the content of Jewel's famous 'Challenge Sermon' and an examination of the events surrounding the preaching of the sermon at Paul's Cross. The content of the sermon was inspired by Peter Martyr Vermigli, who was with Jewel in Oxford and in exile in Zurich. Jewel returned to London when Queen Elizabeth I acceded to the throne and he was still waiting for his belongings to be restored when he preached at Paul's Cross, and he had already been appointed as Bishop of Salisbury Cathedral. The written correspondence of Jewel with Dr. Henry Cole, who was the Dean of St. Paul's Cathedral, further illuminates the possibility that a transformation of the public sphere began with Jewel's sermon at Paul's Cross.

Andrea Hugill is an Independent scholar. She has five degrees conferred from McGill University, the University of Edinburgh and the Anglican colleges of the University of Toronto. She is interested in Late Medieval and Early Modern theology and is currently working on the Tudor Church. Her work sometimes may be classed as Philology as she has studied Latin, Greek, Hebrew, French and German and has written biblical language resources in addition to researching the 15th and 16th centuries.

Nicholas Smolenski - Metaphorical Construction of St Paul's Cathedral in John Blow's *I was glad*

London was rife with activity on the morning of 2 December 1697, due to the opening service for the chancel at St Paul's Cathedral. The service simultaneously commemorated the chancel's consecration within an otherwise incomplete cathedral, acted as a memorial for the unprecedented destruction of the Great Fire of 1666, and celebrated the signing of the Ryswick Treaty that ended the Nine Years' War. This multi-purposed service highlights a complex web of institutional pressures and overlapping social networks, that which represents a microcosm of the interlocking political and religious interests applied throughout Restoration London.

John Blow's *I was glad*, a verse anthem commissioned for the service, placed the cathedral and Anglican consecration liturgy into a political context, thus celebrating the status of London as a European superpower as much as the cathedral's newly completed chancel.

The anthem was affected by a rhetoric of space achieved through metaphor, that which encouraged attendees to perceive an architecturally complete cathedral within the unfinished walls. Through its performance, *I was glad* superimposed the image of palace walls onto the unfinished structure: the figurative image onto the literal space.

This transformation of space and time benefitted both Church and Crown. Both institutions capitalized on this power in order to promote St Paul's as a project worth completing. Once finished, that same power transferred back to those institutions through symbol and metaphor, thus demonstrating their mastery of harnessing sound produced within England's preeminent "Mother Church" to stabilize their command over the nation.

Nicholas Smolenski, a PhD Candidate in Musicology at Duke University (US), is in his sixth and final year of doctoral study. His research is currently supported by the Dissertation Completion Fellowship provided by Duke's Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies. He spent the 2021–22 academic year researching in London as a Visiting Fellow at the University of Exeter (UK). In his research Nicholas explores the varying intersections of sound, acoustics, liturgy, and the senses in early modern England. His dissertation explores the politicization of sound and architecture related to the reconstruction of London's St Paul's Cathedral, ca. 1666–1710. Additional research projects involve the representation of sound and the senses in Royalist texts, 1647–49, as well as the sounding of bodily fluids in seventeenth-century England.

10:40-10:50 - Break

10:50-11:50 - Civic Pageantry (Chair: Tracey Hill)

Susan Anderson (Sheffield Hallam) - Thomas Heywood and the London Lord Mayor's Shows of the 1630s

Between 1631 and 1639, Thomas Heywood was the poet responsible for seven Lord Mayor's Shows, annual public spectacles that celebrated and affirmed the city's government and governors. This paper, emerging from preparing this body of work for a modernised edition (to be published as part of the Oxford Collected Works of Thomas Heywood), will explore the place of this neglected genre in the culture of early modern London, and outline some of the ways in which these texts offer valuable evidence for enhancing our understanding of several of the key themes of the conference. Most obviously, Heywood's shows, as well as those of other dramatists, give an insight into the civic culture of early modern London, and London's class relations as envisaged by the elite merchant-class who sponsored the shows. Beyond this, however, they also contain intriguing material relating to the evolving early modern understanding of relationships between city and nation, and between trade and colonialism that offer evidence of the development of ideologies of race in the period. The formulaic and epideictic qualities of the shows have meant that, despite the excellent work of scholars like Tracey Hill and David Bergeron (to name just two), they are often dismissed or ignored altogether. This paper will argue that the shows should be recognised both for their central role in the literary and civic culture of early modern London,

and also their importance as historical sources that illuminate our understanding of London's place in political and global developments now and then.

Susan Anderson is Reader in English and Head of English at Sheffield Hallam University and is the head of the Centre for Culture, Media and Society, an interdisciplinary research centre. Her research focuses on early modern cultures of performance, and on disability in the early modern period. She is the author of *Echo and Meaning on Early Modern English Stages* (Palgrave 2018) and the co-editor of *A Cultural History of Disability in the Renaissance* (Bloomsbury 2020). She is currently preparing an edition of Thomas Heywood's Lord Mayors' Shows for OUP and of Thomas Middleton's 1613 show *The Triumphs of Truth* for the online platform *Map of Early Modern London* (<https://mapoflondon.uvic.ca/>). She tweets @DrSusanAnderson.

Ian Archer (Oxford) - Fashioning the Metropolitan Magistrate, 1550-1700

This talk will be concerned with the ideals of magistracy set out in a variety of performances, particularly sermons and the pageants of lord mayor's day, not normally studied alongside each other. Other genres such as the sometimes fraught exchanges between the city and the crown officials at the mayor's oath taking in Westminster Hall will be considered too. The talk will probe some of the tensions within the performances and raise questions about their reception. The commonplaces about piety, justice and charity shared by preachers and pageant writers sat uneasily with the knowledge of the auditory that individual magistrates fell woefully short of the ideals. There was a palpable tension in such performances as they moved from the register of praise to offer counsel, urging specific projects of reform and criticising abuses at the heart of power. By the later seventeenth century the emphasis on civic unity was looking pretty threadbare as the elite was wracked by partisan strife, and it is clear that the strategies used to legitimate the rulers' authority were showing signs of real strain.

Ian Archer has been Fellow, Tutor, and Director of Studies in History at Keble College, Oxford since 1991. He is the author of *The Pursuit of Stability: Social Relations in Elizabethan London* (1991), *The History of the Haberdashers' Company* (revised edition, 2017), and the editor of several key London source texts, including *The Singularities of London, 1578* (2014). He has written on topics as varied as poverty, civic memory, taxation, and pageantry. He was for several years General Editor of the *Bibliography of British and Irish History* and is an Honorary Vice-President of the Royal Historical Society.

Emily Rowe (KCL) - Thwick-a-thwack: The sound of metal in early modern London

In his 1629 pageant, *Londons tempe*, Thomas Dekker offers a musical blacksmiths' forge, with workers who sing in time and in tune with the 'concordant stroakes and soundes' of their hammers: 'Brave Iron! Brave Hammer! from your sound, / The Art of Musicke has her Ground, / On the Anvile, Thou keep'st Time, / Thy Knick-a-knock is a smithes Best Chyme' -

with the onomatopoeic refrain, 'Thwick a-Thwack, Thwick, Thwac-a-Thwac-Thwac'. The rhythmic sound of hammers beating against metal is presented as musical and organised, an allusion to the legend of Pythagoras discovering musical tuning when he passed a blacksmith's forge and heard the concordant and discordant sounds of beating hammers. This understanding of metalworking as musical stands in contrast to other depictions of early modern London's metallic soundscape, which describe areas populated with metalworkers as filled with the 'lothsome' sound of 'turning and scrating'. With clinking tankards, jangling money purses, ringing bells, and the constant clamour of metalworkers, early modern London's soundscape was overwhelmingly metallic. This paper will discuss the sound of metal, industry, and metallic music in early modern London, offering a rich soundscape of metallic sound informed by historical and literary accounts. A turn to Dekker's musical blacksmiths nuances what metallic sound and industry may have meant for early modern Londoners. In celebrating the new Lord Mayor of London, the blacksmiths' rhythmic celebration of civic process shows how metal, sound, industry, and civic pageantry were intimately connected in the minds of early modern London's writers.

Emily Rowe is an incoming lecturer in early modern literature at King's College London following a year lecturing in early modern literature at the University of Manchester. Her PhD thesis was on metallic metaphors for language in early modern prose and drama, which she is currently developing into a book on the early modern metallic imagination. She has published on materiality in women's writing, war and satire and war in early modern pamphlets, and will be contributing a chapter on metallic music to the forthcoming Routledge Companion to Early Modern Music and Literature. Emily is the founder of the Early Modern Metals Research Network, which connects scholars interested in metals in the early modern world and she is also the awardee of a 2022/3 short-term fellowship at the Huntington Library, California, where she will be starting a new project on military camps.

11:50-12:50: Tracey Hill - Performing (in) the City (Chair: Karen Waring)

12:50-13:30 - Lunch

13:30-14:10 - Migration and Mobility (Chair: Jess Ayres)

Chorfi Fatima (Oran 2 Mohamed Ben Ahmed) - Migration and the Social Change in London's Population during the Seventeenth Century

During the Seventeenth Century the combination of low overall fertility rates with high level of migration substantially skewed the age structure of London. Because a high number of London's inhabitants were relatively young recent migrants over the age of 14, the effect on the population of the capital would be felt more powerful than in the rest of the country. In other words, London in the late Seventeenth Century was not a city of children or elderly. Instead it was dominated by young men and women in their teens and twenties. Migration tended to be long distance and international at that time. As a result, besides its youth,

London's population was also characterized by its diversity. In this context this paper will shed light on the impact of migration on London's population and the subsequent social change that occurred during this era.

Dr. Chorfi Fatima is a reader in British Civilisation and History. She is an Assistant Professor of British Civilisation and History at the Department of English, Faculty of Foreign Languages, University Oran 2, Mohamed Ben Ahmed, Algeria. She has been a lecturer there since 2006. Her field of interests are British social, political and cultural history besides migration and gender studies. She has published several articles on the history of the Labour Party, Social Welfare, unemployment and gender. She has also participated in different national and international conferences and workshops in Algeria and United Kingdom mainly London. She is member of the History Lab at the Institute of Historical Research, University of London.

Juliet Atkinson (Leeds) - Processes of Identification and the Gendered Mobilities of London Women in the Seventeenth-Century North Sea region

This paper examines how the mobilities of seventeenth-century women moving out of London to destinations across the North Sea were shaped by gender and processes of identification. In the seventeenth centuries, individuals who wished to depart from England were required to first obtain a licence to pass beyond the seas, which recorded details of their identities, places of residence and destinations. This paper draws upon these previously unexamined sources to argue that these forms of identification were shaped by gender and mobility, and that the forms of identity and patterns of mobility constituted by these processes of identification were themselves deeply gendered. Although these licences were in use at ports across England, as a hub of transnational mobility, licences to pass beyond the seas were produced in particularly large numbers in London. This paper challenges historiographical assumptions that women were excluded from transnational mobilities by revealing that a diversity of London women departed from England to Europe. Using the geographic information in these sources and geospatial outputs I have created using ArcGIS, this paper analyses the spatial dimensions of the transnational mobilities of London women. Based off this analysis, this paper demonstrates that in the seventeenth century, Londoner's mobilities were heavily centred around the North Sea region, particularly the Low Countries and Northern France. This paper argues that seventeenth-century London women frequently crossed the North Sea for a variety of reasons and that their transnational mobilities were fundamentally shaped by processes of identification and gender.

Juliet Atkinson is a first-year History PhD student at the University of Leeds. Her research interests are centred around the histories of gender, mobility and migration, and identity and identification in seventeenth-century London. Juliet Atkinson graduated from the University of Leeds in 2020 with a First Class BA Honours in History, and in 2021 she graduated from the same institution with a MA with Distinction in Social and Cultural History. During her

undergraduate degree, she developed a keen interest in the social and cultural history of early modern Europe, particularly the histories of gender and migration. She further explored these areas of history during her MA in her Master's dissertation which examined gendered mobility and representations of female cross-dressing in seventeenth-century London. In October 2021 Juliet Atkinson began her PhD at the University of Leeds, funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Council (AHRC) through the White Rose College of the Arts and Humanities (WRoCAH). Her PhD examines Gendered Mobility and the Identification of Women in Seventeenth-Century London. She also created and convenes the WRoCAH early modern migration reading group alongside Kathleen Commons.

14:10-15:10 - Outsider Experiences (Chair: Mark Jenner)

Rory Lamb (Edinburgh) - "A great vast wilderness": Robert Kirk and the Scots of London, 1660-1707

The period between the Restoration in 1660 and the Act of Union in 1707 saw a rapid increase in Scottish migration to London. Estimated to number some 35,000 people by 1700, Scots in London have most recently received attention in the work of Keith Brown and Allan Kennedy. Building on this research, my paper considers the encounter with London through the eyes of one particular Scotsman: Robert Kirk, the minister of Aberfoyle near Stirling, who visited London shortly after the Glorious Revolution in 1689 to supervise publication of his Gaelic Bible. Kirk's commonplace book (1689-90) is a neglected source for the social history of London, one replete with descriptions of its customs, tourist sites, religious congregations and architecture, including rare details of lost London buildings.

The paper examines Kirk's impressions of London in contrast to the experience of urban life familiar to Scots in Edinburgh, in order to present a fresh perspective on the British metropolis as a city viewed for the first time by those arriving from Scotland. It considers Scots themselves as Londoners, exploring the Scottish communities and institutions being established in the metropolis, in particular the Scottish Hospital in Blackfriars and the office of the Scottish Secretaries in Whitehall. In so doing, the discussion aims to shed light on the diversity of British ethnicity and national identity present in London's population in the run-up to the Union of 1707 and to reposition Kirk as an important Scottish source for understanding the growing metropolis in the late-seventeenth century.

Rory Lamb is a third year PhD student in the department of Architectural History at the University of Edinburgh. His thesis considers Scots in London during the years 1660 to 1800, with a particular focus on the townhouses leased, built or altered by Scottish landowners and the impact this had on national identity, architecture and lifestyle in Scotland. Recent focusses of his doctoral research have been the histories of two major Scottish townhouses in Whitehall - the Scottish Secretaries' residence in Privy Gardens and Fife House in Scotland Yard - and the architectural career of the London architect James Playfair. Rory's research is funded by the Scottish Graduate School for the Arts and Humanities. In 2021, he completed a SGSAH-funded placement as an Honorary Research Fellow with the Survey of London, conducting extensive new research into Montagu House

on Portman Square. Rory is a full member of the Institute of Historic Building Conservation and previously worked as a Heritage Consultant in Belfast.

Chloe Fairbanks (Oxford) - 'Stranger Companies': Negotiating Difference in Shakespeare's Windsor

The prologue to John Lyly's *Midas* (c. 1590) announces that '[t]raffic and travel hath woven the nature of all nations into ours', turning 'the whole world [into] an hodge-podge'. Using Lyly's culinary metaphor (a hodge-podge consisted of various kinds of stewed meat and vegetables), this paper explores how ordinary Londoners understood and experienced difference on a local level through domestic activities such as cooking and feasting, and how the writing of the period shaped, reflected, and sought to mediate those experiences. Studies of difference in early modern London have typically been framed in terms of English and non-English. Such work stops short of considering ways in which parts of England might themselves have been considered 'strange' or marginal. My paper reads Q1 of *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, a play intensely concerned with hospitality and the intersection of the local and global, alongside popular cookery books in order to explore how communities navigated difference through commensality. Unlike the folio, Q1 *Merry Wives* largely takes place in London locales and characters. At once London and not London, 'Windsor' acts as a contact zone between London's strangers and foreigners. In doing so, it forces us to reconsider our ideas about what constituted a cross-cultural encounter in this period and to attend to those encounters on a profoundly local level. By reading literary portrayals of difference alongside practical texts which engaged both implicitly and explicitly with immigrants and immigrant industries, my paper will shed new light on how early modern Londoners negotiated difference.

Chloe Fairbanks is a final year doctoral student in English at the University of Oxford. Her research reconsiders Shakespeare's participation in early modern 'nation-making' through the lens of ecocriticism and spatial thinking, focusing on how affinities of place and specific localities can inform our understanding of the politics of land and its husbandry. Her next project will build upon her interests in extra-dramatic literary materials and internal tensions in order to explore what these texts can tell us about how ordinary men and women in early modern London negotiated the boundaries between the manifold communities within which they went about their daily lives. She has published individually and collaboratively on early modern drama and Tudor history with Palgrave and Oxford University Press and has two journal articles on Shakespeare in progress. Chloe is also the co-host and co-creator of AHRC-TORCH sponsored podcast 'On the Nature of Things', a podcast on how people of the past understood the natural world.

Victor Morgan (UEA) - Place and Time: Norfolk and Norwich in the Capital. London and the Provincial Presence, c.1550-1640

Sometimes London can be, well, rather 'London-centric'. Yet the paradox is that the very centrality of London to the life of the kingdom—after 1603, the kingdoms—made of it a place that excited curiosity at its wonders. At a more prosaic level its commercial tendrils entwined

the provinces and caught them up in what most provincials considered to be increasingly unbalanced and indeed, exploitative relationships. But—unlike what a cadre of historians of the English provinces were inclined to argue a generation ago—it could not be ignored in a retreat to idyllic provincial isolation. For above all it was a place, and the doings of that place, that provincial elites had to know about and know how to navigate in order to get things done in their own localities.

In part the relationship between provinces and metropolis was articulated through the workings of an annual cycle that integrated various dimensions of the year in the capital with dimensions of the year in the provinces—albeit not always without some grinding of the gears.

This paper is based on archival evidence in the form of dated sequences of letters, household account books and legal disputes some of which are analysed using a novel technique: the ‘annogram’. It considers the activities of selected ‘London agents’; of ‘solicitors’ on behalf of provincial interests individual and corporate; and of visits to the capital by members of the provincial elites in pursuit of local interests. It demonstrates the ways in which their activities fitted within a fairly regular cycle that contributed one among the many dimensions of London life in this period.

Victor Morgan is Senior Research Fellow at the School of History, University of East Anglia where he was Senior Lecturer until 2012 and a Tutor in Higher Education Practice 2012-2019. He is a former Director, Centre of East Anglian Studies at UEA. A founder member and former secretary of the Social History Society Victor is also a Fellow of the Royal Historical Society and Life Fellow, Clare Hall, Cambridge University. He has publications in the areas of the history of cartography; universities; portraiture; great houses; legal history and administration; material culture and religious practice; emblem studies; ritual and ceremony and was editor of The Papers of Nathaniel Bacon. He is currently General Editor of the Norfolk & Norwich Archaeological Society Occasional Series.

15:10-16:10: Laura Gowing - Were women Londoners? (Chair: Jonah Miller)

16:10-16:30 - Break

16:30-17:15 - Women and Institutions (Chair: Joe Saunders)

Loren Giese (Ohio) - Litigating Londoners: Separation Strategies in a Late Sixteenth- and Early Seventeenth-Century London Consistory Court Marital Cruelty Case

The fluid definitions of marital cruelty under the letter of early modern English Canon law and the history of litigation in early modern England combined to enable a variety of outcomes to this specific kind of litigation. The variety of attitudes to which exact behaviors constituted cruelty and the number of potential outcomes to these separation cases continue to stimulate research in ecclesiastical records aiming to understand how the ecclesiastical

courts defined marital cruelty in practice and to explore contemporary attitudes toward it. Some of the studies on these court records discuss the efficacy of the church courts to meet the expectations of female litigants by examining the extent to which they supported female agency. However, what have not been discussed—as far as I have been able to determine—about the ecclesiastical records in general or the London ecclesiastical records in particular are our own methodological and conceptual practices in interpreting whether these courts meet the expectations of abused wives in these separation cases. This paper focuses on the thorny issue of how we define and measure whether these courts fulfilled the hopes of suing wives in separation cases and explores how the regional context in which these cases occurred may have influenced their efficacy and thus affect our interpretations.

Loreen L. Giese is Professor of English at Ohio University. In addition to publishing articles on Shakespeare's plays and on courtship, marriage, and marital cruelty in early modern London, she edited *London Consistory Court Depositions, 1586-1611: List and Indexes* (London Record Society 1997) and authored *Courtships, Marriage Customs, and Shakespeare's Comedies* (Palgrave Macmillan 2006). She is currently at work on a monograph that examines behaviors of and attitudes toward marital cruelty in late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century London ecclesiastical court cases.

Paul Griffiths (Iowa State) - Rape and 'Process' at London Bridewell

There really was no reason in law for why men accused of rape were brought to Bridewell's court. Rape was felony; Bridewell did not deal with felony. In other crimes the court ruled that it had no right to hear felony cases that 'toucheth not this house'. So, one question is how and why rape cases ended up in Bridewell in the first place? For so long now we have heard that legal process was discretionary and that this was a good thing. This paper explores the darker side of flexibility through these rape cases that was always there: bending process, ending in decisions that seem uncomfortable then and now.

And what of the most important people in these cases: the victims? They were nearly all children and maids ('maid', with cruel irony, a term for virgin in Bridewell). The youngest was four-year-old Jane Snalefield who was 'ravished' by Will Hobbs in 1628 and sent to Bridewell from quarter sessions (justices sent him to petty-crime Bridewell for rape; they had the Statutes at Large and Dalton on their bookshelves, they knew otherwise). The age-profile of victims must have played a part in routing cases to Bridewell. In trials girls under ten-years-old were forced to defend themselves in a male room that almost always included the accused. There was no idea of female victims in these cases. Some girls, in the clerk's word, 'confessed' to being raped (her mother also 'confessed' on one occasion).

So, this paper will examine Bridewell and felony rape; the dark sides of discretion in how these cases were processed; and representations and treatment of the young victims.

I am Professor of Early Modern English Cultural and Social History at Iowa State University. I am currently working on a book - *Capital Streets: Cultural and Social Histories of London*

Streets, 1550-1700 - and a collection of brand-new essays on early modern London: Capital Essays (the paper I have submitted for consideration is drawn from this collection). I've published ten or so essays and articles on sixteenth- and seventeenth-century London. With Mark Jenner I edited *Londinopolis: Essays in the Cultural and Social History of Early Modern London* (Manchester, 2000). My last book, *Lost Londons: Crime, Change, and Control in London, 1550-1660*, was published by Cambridge University Press in 2008. My next book, *Turning Inside: Information, Institutions, and Local Government in England, 1550-1700*, will be published by Oxford University Press in Spring 2023. Turning Inside is rooted in work in three-dozen provincial record offices with a smattering of London. But I continued to write and think about early modern London and am back there 'full-time' now and looking forward, hopefully, to sharing ideas with and learning from you and your conference.

17:15-17:55 - News and Information (Chair: Joe Saunders)

Nikki Clarke (Birkbeck) - News of Plague and Fire – gathering and assessing timely information in London in the 1660s’.

When the first cases of plague struck in April 1665, Londoners were able to call on a wide range of news sources. In print, these included the weekly Bills of Mortality, through proclamations and official news books to advertisements, pamphlets and ballads. Many of these sources like proclamations and ballads were fully multimedia appearing in print manuscript and oral form. Other news sources, such as letters remained largely mono-media, though they were frequently shared. Londoners could also draw on a range of personal, business, confessional and neighbourhood news networks, which would have provided information from sources who people knew well.

But how could Londoners judge the accuracy and usefulness in this complex multimedia world? This paper will explore whether a long trusted personal news source – friend, family, business acquaintance, co-religionist, carried more weight than the proclamations of authority? It will ask if the written word carried an aura of authority that orality did not, if manuscript was more trusted than print? It will conclude by assessing how did Londoners coped with the disruption to their regular news supply which both catastrophes wrought. How did they sustain personal news networks through the closures and restrictions on social spaces during the plague? What impact did the destruction of much of the capital's printing sector during the fire have on the circulation of printed information and were people able to re-establish neighbourhood news networks in the displacement camps stretching from Moorfields to Southwark?

Nikki Clarke is a third year PhD student at Birkbeck, researching newsgathering and accuracy in seventeenth century English news sources with a particular focus on how news producers and consumers made use of their multimedia world of print, manuscript, oral sources and personal newsgathering to make judgements about accuracy.

Nikki is a mature student and was a journalist in her working life. Her undergraduate degree was in Politics and Modern History at Manchester and she completed her MA in Early Modern History at Birkbeck, where her research focused on the working lives of professional musicians in Commonwealth and Protectorate London, which reflects her ongoing interest in the social and cultural history of the Interregnum.

Lena Liapi (Keele) - Betting on News: Fake News and Financial Gain in Seventeenth-Century London

In April 1691, a person dressed as an officer accompanied by a post boy rode through London, crying that the siege of Mons had ended. This assertion was met with scepticism, as no such news had arrived at Whitehall. It was suggested that this spectacle was staged by insurers in order to encourage betting on this outcome. This incident brings into focus a little-explored aspect of early modern news culture, the practice of placing bets on political news.

The explosion of news in the seventeenth century multiplied the availability of information, but also engendered concerns about misinformation. For Londoners anxiously awaiting news of the war, the odds given on specific developments (such as the end of a siege or a peace treaty) were seen as newsworthy, an indication of news not yet received. At the same time, spreading false rumours could not only be the result of political considerations (such as boosting morale) but also financial, as a way to tamper with wagers. That betting took place in the Royal Exchange and the coffeehouses around it allowed an even closer connection between newsgathering and financial decision-making.

This paper will examine how news was used in betting on news and how such wagers were also seen as newsworthy. This will complement the work of scholars such as Joad Raymond and Brendan Dooley, who have analysed the ways in which readers assessed the claims of credibility of news media, with reactions ranging from scepticism to credulity. The paper will analyse the strategies for acquiring reliable information and the instances of misinformation which became public knowledge.

Dr Lena Liapi is an Honorary Research Fellow at Keele University. She finished a PhD at the University of York and has worked at the University of York, University of Aberdeen, Keele University, University of Sheffield, and Leeds Beckett University. Her first monograph *Rogues in Print: Crime and Culture in Early Modern London* (Boydell & Brewer, 2019), examines printed accounts of London criminals through the lens of the history of crime and the history of the book. She has published works on crime, print culture, news, and the public sphere. Her current research is on the history of fame in the seventeenth century and on the ways in which news media were used and understood by their readers.