ABSTRACTS

MONDAY 13 JULY: 11-12.30pm Session A
Measuring Citizenship

‘Barriers to Citizenship in Early Modern Cities?’
Christopher Kissane (LSE)

What were the barriers to citizenship in early modern cities? This paper surveys and analyses the barriers faced by prospective citizens in early modern cities, asking both how high and how effective such barriers were. The paper examines both ‘background barriers’ – such as gender, religion, and legitimate birth – and ‘practical barriers’, such as fees, training requirements, and wealth. We find significant variation between different regions, and between different types of cities, both in terms of the total ‘height’ of barriers, and their emphasis.

‘The Spread & Scope of Citizenship in Early Modern Cities’
Chris Minns (LSE)

How widespread was citizenship in early modern cities? This paper develops a simple methodology to estimate the stock of citizens and citizenship rates for over 30 European towns and cities in the early modern period. We find substantial variation in individual urban citizenship rates: while citizenship rates were dominated by property-owning males, estimates of the share of households with citizens suggest that many early modern cities were relatively inclusive, when compared to the extent of the franchise in mid to late 19th century European nation states.

‘The Social & Geographical Background of Citizens in Early Modern Cities’
Maarten Prak (University of Utrecht)

Who were the citizens in early modern cities? This paper examines the social and geographical background of citizens in a wide range of cities across early modern Europe, in order to form a profile of the citizen population and estimate the relative ‘insider’ and migrant populations. We find that there was significant variation in the prevalence of citizen sons and other locals between different cities, and between different trades and occupations. The results present a more nuanced picture of the ‘exclusionary’ nature of citizenship as an institution.

MONDAY 13 JULY: 11-12.30pm Session B
Images of the City: Imago Urbis in 17th Century Italian Culture

‘A Jewish Urban Movement in Italy during 16th & 17th Centuries’
Andrea Yaakov Lattes (Israeli Association for the Study of the History of Italian Jews)

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, within Jewish population in Italy, a new process which concerned the organization, or rather a reorganization, of its public institutions developed. This development was certainly the expression of a new political and organizational concept, which marked the transition from a non-organized, or at least arranged in a rather primitive manner, into an organized community, with particular institutions and elective procedures. The ultimate goal was to shape the new communal institutions, the political as well as the social and cultural.

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This new movement was probably part of a much broader context of Jewish urbanism, which was expressed through very different aspects, including the issuing of special statutes in many communities. This meant keeping minute books for registration of communal acts, the foundation of mutual fraternities and literary academies, and perhaps even the foundation of the ghettos.

'Civitas, Città: The Concept of City in Dante, Boccaccio, & Tasso'
Alfred R. Crudale (University of Rhode Island)

In the Vita nuova Dante describes Florence as a città dolente, connecting it to Jerusalem as described by the prophet Jeremiah. In the Commedia he juxtaposes the City of Dis to the città celeste, which mirrors the glory of ancient Rome. In the novelle of Ser Cepparello and Andreuccio da Perugia, the city is central to the story. In the first story of the first day, the city and its citizens are key elements in the novella of Ser Cepparello. In Andreuccio da Perugia, the city of Naples is an essential backdrop to the mishief which befalls Andreuccio. In Tasso’s Gerusalemme liberata, the holy city is the catalyst which compels the actions of Goffredo, as well as, the other knights and lovers. One example is the walls of the city, which must be breached by Rinaldo and his fellow paladins in order for the city to be liberated. What is the hermeneutic significance of the walls, and do they retain their literary importance in the cities of seventeenth century Italy?

This essay examines the concept of city as expressed by these three authors. My study will be guided by the questions: What are the fundamental elements of the city as described by Dante, Boccaccio, and Tasso? What are the similarities and differences between the Roman civitas and the cities of the works of these 3 writers? How did their concept of city influence the Italian cities of the seventeenth century? Using Dante, Boccaccio, and Tasso’s concept of city, my study contributes to the discussion of the imago urbis in the Italian culture of the seventeenth century.

'Cesare Crispolti & his Academic Lectures in Praise & Blame of the City'
Lorenzo Sacchini (University of Mary Washington)

Cesare Crispolti (1539—1608) is the leader of the once prestigious Accademia degli Insensati di Perugia (1561—1608), which could count among its members some of the greatest Italian poets, like Giovan Battista Marino and Battista Guarini. His leadership finds expression in his decision of gathering together, in three unpublished volumes, all the most significant lectures of the academy. Among those, there are also Crispolti’s dissertations, which gradually become more and more numerous and represent, in the third volume, half of the total number of lectures (6 out of 12).

In this paper I intend to analyse three lectures kept in the last quoted manuscript (ms. 1060 of the Biblioteca Augusta in Perugia), which focus on the idea of the city. In the first one, In praise of the villa, Crispolti lists all the positive elements who, by nature, belong to the countryside. He draws a parallel between the citizen and the farmer, emphasising the anxiety and stress of the former and the peacefulness and the serenity of the latter. Quite surprisingly, the second lecture is an enthusiastic celebration of the city, starting from its title (In praise of the city). Here the author elaborates a metaphysical idea of the city; narrates its story and finally provides an exhaustive definition of the citizenship. The last lecture represents the complete and final overturn of the first one. The author retorts each and every statement made in the lecture in praise of the villa, defining the countryside as the kingdom of laziness and of ethical decay.

These lectures formulate the concept of city, merging a rhetorical, philosophical and theoretical approach and also help to understand a new predominant cultural tendency. The final preference accorded to the city seems, in fact, to resemble a more open and cooperative literary society, illustrated by contemporary academies, where predominates the dialogue and where the civile conversazione takes place.
‘John Bellamie & the Politics of Citizenship in Civil War London’
Elliott Vernon (London)

Despite the insights of revisionist and post-revisionist historians on the nature of allegiance and politics in the period 1642-1660, the political history of Civil War London remains caught in a time warp that often looks back to 1960s historiography for its categories of analysis. Political historians of London have therefore become straight-jacketed by often crude and inapposite binary metaphors drawn from modern revolutions such as ‘revolutionary and counter-revolutionary’, ‘radical and conservative’ in describing the political debates on citizenship in London in this period.

Eschewing these terms, this paper focuses on the debate on the nature of London citizenship found in the works of John Bellamie, a prominent London stationer and common councilman, whose works often defined the internal struggles of the citizenry in Civil War London. Nevertheless, Bellamie’s polemical positions in the debates on London citizenry betrayed to contemporary opponents a frustrating inconsistency, leading the Leveller John Lilburne to describe Bellamie as ‘a kinsman to the weather vane’. Looking at Bellamie’s works, this paper will ask whether Bellamie was, indeed, inconsistent, or whether his apparently changing positions reveal an underlying coherence to project of the reform of London citizenship and City politics.

‘Citizens, Citizenship & the Franchise in 17th Century London’
Philip Baker (History of Parliament)

What did it mean to be a citizen of early modern England? The recent historiographical emphasis on the ‘unacknowledged republic’ of the dispersed state has stressed that office-holding and self-government were central to contemporary expressions and representations of political power. Mark Goldie, in an influential essay, has indeed argued that the notion of governance, with its ancient and republican overtones, was key to early modern perceptions of active citizenship and rightly shifts attention away from anachronistic preoccupations with the parliamentary franchise. This paper will challenge this interpretation, arguing that it is possible to see the republican tradition of office-holding co-existing with, and even being informed by, a more recognisably ‘modern’ concern with the right to vote. By focusing on a variety of pamphlets and debates from the mid-seventeenth century, this paper will contend that some contemporaries saw enfranchisement at parliamentary elections as absolutely integral to their perceptions of the full rights of citizenship.

““Every common man is a statesman”: Observing Urban Politics in the Low Countries in the 17th Century
Jason Peacey (University College London)

Historians of early modern Britain are notoriously parochial, and have generally proved unwilling or unable to explore the many ways in which events and phenomena on the European continent might have been relevant to, and significant for, contemporary political culture. The aim of this paper is to suggest ways in which this may be true in relation to cities and citizens, by exploring how English observers commented upon urban life in the United Provinces in the seventeenth century. Central to this paper will be the reflections made by English ambassadors at the Hague, who often found themselves shocked and amazed by a constitutional system that seemed so alien and troubling, not least as it was manifested in urban political culture, and in the behaviour of Dutch citizens. Through an examination of everything from urban unrest to print culture and coffeehouses, the paper will suggest a variety of ways in which the observations of English visitors might be of more than merely antiquarian interest, not least by arguing that Dutch processes and practices influenced the dynamic of urban politics within England, that Dutch models inspired at least some English radicals and reformers, and that the ways in which English governments responded to urban politics were influenced by their perceptions of the way in which cities and citizens worked in neighbouring countries.
This panel builds on ‘Cities in History: Archives and Traces, 1100 –1700’, a major new Durham Institute of Medieval and Early Modern Studies research strand, sponsored by Joanna Barker.

‘Cities in History: a new collaborative web project based at IMEMS’
Andy Burn (Durham University)

The Cities project seeks to capture the complexity and vitality of the urban experience in the medieval and early modern world through the documentary, visual and material culture generated by and about cities between 1100 and 1700. At the heart of the project is a website (www.dur.ac.uk/imems/cities), which will serve as an ever-expanding scholarly resource for researchers and teachers, and which will make available a range of images and transcriptions of key urban documents and objects, alongside scholarly commentary and debate. The website, which will be demonstrated in real-time, presents documents and images relating to the individual and interlinked histories of the neighbouring cities of Durham and Newcastle upon Tyne in North-East England, and dealing with the related themes of citizenship and the contested nature of urban space.

‘Tales from the Yarmouth Hutch: archives, memories and identities, c.1500-1730’
Andy Wood (Durham University)

This paper looks how archives underwrote civic authority in in early modern Yarmouth. The Yarmouth Hutch – a large trunk that contained the town’s historic and constitutional documentation – was held in the parish church, St Nicholas. Access was controlled by the town’s authorities, who retained a record of loans from the Hutch and additions to it. The contents of the Hutch allowed two town burghers, Thomas Damet and Henry Manship, to write histories of the town, in 1594-8 and 1619, respectively. In both, the economic and constitutional history of the town was central; in Manship’s account, an element of civic idealism is also present. Damet and Manship’s histories of Yarmouth present a picture of Yarmouth as an integrated and united polity. But the more that their histories are scratched, and the more that the surviving records that had once been held in the Hutch are studied, other voices – more plebeian, more rebellious, less indicative of any kind of civic humanism – are to be found. The suppression of these voices in Manship and Damet’s histories speaks volumes about the ways in which the projection of civic identity entailed the exclusion of alternative memories and subaltern groups.

‘Citizenship and Speech in the Long 17th Century’
Christian Liddy (Durham University)

The English Renaissance did not give birth to citizenship. It produced a learned, humanist, and oratorical model of citizenship, based upon the virtues of the ‘articulate citizen’. A longer view suggests that there was an older, vernacular citizenship found in late medieval English towns, which remained a powerful force in the urban politics of the early modern period. Citizenship was both a civic-based practice of inclusion and exclusion that complicated and cut across class lines in English towns and a corpus of political ideas that enabled townspeople to challenge their rulers through speech and writing. Urban political thought was grounded in social practice. Social proximity, in both a literal and figurative sense, created a distinctive civic discourse and a mode of speech that was prone to be direct in tone, adversarial in character, and disrespectful of social place.
“Peales of Showrs & vocall Acclamations”: Civic negotiations of loyalty & allegiance’
Victoria Anker (Edinburgh University)

In April 1642, in a symbolic act of defiance, the Governor of Hull closed the town’s gates to Charles I. Far from welcoming the king, the civic officials asserted both their municipal authority and obedience to Parliament in a reverent but resolute speech from the town’s walls. Just three years previously, the Mayor had warmly received Charles with gifts of gold and ribbons, pledging to defend the king ‘against all your enemies, with the utmost of our lives and fortunes’.

With the outbreak of civil war, canvassing towns and currying favour among the civic officials became a crucial stratagem for Charles. Hull’s resistance proved he could not expect to receive a hospitable welcome on the basis of divine right alone. This paper will argue that Charles’ entries into English towns, such as Chester, Lincoln, and Shrewsbury in the autumn of 1642 were invasions of civic space, creating a tension between civic and monarchical government. The reception of Charles by the civic officials was thus a negotiation of this tension, in which they sought to protect the rights of the citizens while resolving the question of allegiance. It will be argued that the rituals of exchange on these occasions developed a practical as well as symbolic function; the 200 pounds of gold presented by the city of Oxford was not only a display of loyalty but a recognition of Charles’ need to finance his campaign. It was through this performance of civility and hospitality that these towns negotiated their loyalty to Charles, and would in subsequent years reassess their allegiance as the royalist cause was lost.

“A potle of sack for my Lords grace of Yorke”: Civic entertainment for distinguished travellers’
Anna Groundwater (Edinburgh University)

Travellers’ accounts in the early seventeenth century resonate with the delights of hospitality offered by civic elites. The considerable cost of potles of sack and loaves of sugar feature prominently within the treasurers’ accounts of English corporations and Scottish burghs. One dinner for the playwright Ben Jonson in Edinburgh in 1618 amounted to an astonishing £221. This was nothing, however, compared to the expenses associated with James VI and I’s progress to Scotland in 1617, when the good burgesses erected a glass pavilion on Edinburgh’s High Street, and the fountains ran with wine.

Bounteous civic entertainment of distinguished guests allowed urban elites to display their wealth and status but, as significantly, their civility. This paper will consider the meanings that shaped the performance of such offerings to notable travellers, and the long panegyric speeches that greeted the king on the road north. It will be argued that this hospitality was an attempt to establish with their guests a mutual understanding that linked civic elites into wider social and political spaces, connecting them to London and Edinburgh. Whilst this display reinforced the exclusivity of elites within their urban communities, these men were also an interface for the expression of local concerns within those wider circles. Behind the potles and venison lay simmering political and mercantile anxieties that the fleeting visits of kings, archbishops, and other notable travellers offered an opportunity to address.

“Your Charracter, Office, & Place”: Civic responsibility & Just Reward in the London Lord Mayor’s Show of 1616’
Emma Kennedy (York University)

*Chrysanaleia*, the London Lord Mayor’s Show for 1616, has often been dismissed as ‘mere’ pomp, but in fact constitutes a valuable insight into early modern ideals of civic political responsibility. While scholars have addressed parts of this work, they have not addressed how the parts combine to form a coherent whole. What could the Show’s author, Anthony Munday, have intended to achieve by combining a family of pelicans, a resurrected Lord Mayor and a tale of crusading merchants? I contend that all these aspects work together in the Show to produce an extended meditation on the themes and values most germane to London’s civic politics in 1616. Only months before the Show’s performance King James had knighted the alderman Sir William Cockayne, by then notorious for his disastrous attempt to reform the cloth trade. Munday seeks to recalibrate the ideal of civic honour in the wake of Cockayne’s undeserved reward, using figures from London’s past together with mythological conceits to comment on the city’s, and indeed England’s, political present. He creates a mayoral Show that, in dramatising the risks and advantages of reciprocity in political life, comments not merely on civic politics but on the Crown policy that led to Cockayne’s knighthood. Re-establishing this neglected work within its occasional and intertextual contexts, the
paper shows that *Chrysanaleia* does more than merely praise the civic elite. Rather, it explores the myriad complexities of early modern ideals of political citizenship, demonstrating their importance, and indeed their contestability, in the London of 1616.

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**MONDAY 13 JULY: 4-5.30pm Session B**

**Urban Conflict & Crisis**

**‘The Crisis of Urban Government during the English Civil War: Great Yarmouth’s 1645 Witch-hunt’**

Danny Buck (University of East Anglia)

Through the case study of Great Yarmouth’s witch-hunt the growing fragility of local government during the English Civil War can be studied. The desire for purgation local governments had reflected their increasing fear of division and subversion of good order. The witch-hunt was this writ large, seeking to cleanse a demonic assault on the community.

Presbyterian governance had been popular in Yarmouth before the war, representing the urban community against the encroachments of royal power. The English Civil War gave the opportunity for the godly governors to put in place the reformation they desired. However the stress of supporting the war effort led to the exaggeration of fault-lines within the urban community between godly and unregenerate and between Presbyterian and Independent. The godly collapsed into factionalism in Great Yarmouth, struggling between the Presbyterian desire for unity, and the growing Independent Congregation’s desire for godliness.

The witch-hunt in Great Yarmouth is inextricably connected to the political and religious strife in the town, bringing the internalised world of the godly political elite under wider public scrutiny. The call for the witch-finder came just after the Presbyterians had attempted to stop the growing influence of Independency within Yarmouth. The witch-hunt became a means of uniting the godly. The Presbyterian preachers interrogated the witches for the community. The accusation narrative stressed the role of the godly governors both as members of the elect and as leaders of the community.

**‘Urban Revolt as a means of communication. Dialog between the state and the people in Early Modern Russia.’**

Gleb Kazakov (International Graduiertenkolleg 1956)

The early modern era, i.e. XVI-XVII centuries, was the time, when the modern model of bureaucratic state was born in Europe. Its appearance and pursuit to execute solemnly the rights of taxation, justice and warfare has significantly increased social pressure all over Europe, that resulted in the early modern age in the series of social revolts and rebellions, spreading from Ireland to the Ottoman Empire. The escalation of conflicts was so tense that the historiography tends to speak about the “general crisis of the XVIIth century”.

In the age when the elective representative organs did not fully represent all strata of society, an armed revolt against the authorities can be seen as an effective means of defending interests of lower social classes, especially in large urban areas and capitol, where the immediate presence of the authorities made any protest against them more direct and efficient. In my paper I would like to examine the case of early modern Russia. The tsarist Russia has been generally and traditionally (actually, since the first European contacts in the XVIth century) viewed as a despotic state, where lower classes were oppressed by the authorities and had almost no chance to stand for their rights. Nevertheless, the history of the XVIIth century Russia or Muscovy is full of city and peasant rebellions, some of which even can be characterized as successful, for they were followed by the reforms, which partially fulfilled the demands of the rebelled.

My general thesis is that in the early modern society, lacking effective representative organs, revolts, especially the urban ones, played the role of a means of communication between the state (the rulers) and the people (the ruled). Thus, even in the despotic regimes it was possible to force the authorities to compromise, although often at the cost of severe repression. I will mostly focus on the city uprisings of 1648-1650 in Moscow, Pskov and Novgorod (which resulted in the compilation of the new Code of Laws – *Soboroye Ulozheniye*) and the Copper Riot of 1662, which led to the abolition of “copper coins” and unreasonable tax policy of the Russian government.
The paper argues that early modern England was a more urban society than has generally been acknowledged and that it became more so over time. While English towns and cities underwent considerable expansion over the period in their own right, they were also implicated in, and often integral to, a wide-range of practices, identities, and processes that are not generally recognized as especially ‘urban’. It is for this reason that the full importance and burgeoning extent of urbanism in early modern England is not always as appreciated as it is in places like the Low Countries and Italy, where cities were much more prominent as places and urban culture more celebrated. This wider sense of the urban can be understood in three, inter-related ways. First, the urban system played a connective role in English society that was altogether more than the sum of its individual or collective parts. Second, the proliferation of urban institutions – both ‘medieval’ and ‘modern’ – was constitutive of more general social and economic processes to a degree that belies their historiographical neglect. Third, urban culture was congruent with some of the key cultural trends and characteristics of the era, so much so that the urban provenance or antecedents of these trends are often lost.

Phil Withington is professor of history at the University of Sheffield. He has written numerous articles and chapters on urban culture and citizenship in the early modern era and is the author of The Politics of Commonwealth (Cambridge, 2005) and Society in Early Modern England (Cambridge, Polity, 2010). He is currently writing the chapter on urbanization for the Cambridge Social History of Early Modern England and is lead investigator of the ESRC/AHRC project ‘Intoxicants and Early Modernity’. He is planning a book on the social history of the English Renaissance.

MONDAY 13 JULY: 6-7pm in The Assembly Rooms Theatre
Keynote Lecture

‘Early Modern English Urbanization Reconsidered’
Prof. Phil Withington (University of Sheffield)

TUESDAY 14 JULY: 9-10.30am Session A
Civic Governance

‘Two Concepts of Civic Office’
Dave Postles (University of Hertfordshire)

Recently attention has been redirected to urban governance and the development of civic ethos and civility in early-modern England (Withington; Slack; Barry). The discussion has entered on the proceedings of urban governments and contemporary commentaries. A consensus seems to cohere around a largely internal genesis of an ethos of civility which occurred mainly after the middle of the seventeenth century.

In considering two dramatic texts by Thomas Dekker, however, we can posit two attitudes to civic office in the late sixteenth and very early seventeenth century, one of which represents a brusque, dogmatic attitude to office, the other a more refined, civil and Stoic ethos.

In The Shoemaker’s Holiday, Simon Eyre ascends the cursus honorum, ultimately to the highest position of Lord Mayor. Eyre is the dominant character in all senses, amongst the dramatis personae, but also as an ebullient, demonstrative master and civic officer. His antithesis is Candido in The Honest Whore Part One (largely composed by Dekker, but in collaboration with Thomas Middleton). Both Eyre and Candido are trades/craftspeople, the former a high-class shoemaker and the latter a draper, the former overtly in London, the latter ostensibly in Milan (but actually London). Candido, by contrast, is not only modest, but is characterized as imperturbably patient, Stoic in the most favourable attributes. Whilst Eyre is easily provoked, Candido is resolutely equable. In the dénouement of the plays, Eyre is constant before the King in his naïve ebullience, whereas Candido, tried by extraordinary circumstances, is recognized by the Duke (of Milan) as a man of civility and resilience.

Dekker thus illuminates the dichotomy of civic office and civility: co-existence, but probably the supercession of naïve conduct by a more restrained, considered attitude. Perhaps, in selecting Milan as the overt locus of the action, Dekker is indicating a contrast between civic office in London and in Renaissance cities. Dekker, moreover, perceived Candido’s urban civility or urbanity in the early decades of the seventeenth century. The first performance (1604) of The Honest Whore postdates that of The Shoemaker’s Holiday (1599) by just half a decade, but,

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importantly, Dekker was relying on an the earlier text of Deloney which returns the action to the middle of the fifteenth century. We have then the prospect of a perception of a new urban culture transferred to England in the late sixteenth century.

‘The Great Blow & Urban Governance in Civil War Norwich’
Andrew Hopper (Leicester University)

This paper will focus on the magisterial reaction to the riot in Norwich market place on 24 April 1648 that led to the accidental explosion of 98 barrels of gunpowder at the Committee House. The inquest that followed encompassed 278 witness statements, making this the best documented provincial riot of the century. This paper will investigate how the rioters mobilized, along with their origins within the context of the contrasting religious and political cultures present in different parts of the city. It will also explore how far the seditious words in these depositions represent genuine royalist sentiment. The paper will investigate how the city corporation turned these judicial proceedings towards partisan purposes, purging those suspected of royalist or anti-puritan views from the key institutions of city governance. Ultimately, it aims to express what made this riot so distinctive from others and to provide a vivid reconstruction of crowd politics, street violence and the municipal government response at the height of the English Revolution.

‘“Generally in the Shyres they be of none accompte”: The citizens of Newcastle in the early 17th Century’
Diana Newton (Teesside University)

This paper will adjudge how far Thomas Smith’s later sixteenth century prescription – that citizens and burgesses were inferior to the landed gentry – applied to the citizens of Newcastle in the early seventeenth century. For, being a citizen of Newcastle had become very desirable from at least the late sixteenth century when Newcastle had become exceptionally prosperous. In particular, it will consider how Newcastle’s leading citizens – especially the Lords of Coal – regarded themselves in relation to the county ‘gentlemen’ or ‘esquires’ of counties Durham and Northumberland.

TUESDAY 14 JULY: 9-10.30am Session B
Archaeology of Urban Space in England

‘Building the godly household; networks of objects and spaces in early modern merchant households’
Chris King (Nottingham University)

The early modern period witnessed profound changes in the use of domestic space and the display and transmission of household objects in mercantile households, and the role of these material resources in constructing social networks, power and cultural identity within urban elites was also transformed. The merchant’s household was a vital nodal point in emergent global networks of commodities and cultural exchanges as both provider and consumer of exotic, luxurious and fashionable objects. In this paper I will explore the potential for interdisciplinary methods to investigate the social construction of space through interactive networks of architectural environments, furnishings and moveable objects within merchant houses. I am particularly interested in the active role played by the household in the constitution and negotiation of elite social networks, cultural identity and political authority. In the early modern city, domestic space was an important material mechanism through which social identities were expressed and negotiated, in a period of profound political and cultural conflict brought about by religious Reformation. The paper will explore the social and material practices of hospitality in both public and private contexts, which were continuously implicated in one another, and were a significant mechanism through which a distinctive mercantile culture was created among the ruling elites of early modern provincial cities.

‘17th Century Newcastle upon Tyne’
Pam Graves & Dave Heslop (Durham University & Newcastle upon Tyne)
‘Public buildings and civic identities in early modern England: guild buildings of Shakespeare’s Stratford upon Avon’
Kate Giles (York University)

This paper will seek to explore the concept of ‘public’ buildings in pre-modern England. Drawing on Habermas’ concept of the public sphere, it will seek to unpack different categories of ‘public’ building, especially the emergence of the town hall as a locus of civic governance. Tittler’s important study of these buildings and associated material culture has long set an agenda for those working in the field. However, using the case study of Stratford-upon-Avon, the paper will argue that archaeologists and historians need to develop a more nuanced understanding of the medieval origins and religious resonances of these buildings, to understand the ideological, social and political networks and contexts, in which they were entangled in the early modern city.

‘Recapturing early modern English urban defences: York and Kingston upon Hull’

Simon Webb (York University)

This paper stems from my PhD thesis of York and Kingston upon Hull’s early modern defensive walls from 1550-1700, which was submitted in January 2015. It will discuss the scope and historical value of studying urban structures that have either been restored or completely demolished over time. In accordance with the wider research aims of historical archaeology this allows for ostensibly medieval defences to be comprehended within their post-medieval contexts as active agents within the built environment, as evidenced through the integration and analysis of extant remains, the reconstruction of now lost forms, archival research and available art historical resources.

To date their study has often been limited to discussion within the medieval period or a European and military context that considers English defences as stylistically and military retrograde whose use was only rediscovered during the English Civil War of the 1640’s. The paper argues that they were neither retrograde nor limited to historical and military flashpoints and are central to our understanding of early modern cities and citizens. They are an overlooked historical resource that is able to provide a conduit to better comprehend the physical and theoretical perimeters of urban centres that were harnessed in the negotiation of the periods urban, civic, social, political and moral contexts, both nationally and locally.

The paper will argue that a Corporation’s urban defences were utilised in the administration of a town or city, the projection of civic authority, formed part of a recognisable and burgeoning civic bureaucracy and were tied up with notions of civic identity. In considering the utilisation of these structures, removed from their ostensibly medieval military exigency, it is possible to comprehend an urban phenomenon that was ubiquitous throughout England and Europe during the early modern period’.

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‘Capital Sin: Denouncing Pride & Documenting London in Early Modern Pamphlets’
Rebecca Hasler (St. Andrew’s University)

In *Pierce Penilesse*, Thomas Nashe pauses in his account of pride to observe that ‘these are but the suburbes of the sinne we haue in hand: I must describe to you a large cittie, wholly inhabited with this damnable enormitie’. Nashe presents pride, contemporary London, and his own text as linked through the image of a sprawling and vice-ridden city. Drawing upon the tendency of Phillip Stubbes and Stephen Gosson to illustrate their admonitions of pride with lively satirical descriptions of London, Nashe develops the association between sin and the city. In these and other pamphlets, denunciations of pride are achieved through documenting its embodiment in vivid character sketches and panoramic descriptions of city streets. Although critics including Dermot Cavanagh, Roze Hentschell, and Lorna Hutson have discussed the literary transactions between these writers, as well as the seriousness with which their moral criticism is intended, it is enlightening to consider further the depiction of London as populated by manifestations of pride.

This paper will argue that a desire to condemn pride prompts pamphleteers to present their city in vivid detail, examining what the resultant accounts reveal about early modern perceptions of the capital. I will trace the development of this rhetorical strategy from Stubbes and Gosson – whose purported intent ‘not to shewe you all that I see [...] lest you iudge me more wilfull to teach [sins], then willing to forbid them’ is undercut by their comic depictions of frivolous sinners – to the pamphlets of Nashe and Dekker, who self-consciously align their works more with entertainment than exhortation. All four writers move from a professed desire to catalogue pride to vividly documenting its existence in the city. In considering these almost journalistic accounts of early modern London, this paper will explore the perception of London both by pamphleteers and readers. In particular, the market for pamphlets combining admonition and documentary is informative about the tastes of the Londoners who chose to purchase and read pamphlets condemning the fashions, manners, and activities in which they themselves participated. The tendency to condemn pride by describing the city provides the modern reader with a valuable means of gauging early modern attitudes to London.

“‘To a Resolved Mind, His Home is Everywhere” The Englishmen of London Liberties in *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*’
Eunkyun Cho (University of Minnesota)

This paper suggests that Francis Beaumont’s insight mainly lies in his imagination of a London that no longer requires the status as *camera regis* in his 1607 city comedy, *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*. *The Knight* inherits the themes of civic honor, national identity, and the valuation of an urban milieu from city comedies and history plays. *The Knight*’s theatrical space shows how the theater of its time interpreted and appropriated contemporary London through the juxtaposition of theatrical space and the actual urban spots. Moreover, the play and the early modern local historians share the interests in the particularities of local geography and the intimate relationship the author develops within the urban topography. Beaumont’s much more individualistic vision of nation, however, marks an important shift from Shakespearean history plays and contemporary citizen comedy.

First, I will examine how the loyalty to the country frustrates, rather than promotes individual’s success in the play-within-the play of *The Knight*. Next, I will discuss that Rafe’s famous eulogy of London which is strikingly akin to the emotions of early modern local cartographers. Also, Beaumont’s radicalism lies not only in giving guns to apprentices in the liberties, who in actuality rioted only a few months before, but also in imagining a different kind of nation whose essence is in each subject’s mentality rather than in the court or in the king’s body. Without directly mentioning or presenting the monarch, it can be read as a comment on Stuart absolutism by locating the source of national identity in the people.

““The inveteracy of time & the Piety of our Auncestors”’: York, Jerusalem, Rome & a national historical touchstone’
Anne-Marie Akehurst (York)

The idea that York stood as an index of national history exerted a powerful hold on the early modern imagination. The 1644 siege, and concomitant destruction, generated collective trauma that prioritised preservation of the...
vestiges of the past to validate personal and institutional status. The city was a repository for extensive ecclesiastical collections, continuous civic records, and cartularies relating to monastic houses across northern England. York’s antiquarian culture, and technologies of memory, facilitated the production and dissemination of national historical and geographic knowledge between 1660-1700. This paper argues that late-seventeenth-century responses to York’s memory sites conditioned subsequent representations of the city; the compact, walled city acted metonymically as a public touchstone of English history, contributing therefore to the construction of national identity.

Architectural history was key to this recovery of a continuous historical narrative: monastic libraries and ancient monuments were regarded as objective evidence of England’s history, and York was abundant in both. York was written of as a providential survival, an eternal, sacred city and an analogue of Jerusalem or Rome. York’s mediaeval landscape increasingly contrasted with post-fire London. Oxford evolved as the national centre of authorised history, but ruinous York’s histories were written in English not Latin.

Significant sites were foci for travellers and sojourners in town for business or pleasure. Memory sites, and imagined community with previous generations, were validating building-blocks for this class for whom genealogy had agency in constructing social identity. As rebuilding campaigns disinterred archaeological artefacts from Britain’s deep history, collections were augmented. This knowledge enriched traditional understanding, lyrical histories, and evocative drawings that, in Norberg-Schulz’s terms, concretised the genius loci. When interpreting the past was so highly contested, the preservation of York’s variety of buildings, the evidence contained therein, and the memories they evoked, were constitutive of multiple narratives of different national pasts.

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**TUESDAY 14 JULY: 11-12.30pm Session A**

**Seventeenth-Century Edinburgh**

*‘The Staging of Citizenship during Early Modern urban ceremonies in Edinburgh’*

Giovanna Guidicini (Glasgow School of Art)

In early modern Edinburgh the urban space became the stage for a variety of celebrations, from religious ceremonies to royal entries and parliamentary processions. Through an analysis of city records, chronicles, and other documentary evidence and in the light of XX century theories of space, my paper discusses the many-sided involvement of the urban community in the celebration staged between 1500 and 1640. It will address the way the social standing and civic involvement of both individuals and groups -such as prominent merchants, guild members, provosts, religious bodies and mendicants- was represented spatially throughout the celebrations. My paper will discuss the use of urban space by its inhabitants during triumphal entries in the light of the theories of Michel Foucault, suggesting that in early modern Edinburgh the appropriation of urban space during ceremonies represented an expression of authority and power. In line with Michel Du Certeau’s theory that ‘space is a practiced place’, I proposed that during urban celebrations the domineering urban groups reconfirmed their rights of citizenship through their direct involvement in the preparation and running of these events, and through the appropriation of and identification with the urban spaces where to perform them. I will show how at the same time, less powerful groups of inhabitants were excluded from playing an active part in the celebrations not only by being physically removed from the urban space but also by being relegated to homogenous human backdrop to the event. Applying Henri Lefebvre’s theories on the relationship between urban spaces and the society that inhabits and shapes them, I argue that during early modern celebrations the burgh of Edinburgh became a stage for its citizens to demonstrate their own role and status within the community through a performance of spatial belonging based on inclusion or exclusion from urban spaces.

*‘The 17th Century French hôtel in the borough of Canongate’*

Clarisse Godard Desmarest (University of Picardie Jules Verne in Amiens)

The Restoration of Charles II to the thrones of Scotland and England meant far more than the return of a king. The Privy Council, the Scottish parliament and the judiciary were restored whilst religion and politics became even more closely intertwined. The Restoration of the Stewart monarchy also brought renewed activity to the east end of Canongate, the royal borough situated east of the Netherbow port and separated from the regality of Edinburgh until 1636 when it was purchased by the city. Its immediate proximity to Holyroodhouse, the centre of the royal court in Scotland yet outside the burgh limits, was appreciated by many members of the nobility who designed
dwellings suitable to their rank, like Hatton House which became Queensberry House in 1688 or Panmure House. Whilst the Edinburgh Town Council conceded in 1674 that no taxes would be levied for seventeen years on any stone-fronted building built to replace a timber-fronted edifice, thus entailing the construction of several regular buildings in Edinburgh around central courtyards like Riddle’s Court, Mylne’s Court or Mylne’s Square, it was in the Canongate that aristocratic urban developments were able to thrive with more space being available. At the same time in Paris, the urban hôtel was leaving its print on the capital. When the Scottish aristocrats returned from the continent and from France at the Restoration, they were inspired by the French domestic architecture for their dwellings in Edinburgh. Sir William Bruce, the Surveyor of the King’s Works in Scotland who was commissioned to refurbish Holyroodhouse in the 1670s, and James Smith, the other major architect of the Restoration period who worked at Queensberry House from 1695, had also travelled to the continent. Therefore, considering the general interest for the urban hôtel and its basic form of a corps de logis with projecting wings enclosing an inner court, service courts on either side, a closing range or wall sheltering the house from the street and a garden, we will discuss its developments in Edinburgh in terms of design, style and urban space. The relationship between hotels and thoroughfares in the two cities will be examined thanks to the confrontation of maps of the two cities like James Gordon of Rothiemay’s bird-eye view of Edinburgh (1646), James Slezer’s ‘Prospect of Edinburgh’ (c.1710), Blondel’s ‘Plan de Paris’ (1676), Nicolas de Fer’s ‘Huitième Plan de Paris Divisé en Ses Vingt Quartiers’ (1705) or Turgot’s ‘Plan de la Ville de Paris’ (1739).

‘Architecture & regulation in 17th Century Edinburgh’
John Lowrey (Edinburgh University)

This paper considers the overlaps and tensions between the various progenitors of architecture in the city in a crucial period that saw important developments in what became the Old Town, which in some ways prefigured later developments.

The seventeenth century is a period in which the civic powers developed more sophisticated tools for shaping the city and its architecture. It attempted to do this, in the last quarter of the century, through legislation and especially the building acts of 1674 and 1698, and through the work of the Dean of Guild court, which resolved disputes and, in theory at least, controlled building development in the city. Alongside this, and overlapping with it, the guilds (Incorporation of Trades), many of whose members formed part of the civic authority, carried out the building work and exercised another layer of control that was both commercial and aesthetic. At the civic level, another layer of complexity was that the burgh of Edinburgh and the burgh of Canongate had rival trades organisations. It was in this setting, however, that the city began to develop new typologies, both public (e.g. Parliament, Merchants’ Exchange) and private (e.g. the modern apartment block).

Alongside these civic and trade interests, there were two other, very powerful forces, which had an impact on the city in this period. The first of these was the Crown, whose intervention in the city can be seen in grand architecture such as Holyrood palace and the Chapel Royal, but also in the 1639 Parliament building. There was also an influence on the urban form of the city, notably in Parliament Close, which was effectively a Place Royale in a setting that brought together civic, parliamentary, religious and royal authority. The second, mainly in the Canongate, was the input of the aristocracy in a series of large town houses, culminating in Queensberry House at the turn of the eighteenth century. Neither of these powers was particularly interested in accommodating civic interests, and in particular, with the practices of the Trades, whose interests were seriously challenged at various points.
TUESDAY 14 JULY: 11-12.30pm Session B
Archaeology of Urban Space in America

‘If you build it, will they come? Exploring the early modern town in Ireland and the Atlantic world’
Audrey Horning (Queen’s Belfast)

In 1613, charters were granted to 40 towns in Ireland, an action in keeping more with colonial intent than with codifying any achieved urban development. Towns were necessary to provide an administrative centre and cultural reference point for settlers, to facilitate economic activity, and for civilising ‘others’. Key for new towns in Ireland and by extension other zones of English influence were the requirements to accommodate trade, defence, order, and civility. Official charters provided the formal structure and codified expectations about commercial activity and legal representation. As argued by Francis Bacon, towns in Ireland would be “a means to secure the country against future perils.” More broadly, urbanism in the early modern Atlantic was imbued with moral imperatives and governed by civic ideologies. Yet even in plantation settlements in Ireland and colonial zones in the Americas, no town was wholly built anew nor necessarily achieved the aspirations of their designers. Discussion will draw upon archaeological case studies from seventeenth-century Ireland and British North America to explore the contradictions between design and reality and to consider the imprint of the old on the new, or the indigenous on the imposed, in an effort to reconsider the cultural legacies of early modern townbuilding.

‘The Urbanization of 17th Century Boston’
Stephen Mrozowski (University of Massachusetts Boston)

Over the past 30 years our knowledge of 17th Century Boston as grown in both depth and breadth as the direct result of development-driven archaeological research including “The Big Dig”. This paper presents a synthesis of what this research has revealed about the ecological changes that characterized the urbanization of Boston during the 17th century. Drawing on the results of numerous analyses including on-going research this paper focuses on the intersection of economic, demographic and ecological changes that contributed to the transformation of the Boston waterfront and the rest of the Shawmut Peninsula and the adjoining community of Charlestown. With a growing population and its connections to an emerging world economy Boston provides an intriguing example of why the 17th century represents a critical moment in the growth of urban communities on a global scale.

‘Capital, Town, Plantation: The Politics of Landscape in Early Maryland’
Julia King (St. Mary’s College of Maryland)

Archaeologists and historians have organized the early modern Chesapeake landscape along three principal domains, including capitals, towns, and plantations. These domains are often treated in ‘silo-like’ fashion: St. Mary’s City, for example, is often compared with Jamestown or with Annapolis, while town sites are seen as struggling economic centers typically compared with one another. This framework, while revealing some important points about capitals, towns, and plantations, obscures how those who lived in the early modern Chesapeake understood and negotiated the larger landscape of which all these settlement types were a part. A program of landscape archaeology in Maryland has suggested that this framework is not especially useful for modeling the far more nuanced settlement practices that appear to have existed. In this paper, I examine how understanding “urban” settlements in the Chesapeake requires an approach that places them in a larger landscape context. In the case of 17th-century Maryland, the colony’s ruling proprietary family not only used the capital to establish its sovereignty (which is to be expected) but used towns and plantations as well. Both English and Catholic, the family also used these settlements to manage perceptions of their Catholicism and their standing as English citizens, even as their enemies used the same landscape to recast the family as Other. These findings complicate some Atlantic World historians’ argument that port towns and cities are the primary setting for engaging questions of political legitimacy.

‘An Archaeology of Emergent English Imperial Policy: The Case of Urban Development in Early Virginia and Bermuda’
Marley Brown III (Colonial Williamsburg)

This paper examines how comparative colonial archaeology reveals what historian Ian Steele called “the emergence of an integrated Atlantic polity” during the period 1675 to 1740; a transformation made possible by the creation of 13...
an institution to promote imperial policy through what became the Board of Trade in 1696, and the formalization of the role of the royal governor. The rise of what may be termed state control in the governance of the colonies is especially evident in the built environments of the capital cities of two of England’s earliest New World colonies – Williamsburg, Virginia and St. George’s, Bermuda. Archaeological cases studies of two domestic sites, one from very early Williamsburg and the other from St. George’s, occupied during the transition from company control to crown colony, reveal the multiple material effects of what can be called the anglicization or the re-anglicization of these urban spaces, a process that is closely tied to the complex social network enmeshing both key figures of the colonial elite and those appointed by the Crown to govern the colonies.

TUESDAY 14 JULY: 11-12.30pm Session C
European Perspectives: Seville, Carniola & Batavia

‘Humanism between the local & imperial: The bricolage of the Alameda de Hércules in Seville’
Miguel Torres García (Manchester University)

This paper discusses the case of Seville’s Alameda de Hércules, a civil space created in 1574 between the contexts of Spanish colonial expansion and European Renaissance. In the Alameda, vacant floodable land was converted into a civil urban space, arguably the first in Europe, along humanist keys. This project has been extensively documented and analysed by historians, but an interpretive, post-colonial and urban-centred regard shows a number of underlying radical political principles, yet unnoticed, which insert Seville within humanist and reformist trends. Before its refurbishment the Feria Lagoon was perceived as a discontinuity, a source of discomfort for the neighbours, and a herald for the continuing threat of the river. Harnessing nature and wilderness was conceptually coupled with the imperial expansionist ideal in early modern Spain, and with the social inertias of medieval Seville and its Muslim heritage. The Alameda de Hércules was appropriated – or colonised – in 1574 by building a gardened promenade over this large empty area, a bricolage of a wide range of cultural, technological and symbolical references.

But a significant part of the Alameda initiative was the inception of a complex iconographic program that has so far eluded full analysis, especially due to the sources’ relative silence about it. A double monument was erected identifying Philip II and Charles I with Caesar and Hercules, mythical founders of Seville. There were strong political implications in the ambivalence of these symbols; the Habsburgs were praised insofar as they related to Seville’s first citizens, and vice versa. This idea resitutes the Alameda in a more complex, fluid and monstrous ensemble, referring to Erasmism, Venetian Neo-Platonism and local literary production. Previously considered as a space for the celebration of the empire, the Alameda also praised local and popular culture in an early – and failed – attempt to build a public sphere.

‘Citizens versus Nobility in 17th-Century Carniola’
Miha Preinfalk (Historical Institute, Slovenian Academy of Sciences & Arts)

In the 17th century, Carniola was the southernmost Habsburg province. It had a relatively well developed network of market towns and cities, but they were small compared to those in the northern regions. Nonetheless, this territory, too, witnessed the same processes that unfolded in other Habsburg provinces, including an increasing number of people with noble titles. Whereas still in the 16th century individuals were primarily granted nobility due to their military distinctions, the situation in the 17th century drastically changed. The title of nobility began to be massively granted to wealthy and successful merchants and tradesmen, entrepreneurs who filled the state treasury, as well as other citizens who had distinguished themselves in public administration. This change was brought about by the Counter-Reformation, which had driven several old Protestant families out of Carniola, giving way to younger peers, especially progressive and entrepreneurial merchant families of Italian origin. Another contributing factor was the new state orientation which gravitated towards enhanced centralisation and introduction of new, mercantile forms of economy and rewarded individuals that followed its lead, also by endowing them with nobility.

The reasons that led individuals to seek ennoblement were, among others, prestige and material advantages that the noble title entailed, facilitating the ennobled families to pursue their development on a higher level, as well as to a considerable extent changes in jurisdiction. By ennoblement citizens eschewed city judicial authority and thus

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evaded civic obligations. This led to disputes between the city nobility and citizens, since landholdings of the nobility, much like those of the Church, enjoyed immunity from city courts. Nonetheless, there were also considerable differences between the ennobled families themselves. Some continued their civic activities, albeit under more favourable conditions, while others purchased landed property and took on the aristocratic style.

The paper will focus on the dynamics of social mobility in the cities of the 17th-century Carniola, the reasons that led to the acquisition of noble status, as well as the consequences that this process entailed with respect to the relations between the city nobility and citizens, and the development of ennobled families.

‘The Right to the Global City: Cultural Pluralism, Urban Unity & Civic Architecture in 17th Century Dutch Batavia’
Sim Hinman Wan (Art Institute of Chicago)

In his travel memoir to Indonesia from the 1650s, Dutch East India Company ambassador Johan Nieuhof describes the principle Asian trade post of Batavia as a carefully planned settlement with an impressive collection of civic structures. Christoph Frick, another Company employee who visited Batavia in the 1680s, praises the place as worthy of rivaling Amsterdam. Evidently, there was a high level of architectural order to this pragmatically driven port town that corresponded with the latest academic ideas on urban design from the Dutch Republic. Nevertheless, Batavia’s founding and development in the seventeenth century was not simply a case of European imperial power exerting its ideology on colonized domains. Alongside the Dutch was a Chinese diaspora that played a crucial role in the shaping of Batavia’s urban environment. Contributing further to the local social body’s ethnic heterogeneity and cultural hybridity were the freed Portuguese slaves from Africa, India, Indochina, and the Philippines. By several historians’ accounts, Batavia was a cosmopolitan center with inhabitants from virtually every country in Asia and Europe.

The proposed paper explores the conditions of global convergence and interaction specific to Batavia that informed the Dutch formulation of rationalist, egalitarian ideals for their trade-oriented cities, both domestically and overseas. A key point of examination is how the plurality of identities at Batavia gave rise to public buildings and spaces that mediated urban unity and fragmentation. For the Dutch, civic architecture was a celebratory expression of the nascent Republic’s independent culture, which was distinguishable by global trade, representative government, and religious freedom. This architectural shift from a more ecclesiastically and aristocratically dominated European tradition is best exemplified by Amsterdam’s Dam Square, with its monumental town hall and weight house forming an early modern version of the Athenian agora. At Batavia, a very similar program of publicly invested constructions was implemented, and it appears to be a strictly Dutch importation of urban design objectives. Yet, a number of examples reveal the practice of social inclusion and exclusion, tied to Batavia’s multicultural population, that brought about the urban order.

From the joint introduction of various civic amenities by the Chinese and the Dutch to the institution of a detention facility for unmarried biracial women, known in the Republic as Spinhuis, the architecture of Batavia is a narrative on a complex social body that was faced with issues of race, gender, and class. The handling of this complexity through organization and regulation resulted in the establishment of spatial boundaries that inevitably discriminated between insiders and outsiders. Batavia’s urbanization was a direct product of early modern globalization that raises questions of which societal members possessed — as Henri Lefebvre would call — the right to the city. It is this paper’s aim to observe the rise of civic architecture in this part of the Dutch New World, under the Company’s proto-capitalist enterprise, as a means to understand how that “right” was requalified to address a community that had a more fluid identification with the reigning and the subordinate class.


TUESDAY 14 JULY: 2-3.30pm Session A
The Civic Sphere in Newcastle upon Tyne

“‘Without the Walls but within the liberties of Newcastle upon Tyne”: Citizens in the Suburbs of England’s Coal Capital’
Andy Burn (Durham University):

Newcastle upon Tyne was a boom town in the seventeenth century. The surging coal industry produced great wealth for some, but it brought with it flocks of relatively poor migrant workers that made Newcastle perhaps the fastest-growing provincial town in England. Most of these migrants lived by the River Tyne in Newcastle’s eastern suburb of
Sandgate, where pressure on resources was high and the interaction between older and newer residents was frequently tense. Much like Southwark south of the river in London, or Edinburgh’s productive but socially marginalised suburbs, Sandgate developed something of a grim reputation for poverty and lawlessness. John Wesley famously described it as ‘the poorest and most contemptible part of town’, and the tone of his sympathetic disdain has stuck. But to accept the anxieties of Newcastle’s ruling elites without question is to seriously misrepresent the true character of Sandgate. It was in fact a socially varied district, and it is clear that the ‘significant’ inhabitants of Sandgate were as aware of, and as eager to defend, their customary rights and liberties as their neighbours within the town walls – hence the often-repeated phrase quoted in the title above.

Using depositions and documents collected as part of the Institute of Medieval and Early Modern Studies ‘Cities in History’ project, the paper considers the suburban experience of Newcastle’s tradesmen and wealthier waterman-labourers. In doing so, the paper questions the assumptions historians make about the relatively undocumented but by no means insignificant inhabitants that lived on the margins of north-western Europe and America’s rapidly growing cities in the seventeenth century.

“'To be content in low estate’: Charitable education & the limits of civic inclusion’
Barbara Crosbie (Durham University):

The growing public interest in providing education for impoverished children during the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries has been described as a ‘charity school movement’. It was said at the time that the want of a charity school reflected badly upon a town and especially the notable inhabitants, and the four parish schools established in Newcastle upon Tyne during these decades were certainly a source of civic pride.

The ways in which these schools were funded is particularly revealing. A large bequest could allow a benefactor’s name to become part of the fabric of the urban environment – making their charity a lasting memorial to their civic status. At the same time, a school paid for through a number of relatively small donations provided a way for the middle ranks to assert their inclusion within the civic polity – giving as a route to citizenship. Newcastle’s ‘new charity schools’ were also, however, a means of social exclusion. More traditional charitable schooling came in the form of free places in fee-paying institutions or all of the children’s fees were subsidised regardless of their ability to pay, but these new schools were designed exclusively for the poor. They provided an education tailored to those destined to remain in the lowest social strata, and the pupils were taught to know their place.

In exploring the ways in which the charity schools in Newcastle helped to draw the boundaries of civic inclusion, this paper will also consider what this tells us about early modern social mobility and whether it is fair to say that English towns were becoming less socially integrated as the long seventeenth century came to an end.

‘Music, Print & Social Self-Fashioning in 17th Century Newcastle’
Steph Carter & Kirsten Gibson (University of Newcastle):

The historiography of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and the wider north east region as a whole, has, until recently, been dominated by its longstanding associations with the coal trade and heavy industry. As Helen Berry has observed, this predominant historical narrative has fostered ‘the impression of cultural barrenness (or rather collective cultural amnesia) with regard to the cultural contribution of the North East... and its significance in a broader national perspective’. In recent years a number of studies, mainly focussed on the eighteenth century, have sought to challenge this narrative: Adrian Green’s study of the County Durham gentlewoman, Betty Bowes, for instance, presents evidence to suggest that the north east elite were actively participating in asserting their gentility and defining their social identities through the consumption of material goods and printed texts in the first half of the eighteenth century; a social practice for which, as Green asserts, there was some level of continuity from the final decades of the seventeenth century. One particular form of cultural consumption that played a significant role in the fashioning of ‘genteel’ identity was musically-literate amateur music-making.

This paper explores the transmission of ideas and practices pertaining to seventeenth-century notions of gentility and the role of cultural consumption - in particular musical consumption - within this economy, questioning whether such ideals and practices were present beyond the capital and can be traced in Newcastle. One important contemporary source that provides us with a glimpse into the soundscape of Newcastle’s merchant class is the Henry Atkinson Manuscript. This violin tune book, compiled by the coal merchant and dated 1694 (the year he entered the Company of Hostmen), consists of 188 tunes - a collection recording the personal musical tastes of a ‘middling’ amateur musician with a rising social and financial status. This manuscript offers insight into how musical consumption contributed to the fashioning of his individual identity within the civic and social structures of the

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town, while the musical contents traverse local and national, literate and aural, musical cultures, collected by an autodidact who was to actively promote his city (through print subscription) by supporting the local presses and local writers in the following century.

TUESDAY 14 JULY: 2-3.30pm Session B
Gender, Siege & Defence

‘The Reconstruction of the Catholic Infrastructure in Brabantian Cities under Archdukes Albert & Isabella (1598-1621)’
Dagmar Germonprez (University of Antwerp)

The archducal regime of Albert and Isabella (1598-1621) is known to have made generous contributions to the Catholic restoration in the Habsburg Netherlands. At the beginning of their reign – Isabella was appointed sovereign of the Netherlands in 1598 – the consequences of three decades of civil war were traceable in the severely damaged religious infrastructure all over the country. (A glimpse of the archduchess' first impressions of the Low Countries is provided by one of her letters, written on 2 September 1599 to the duke of Lerma: "This land would be most beautiful, if it were not so ruined, which is the greatest shame on earth. Simply bringing the churches and monasteries back to their former state will require many millions"). Although these archducal contributions have never before been mapped properly or in their entirety, we do know that they were manifold. In the annual account books of the receiver general, which list dozens of gifts and donations (religious and non-religious), we encounter sums to support the (re)building of churches or convents, gifts of vessels or textiles, compensations for participating in processions, financial support for publications on particular devotions, donations of stained glass windows, etc. In this paper, however, our focus will be limited to contributions of an architectural nature in Brabantian cities. First, we will consider the entire period of their reign, mapping all relevant gifts in the cities of Brussels, Leuven, Antwerp, Aarschot, etc. Secondly we will try to confront these results with some overall research questions, such as if some cities were privileged compared to others? If this is the case, did it mirror past events such as the trajectory of the wave of iconoclasm or the city's conduct during the revolt?

“Furious batterie & pittiful massacre”: George Gascoigne’s The Spoyle of Antwerpe & the Renaissance Siege Narrative
Ananya Dutta Gupta (Visva-Bharati, West Bengal)

Gascoigne’s narrative has been discussed in relation to his life and literary career by his two biographers, Charles T. Prouty and Gillian Austen. I propose instead to connect select pronouncements on sieges and war in this tract with formulations and insinuations about sieges and war in Gascoigne’s other writings, e.g. Jocasta and The Glasse of Gouernement. The Renaissance seems to have developed a fairly elaborate genre of documentary accounts of sieges, which in turn suggests a growing interest in the siege as a specific kind of military occurrence. Gascoigne’s narrative displays a consciously developed language, authorial posture, and target readership, and these preferences appear to be conditioned by an urgency to be seen as promoting the values of social order and political conformity. Narratives of sieges, actual or imagined, besides being public and political, are also deeply conservative in their ethical and political conceptions. Gascoigne’s, as I shall attempt to show, is no exception. My paper will draw upon select other siege narratives, notably Luigi Guicciardini’s Sack of Rome, in order to locate Gascoigne’s account in a certain tradition of sensationalised accounts of sieges.

Gascoigne’s report on The Spoyle of Antwerpe is a representative Renaissance siege narrative, both in terms of its rhetoric and its politics. It takes admittedly prodigious care to project itself as a politically neutral report, more so than the other accounts discussed in this chapter. However, its reliance on the same limited pool of linguistic and rhetorical resources available to all Renaissance writers in English prevents it from attaining any meaningful representational autonomy. Further, it betrays underlying prejudices about the relationship between war and morality that are essentially the same as those of the other narrators. Its claim to uniqueness, therefore, derives substantially more from the momentousness of the event it narrates than from any originality in historical interpretation.
‘Gender & Criminal Geography in an Early Modern Russian Town’
Marianna Muravyeva (Oxford Brookes University)

It has been assumed by scholars (such as Otto Pollack) that female crime is confined within the private household while men commit crime both in private and public spaces. Recent scholarship (e.g., Anne-Marie Kilday) proved that both genders commit crimes in both types of spaces, however, the dichotomy of these spaces is not very useful while studying early modernity. The paper focuses on criminal geography of early modern Russian towns within the reconfiguration of private and public during the growth of centralized state and monopolization of violence by central authorities. It analyses types and places in which various offenses were committed and links it with gender of the accused. The paper suggests that gender played crucial role in defining crimes as public or private but there was no direct connection with physical spaces perceived as public and private; rather, gender of an accused defined the space than vice versa. Criminal behaviour in its gendered perception also played a crucial role in defining the concept of citizenship as to who, when and why could be awarded and deprived of citizenship by the State. Russian urban space in the seventeenth century provides a unique case study to tackle the issues of criminal environments, gender and citizenship in predominantly agrarian society during the process which scholars called ‘de-urbanization’.

TUESDAY 14 JULY: 2-3.30pm Session C
Literary Perspectives on the City

“‘Joy & Harmless Pastime’: Milton & the Ovidian Arts of Leisure’
Mandy Green (Durham University)

Milton’s reputation as a workaholic makes him an unlikely champion in the rehabilitation of *otium*, and yet, in his hands, not only does *otium* shed its pejorative associations, but it also becomes an essential phase in the creative process. For Milton, poetry was at once a serious pursuit and a form of recreation, and this doubleness is bound up with his response to Ovid, who remained the most powerful classical presence in his poetry from the youthful Latin elegies to *Paradise Lost*.

Like Pomona, Ovid’s hard-working gardener, Eve is reproved for too exclusive a preoccupation with her garden at the expense of human love. In Eve’s case this leads directly to her encountering Satan alone. In representing Satan’s assault on Eden and on Eve, Milton plays upon and yet subverts the reader’s expectations, which have been programmed by the Ovidian mythic paradigm in which the violation of a virginal landscape is deployed to suggest the rape of a helpless female victim.

While Milton, recognized hard graft to be his lot in life, he also understood the importance of alternating periods of work with a little refreshing leisure time, advocating, if not a balanced approach, at least some concession to the competing claims of *otium*. Perhaps here too we find on Milton’s outlook the continuing influence of Ovid, who had recommended an essential and proper limit to labor (*EP* 1.4.21–22).

‘Scripting the City: Writing London in the midst of fire, plague & war c.1666’
Steve Zwicker (Washington University in St. Louis)

The texts of John Dryden’s *Annus Mirabilis* tell different stories about London in that year of wonders, 1666, and they seem not wholly consonant with one another. The more prominent narrative resides in the poem, and its climax is a secular apocalypse in which London is imagined in the brightest and most optimistic, indeed, most naive, of terms. Given the metropolitan disasters of 1665–1666, and they were recorded weekly in *The London Gazette*, repeated in the pamphlet literature, remarked by Pepys, and confessed even by the poem itself, it is a little difficult to credit the urban renewal imagined at the poem’s close; yet there we discover London rising, “deified . . . from her fires” (l. 1178), a “Maiden Queen” standing gloriously over her suppliants who rush hourly from “the East with Incense, and the West with Gold” (l. 1187). My aim in this paper is to tell the different and conflicting stories of London c. 1666 through the lens of Dryden’s *Annus Mirabilis*, to show how Dryden manages these narratives, what they reveal of the poet’s growing mastery over the problems of representation, and what they tell of a moment in urban history when it must have felt as if the four horsemen of the apocalypse were rapidly descending onto London.
Biographical dictionaries of scholars have long been recognized as important sources for understanding Islamic scholars as bureaucrats and educators. Even though these biographical dictionaries most often emerge from regional capitals, there are exceptions. In the first half of the seventeenth century, a scholar of Bursa pens a biographical dictionary for his city that includes not only the living but also the dead, not only the scholar but also the poet, the saint, the wise-fool, and the occasional dilettante. This biographical dictionary is noteworthy in being based not on class or occupation, but on a spatially defined social world. It is thus no coincidence that it should be entitled in spatial terms: The Heavenly Garden of the Friends of God (Ravza-yi Evliya). In its emphasis on the public spheres of the city of Bursa, The Heavenly Garden merits special attention as signaling the formation of an urban identity among an urban middle and upper middle class.

The spatial world that the author, Baldirzade Mehmed Efendi (d.1650), embraces is rich in variety and form. The foremost two spaces are the mosques and tombs, after which come the outing spaces (mesire), Sufi lodges, courthouses, and private dwellings of the leaders of community. The mosque, lodge, and the tomb are forgotten public spheres of the Ottoman Empire, left in even more shadow by the increasing interest in coffeehouses. This neglect is partly responsible for a skewed understanding of the newly emerging coffeehouses as entirely brand and exceptional public spheres. More significantly, however, the neglect of mosques and other religious gathering sites has resulted in a poor understanding of the “public” in general. The Heavenly Garden reminds us that the residents of Bursa shared not only an array of public spheres where they could socialize, but an appreciation for the autonomy of these public spheres from the realm of governmental dominance.

In this paper, I look at The Heavenly Garden not as a collection of fragmentary biographical information, but as a forceful statement of what makes Bursa a city with a pronounced character and autonomy. Baldirzade’s response is that it is the many living and dead saints and scholars. In providing his answer he takes us through public spheres of Bursa where people gather to listen to sermons, poetry, music, or simply gossip; to teach and learn languages and sciences; to share and copy books; and to seek healing. Behind these depictions, which are already significant sources for cultural history, Baldirzade has a claim. His claim is based on a strong distinction between the community leaders and the state. In praising the prominent members of the city only as much as they acted independently of the state, Baldirzade draws Bursa, at least his ideal conception of Bursa, as an autonomous social and cultural sphere.
‘Controlling Strangers: Identifying Migrants in early modern Frankfurt am Main’
Claire Benson (University of York):

This paper explores the politics of participation in early modern London, focusing upon petitions penned by a group calling themselves the ‘foreign tradesmen’. Unlike ‘strangers’ who immigrated to London from the continent, the foreign tradesmen were native subjects who migrated to the City from within England. Without apprenticeship or the resources to purchase ‘the freedom,’ ‘foreigners’ were denied civic citizenship.

There is an unfortunate dearth of scholarship concerning the political participation of foreigners in early modern London. Previous efforts to recast the petitions into the historiographical debate regarding London’s stability have overlooked significant details of the texts. This paper shifts focus away from questions that concern the extent of suburban disorder to bestow greater consideration to the texts on their own terms. Their significance is not established by their success or failure to implement actual reform, but their unveiling of a process that constituted a conversation between ruler and ruled.

Formulated upon the modes of social description that encompass the Cicernian rhetoric of honestas, Phil Withington has argued that citizens were meant to embody ideals of honesty, discretion, wisdom and fitness. London’s citizens were aware of the power of language and articulated these virtues in both written and spoken conversation. A central claim of this paper, however, is that the rhetoric of citizenship was not solely the preserve of citizens. Rather, the language of honestas was a fluid and permeable system of meanings that transcended the urban social hierarchy of enfranchisement. Noncitizens also followed the rules of urban rhetoric, constructing an argument that self-consciously expressed the vernacular of citizenship to work to their own advantage. In my paper, I argue that the ability of the foreign tradesmen to appropriate honestas was key in legitimising their voice in the struggle for recognition.
over suburban control. These petitions allow a glimpse into the ways in which a group of marginalized English subjects actively participated in the discourse of suburban reform in London.

‘Citizenship & Urban Experiences: Swiss Italian migrants in 17th-Century European Cities’
Marco Schnyder (Warwick University)

In 1700, the delegates of the 13 Swiss cantons, gathered in Baden for the Diet – the common council of the Old Swiss Confederation – pointed out the fact that several inhabitants of Lugano, a town situated in a Swiss subject territory, had obtained the citizenship of Venice and of other cities abroad. How can we explain this situation? Since the late Middle Ages and throughout the Early modern period, the alpine and pre-alpine regions had been characterised by massive emigration. This phenomenon was particularly common in the so-called Italian bailiwicks, the subject territories of the Swiss cantons situated on the south of the Alps. Over the centuries, thousand of people left these mountainous areas in order to reach cities in several European countries (like for example in Italy, Germany, Austria, Poland and Spain) where they ran different business and trades, as merchants, craftsmen, artists or just urban workers.

The historiography has presented the migration from this specific region essentially as seasonal (or, in any case, not permanent), male, urban, specialized and ethnical. We can generally agree with this historiographical interpretation, but we must not forget that the migration could be also permanent and that this kind of settlement abroad did not automatically mean the loss of ties with the homeland.

This paper focuses on two themes: the question of citizenship, especially in Italian cities, and the influence of the migrants’ urban experiences on their homeland. In a context of intense mobility, citizenship was clearly an important issue, but its role could change considerably depending on the social actors, the geo-political contexts and the specific historical circumstances. Why did some Swiss Italian migrants ask for citizenship in foreign cities? Why did many of them not want to gain it? What were the rights but also the obligations related to citizenship? Does citizenship always mean having permanent residence? It emerges from this research that there were different migratory models, and consequently also dissimilar types of relationships with foreign cities. If in certain cases there was a clear will to avoid any form of integration (often for fiscal, family and religious reasons), in other situations a deeper integration is evident, with or without citizenship and permanent residence. Many factors need to be considered in order to explain these different models: the profession, destination, religion, social class, family, and specific geographical origin. Further, we must not forget also more individual and unpredictable factors, which were always potentially present. In order to understand these differences, we must pay attention to the aims and to the purposes of the migrants. Citizenship could be a strategic choice to achieve social promotion (like admission to the Venetian patriciate of merchants originally from Lugano during the 17th century), an essential mechanism in order to access urban labour and common resources, but also the only means of remaining and working in foreign cities during periods of crisis in which foreigners were often marginalised and even expelled (as happened, in the second half of the 18th century, to the Swiss workers in Venice).

The second aspect I want to analyse is the influence of the migrants’ urban experiences on their homeland. It is a very important theme, given the strong and durable ties that the Swiss Italian migrants always maintained with their towns and villages of origin. In fact, through the migrants, various urban practices reached the most remote towns, villages and alpine valleys. Different marks of this foreign urban influence can be seen, not only in terms of economic contribution – the migrant workers brought at home their earnings – but also in terms of religious devotion, habits, language, art and culture. Ultimately, the massive circulation of people and goods, which characterised early modern Europe, especially in the alpine area, brought cities and rural regions closer, making it constantly possible to meet, to share and to use ‘diversity’.
“Adieu, ye curse’d streets of stairs!” Living behind stone curtains of walled towns in Malta’
John Schembri (University of Malta)

Walled settlements formed part of the anthropogenic landscape ever since the need arose to protect people and property. There are about 150 such towns in Europe having a collective population of about 3.5 million. The geographies of such settlements include site-selection based on mounds with nearby fertile land and natural water supplies. The first settlements occurred in Mesopotamia about five to six millennia ago with Ur being one of the earliest walled towns (ca 2000BC). The architectural expression of walled settlements eventually spread to Europe with the cultural movement westwards.

The first part of this paper reviews the geographies of walled settlements, in particular sites, situations and demographic change over the last four centuries. In the second part, the paper focuses on the case study of Malta and its walled towns, giving particular attention to their histories and geographies of change across the centuries. From their inception in the late sixteenth century, these walled towns affected the rural fabric of numerous villages and hamlets on the islands. Their growth in the seventeenth century was coupled with increased economic and social clout and their development fluctuated from high population densities in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to decline in the twentieth century due to war, out-migration and population ageing. A discussion on the recent attempts at regeneration through gentrification and forthcoming events, which will see the walled city of Valletta as the European Capital of Culture in 2018, concludes this section.

The third part of the paper reflects on the present scene and considers Lord Byron’s not-so-amiable verse as a backdrop to the residents’ plight of living in Valletta. It examines how the contemporary population living in the walled towns and within their enclosed spaces, between the fortifications and stairs, conditions their outlook. A survey of residents living within walled settlements in Malta informs this analysis. Results indicate that, although accessibility and other facilities can be limited and detrimental to well-being, the majority of the resident populations find it difficult to move elsewhere to other locations.

‘Crusaders City: Valetta, Malta in the 17th Century’
Brian Blouet (College of William & Mary)

Valletta, founded in 1566, provided a new fortress capital for the crusading Order of St. John of Jerusalem. The city was designed by fortification engineers. The rectangular street plan allowed the movement of troops and armaments. The major buildings: the Palace of the Grand Masters, the Conventual Church, and the Auberges, where knights resided, were built in a stark military style. Numerous churches for the Order and the Maltese, who formed the majority of the population, were erected.

In the seventeenth century, although fortifications were strengthened, the fabric of the city was softened. All the churches (except the Conventual Church) were refacaded in a baroque style. Individual knights, and well-to-do Maltese, build gracious residences, while the poor packed into peripheral slums. The building of Floriana lines, beyond the Valletta landfront, starting in the 1630s, created a spacious area for a Pall Mall court, a parade ground, and eventually, a suburb.

The Order of St. John displayed an increasing appetite for splendor and sovereignty and the urban trends seen in the seventeenth century were reinforced by grand building projects, including the baroque Auberge de Castille and the aggrandizement of the Palace of the Grand Masters, in the next century.
had ‘poysoned the body politick almost beyond the Antidote of true Medicine and Art’ and thus rendered it ‘almost incurable’. Northleigh’s invocation of the image of a disease-ridden body politic was wholly unexceptional and was echoed in countless sermons by Anglican preachers loyal to traditional conceptions of church and state. Equally platitudinous was his conviction that the pestilential politics of the Whigs ‘reigned most populously in Towns and Cities’ and thus ‘turned every Corporation into a politick Pest-House’. The insinuation that disloyalty to the crown was primarily an urban phenomenon has long been recognised by historians as a central feature of political life in late seventeenth-century Britain. What has received much less attention is the growing contribution made by medical practitioners to urban politics in this period, either as defenders of the status quo or as opponents of the crown’s religious and political policies, a process that was indicative of the general trend toward the politicisation of the medical ‘profession’ in the second half of the seventeenth century. Two main reasons are suggested for this important development. Firstly, it would appear to reflect a genuine preoccupation among large numbers of medical practitioners with the ideological issues that underpinned political developments in this period. Like other citizens, those engaged in the healing arts were equally concerned to express their religious and political allegiances and have their say in public fora on the pressing issues of the day. At the same time, many who chose to stand for election to local office in this period, almost certainly did so because of the material benefits that might accrue, particularly in relation to career progression. In a world that was becoming irredeemably divided along partisan lines, professional advancement often depended upon religious and political allegiance. Medicine was no exception, and many doctors, surgeons and apothecaries – particularly those among the latter who aspired to the status of physicians – found office-holding an expedient way of advancing their careers at the expense of political rivals.

‘Medical Practitioners in 17th-Century Dublin’
John Cunningham (Trinity College Dublin)

Historical writing on medical practitioners in seventeenth-century Dublin has been shaped largely by a focus on a few prominent individuals. Figures such as John Stearne and Sir Patrick Dun operated at the apex of a medical world that remains underexplored in many respects. This paper will draw upon on-going research to offer a more broadly based and nuanced picture of medicine in seventeenth-century Dublin. It will discuss the nature of the surviving sources and explore the extent to which some key issues can be addressed. These issues include trends in the numbers and types of practitioners in the city across the period; relations between physicians, surgeons and apothecaries; and the various attempts made to regulate the practice of medicine Dublin and its hinterland. The paper will also assess the importance of the roles played by bodies such as the guild of barber surgeons and the college of physicians both in shaping medical identities and in enabling practitioners to exercise a wider impact on various elements of city life.

‘Cities as Medical Centres? A Quantitative Survey of English & Welsh Medical Practitioners’
Justin Colson (Exeter University)

While physicians have long ensured that members of their profession were well recorded, it is only in comparatively recent years that attention has turned to the wider field of medical practice, including barbers, surgeons and apothecaries as part of the medical marketplace. Understanding the scale, density, and reach of this marketplace is fundamental to any assessment of the commercialisation of medicine across the early modern period. Webster and Pelling’s initial findings on the density of medical provision have been expanded by further regional case studies, such as Mortimer’s of East Kent, which persuasively argued for the ruralisation of medical provision during the seventeenth century. This paper employs occupational information from nearly three million wills and other probate documents to quantify and map the presence of medical practitioners throughout England and Wales across the early modern period. This large scale survey reveals significant differences in provision between the prosperous south east, hitherto the focus of such studies, and northern and upland areas where cities such as Newcastle continued to act as medical centres well into the eighteenth century. Across the south, however, surgeons were widely distributed amongst relatively small settlements throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, before the physicians had ceased to cluster in urban centres. The fluidity of occupational description is also revealed through comparison between cities and non-corporate settlements, where, for example, ‘barbers’ and ‘surgeons’ were often found, but ‘barber surgeons’ were entirely absent. These patterns are analysed as a perspective on the evolving role of towns and cities in early modern Britain.
TUESDAY 14 JULY: 6-7pm in The Assembly Rooms Theatre

Keynote Lecture

“The reformation of manners, plebeian sceptical materialism, & the politics of Shakespeare’s Measure for Measure & Othello”

Prof. Chris Fitter (Rutgers University)

The assault on popular culture in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries — in the words of Keith Wrightson, a "shattering of shared values" by "an elite culture both novel and aggressive" — helped generate a lasting realignment of classes and class-values. The 'new school of social history' has also unearthed, however, a picture of frequent popular resistance to power, and a climate of unimpressed "negotiation" of the demands of authority in everyday life. Seldom focused in even this historiography is the continuing medieval tradition of plebeian sceptical materialism, delegitimizing class elevation as either the product of primordial criminality or a transgression of common humanity. In the culture-wars of early Jacobean London, as traditional festivities were driven from the streets, the public theatre functioned as reconstituted popular community, and a beloved dramatist like Shakespeare could become a mentor and spokesman for beleaguered commoners. Measure for Measure and Othello variously celebrate, educate, and critique a contemporary anti-authoritarianism more widespread and foundational than literary criticism has recognised.

Chris Fitter was educated at St. John's College, Oxford, and is Professor of English at Rutgers University. His first book, Poetry, Space, Landscape: Toward a New Theory (Cambridge: 1995) surveyed literature, history and the visual arts from Homer to Milton, tracing the emergence and profiling the cultural determinants of artistic reconceptualisation of Nature as landscape. Radical Shakespeare (Routledge, 2012) situated four early plays in contexts of anti-governmental popular anger to demonstrate a Shakespeare of compassionate protest and indictment of authority from the outset of his career. Fitter organised the international conference at the Huntington entitled 'Rethinking Shakespeare in the Social Depth of Politics' (April 2015), and will edit the proceedings for publication. His current book is Shakespeare and the Politics of the People, focusing contemporary popular crises, and the anti-authoritarian politics of the History plays and King Lear.

WEDNESDAY 15 JULY: 9-10.30am Session A

Urban Regulation

'Sanitation, Civility & Urban Pride in 17th-Century Northern English Towns & Cities'

Leona Skelton (Bristol University)

This paper argues that northern English urban governors’ desire to manage well-organised, clean and ‘civil’ urban landscapes largely complemented the similarly high motivation of the majority of urban inhabitants to co-operate with sanitation bylaws, to maintain very carefully their communal sanitation infrastructure – neighbourhood privies, open sewers and communal dunghills – and to self-regulate drainage, waste disposal and street cleaning within their own households, neighbourhoods and wards. Urban inhabitants’ motivations to improve their daily life quality and to honour neighbourly obligations were not incompatible with their local governors’ heartfelt desire to impress prestigious visitors by presenting a well-managed and ‘civil’ urban landscape.

Increasingly high aesthetic and olfactory standards of sanitation were upheld and enforced in streets and other outdoor public areas throughout the seventeenth century, but this was by no means a one-way, top-down process. Indeed, bottom-up pressure to improve sanitation standards was sometimes even stronger than top-down efforts from local governing institutions. Although a small minority of urban inhabitants flouted sanitation bylaws by creating insanitary nuisances which reduced their neighbours’ daily life quality, the majority wilfully obeyed and co-operated with sanitation orders.

Whereas plague epidemics provoked immediate- and short-term improvements in attitudes and values towards urban sanitation, the desire expressed by local governors to present ever more well-governed, ‘civil’ and explicitly non-rural landscapes drove improvements consistently throughout the seventeenth century largely in unison with similarly consistent pressure and independent action from urban dwellers themselves to improve their
own neighbourhoods. This argument is underpinned by a rich plethora of urban court, council and financial records from several northern English towns and cities – including Newcastle on Tyne, Berwick on Tweed, Carlisle, Scarborough, York, Kendal, Whitehaven, Sheffield, Manchester, Liverpool, Wakefield and Leeds.

‘Poor Relief & Community in the Southern Low Countries at the turn of the 17th Century’
Hadewijch Masure (University of Antwerp)

This paper will study poor relief in an integrated way in the Southern Low Countries at the end of the sixteenth and start of the seventeenth century, with a focus on three specific towns (Mechelen, Brussels and Bergues), in order to examine how, through poor relief schemes, urban communities of solidarity were shaped. Historians have identified a shift in the sixteenth century, whereby poor relief developed from private and unconditional to public, centralized and conditional. Explanations were sought in social control and disciplinary strategies to control labour markets, along with changing religious and humanistic ideas, and state formation and political centralization.

In spite of the intensity with which this field has been studying, the focus has been fragmented and almost exclusively on public assistance. When private welfare systems for the so-called shamefaced middling groups were examined, this happened mainly in a very fragmented way. Moreover, the transformations in these institutions were seldom if ever confronted with developments in public poor relief. Also, poor relief has to be seen in its broader context of urban society.

In this paper I will analyze which communities were implied or shaped when it was regulated and decided who could profit from poor relief, and how this changed in the long run. Who had access to relief systems (and who did not) and what community thereby served as a frame of reference? In each of these towns, poor relief is examined as an integrated complex, including private hospices, guilds’ poor boxes and confraternities next to parishes and public poor relief, so as to offer a comprehensive view and to capture shifts between different types of institutions within the broader urban context. Both practices and discourses are examined.

‘Seville & the Guadalquivir in the 17th Century’
Oliver Ford (Oxford University)

This paper combines urban history, environmental history, and a history of early modern urban government, by studying the history of Seville through the history of the Guadalquivir River in the seventeenth century. I will highlight the failure of the city government (headed by the royally appointed governor known as the asistente) to make any long-term improvements to the city’s infrastructure for water control, despite the central importance of the river to Seville’s built environment and economy.

Historians such as José Antonio Mateos Royo have shown that in other parts of the Iberian Peninsula, local communities could work together to develop improvements to irrigation, water supply, and flood prevention. In Seville even the most basic improvements were prevented as wealth flowed out of the city rather than being reinvested in its infrastructure, within a context of national economic difficulty. In 1631, the then asistente Diego Hurtado de Mendoza proposed the building of a stone bridge across the Guadalquivir. Seville at this time was served by only one wooden bridge, yet the royal reluctance to fund the project proved decisive, perhaps induced by the tendency of the river to violently flood.

This paper will contain a case study of the years 1679-1684, when harsh weather conditions produced first drought and food shortages, and then flooding when rain finally arrived. These years vividly demonstrate the impact of the river on the built environment of the city, as many neighbourhoods were heavily damaged. Socio-political relationships will be examined, as the river highlights power dynamics in the city. The asistente, for example, made a show of being seen ‘on the ground’ and in control during the flooding crisis. Seville however had a history of rioting in the early modern period, and the asistente was probably basing his decisions at least as much out of fear and necessity than from proactive good governance. At the same time, jurisdictional conflict was provoked as officials and prominent citizens squabbled over who was to pay for repairs and clean up. There was also a spatial element to the river’s impact, as those most affected by direct damage were often labourers and artisans rather than members of the elite.

By focusing on the river, I hope to encourage discussion around the idea that whilst in many ways the urban environment offered opportunities to citizens, one aspect to the distinctiveness of the early modern urban experience was a feeling of profound powerlessness, a feeling that the history of the unpredictable Guadalquivir River evokes well.
‘From Urbanization to Urbanity: New Trends in Exploring the History of Early Modern Cities’
Prof. Susanne Rau (University of Erfurt)

Why should we concern ourselves about the history of the urban environment? Modern cities are facing major challenges. It is estimated that 60% of the world’s population will live in cities by 2040, but they already use 80% of the total energy that is consumed. By 2025, the number of cities with more than 10 million people should move from about 20 to 30.

This was different in the early modern period when only 10 to 20% of the population was living in cities. But even at that time we can observe urbanization processes. In the 17th and 18th centuries the number of inhabitants increased by 30 to 50% in several cities like London or Paris, the pure number of cities with more than 10,000 inhabitants increased and, especially in the 18th century, some of them were expanding their surface area. But what were the effects of the urbanization, what was the impact on the ways of life of the inhabitants? What did it mean for the development of an urban culture?

While former (demographically oriented) research on urban history has analyzed the development of cities, processes of urbanization and urban systems, recent studies place an emphasis on the ways in which urban centers were perceived, experienced and understood. I would like to propose that it should be the goal of further research into urban history to combine quantitative and qualitative (or cultural) approaches for a better understanding of the functioning and the problems of rapidly growing cities. Therefore we should ask in which ways these changes (density, expansion) were perceived, how the urban environment and the change of urban form were apprehended, which cultural techniques were invented for this, how and why citizens developed urban institutions and urban ways of life as a reaction to the growing difference between town and country, urbanity and rurality. Recent urban histories are responding to this challenge.

The lecture will discuss urban history between the two poles of urbanization and urbanity and will provide an insight – as one of the case studies – into my own research on the history of Lyon.

Susanne Rau, born in 1969, historian, is professor of history at the university of Erfurt in Germany where she teaches history of the early modern period, history of historiography and spatial history. In 2009, she received a distinguished professorship of the German Research Council. Member of AcademiaNet, the EIDOLON network, the "Erfurter RaumZeit-Forschung", an interdisciplinary research unit for the study of cultural spatio-temporalities, and the Interdisciplinary Center of E-Humanities in History and Social Sciences (ICE), she is in charge of projects on urban history, history of cartography and the history and spatialities of early modern long-distance trade.