

STUART ENGLAND 1603-1714

2. Cannibals, Coaches and Ice-Skates



Fig. 1.

A SCENE IN ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S FAIR, 1721.
(Drawn from a painting on a Lady's Fan.)

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=69KYCR4jA4w>

The Silver Swan, by Orlando Gibbons (1611)

'The silver Swan, who, living, had no Note,
when Death approached, unlocked her silent throat.
Leaning her breast upon the reedy shore,
thus sang her first and last, and sang no more:
"Farewell, all joys! O Death, come close mine eyes!
More Geese than Swans now live, more Fools than Wise.'



‘printing, gunpowder, and the magnet ...

... have altered the face and state of the world: first, in literary matters; second, in warfare; third, in navigation’ – Francis Bacon





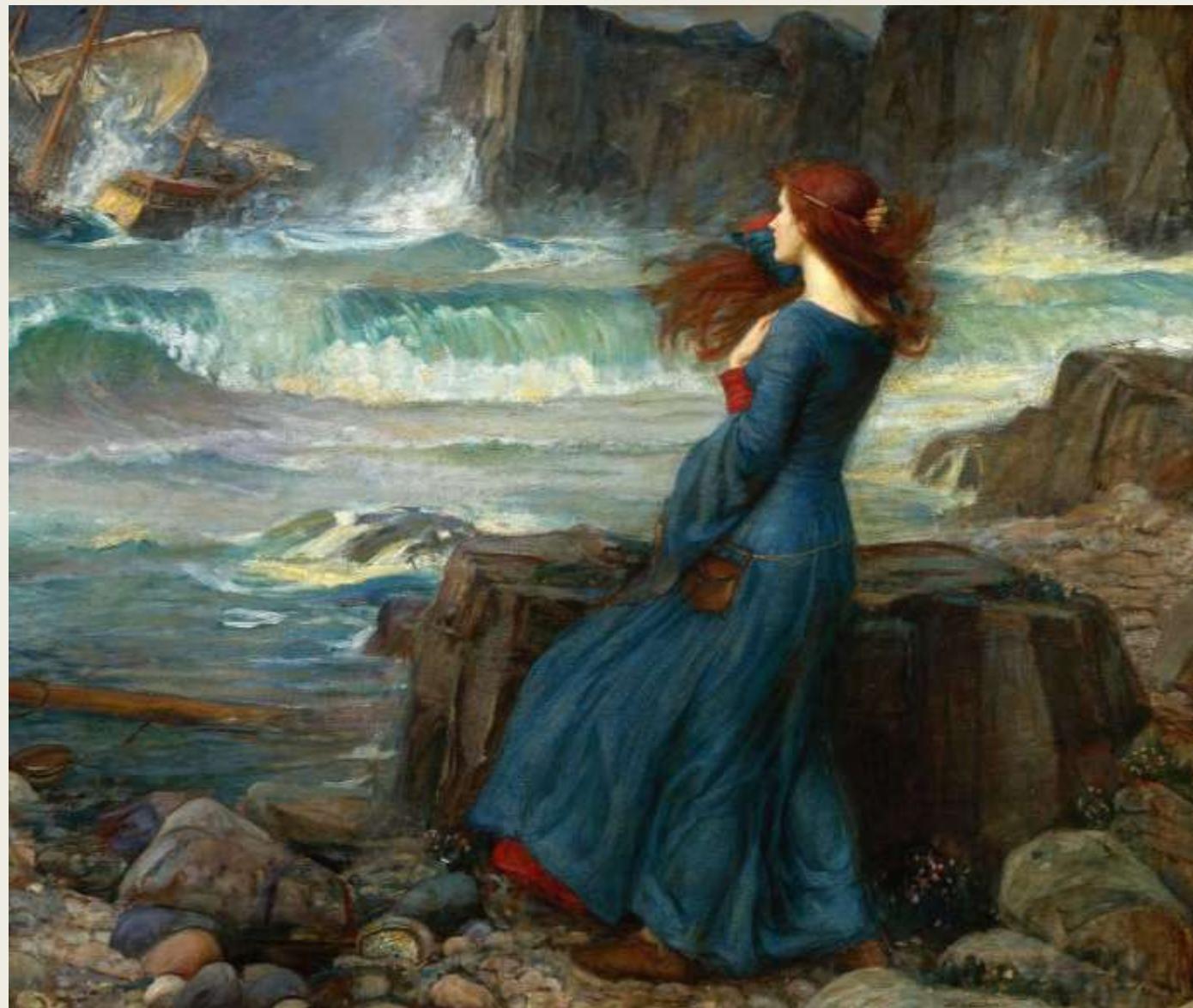
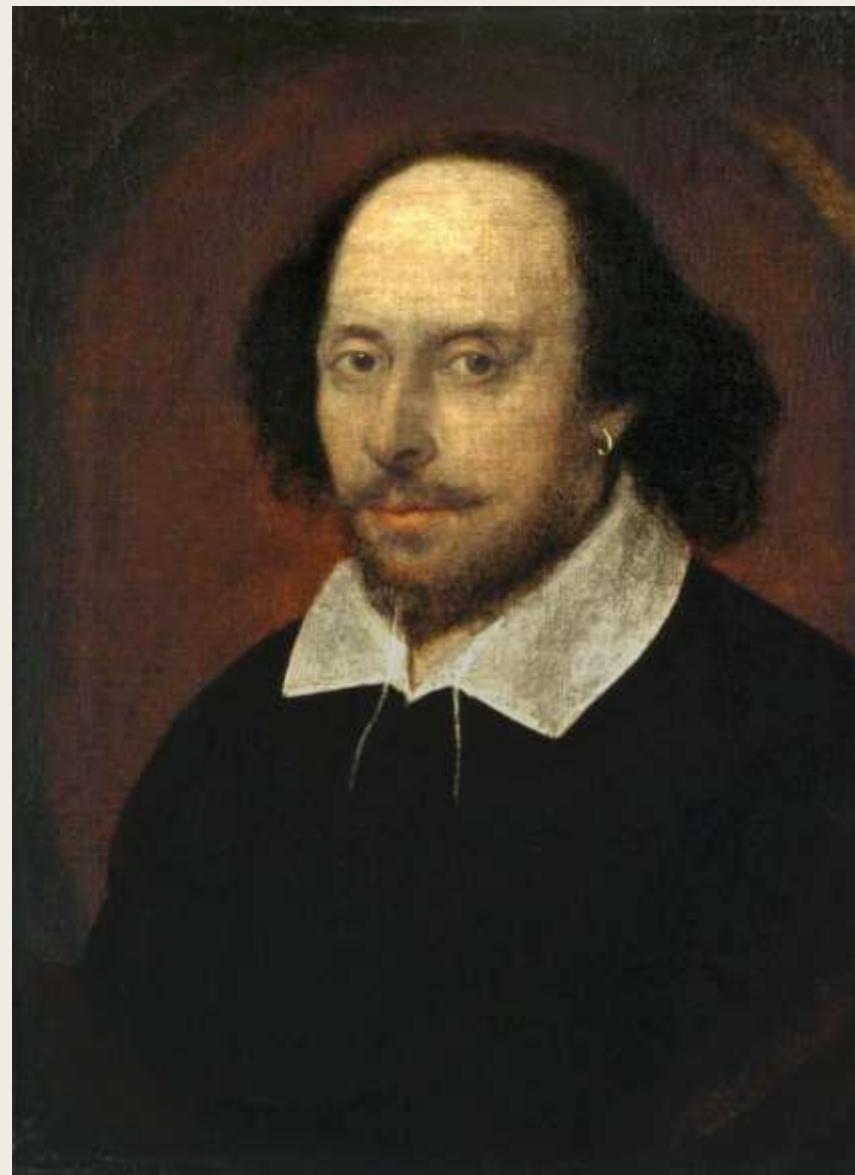


Of Cannibals (1580):

Based on discussions with his servant, from Brazil, and meeting some Tupinamba in Rouen

‘Each person calls barbarism whatever is not his or her own practice ... We may call Cannibals barbarians, in respect to the rules of reason, but not in respect to ourselves, who surpass them in every kind of barbarity.’

In particular, inequality and dishonesty...



Shakespeare, *The Tempest* (1610-11)

- Set on a remote island, where a storm has just washed up a ship
- The sorcerer Prospero, his daughter Miranda, and servants Caliban and Ariel
- Magic, romance, and a plot to retake the Duchy of Milan
- A postcolonial fable? Caribean, enslavement, Prospero's magic

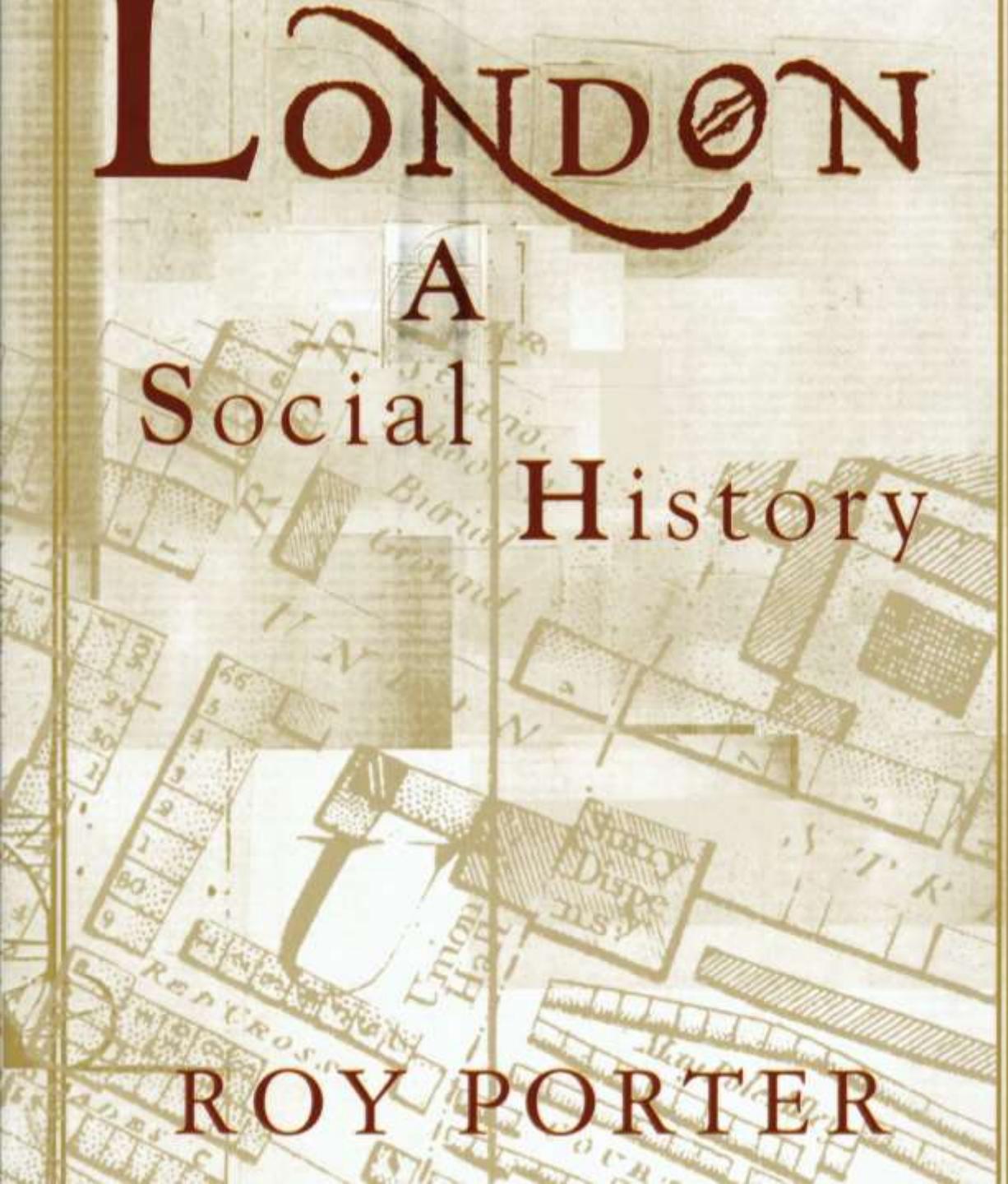
'For no kind of traffic
Would I admit, no name of magistrate.
Letters should not be known. Riches, poverty,
And use of service, none. Contract, succession,
Bourn, bound of land, tilth, vineyard, none.
No use of metal, corn, or wine, or oil.
No occupation: all men idle, all,
... Treason, felony,
Sword, pike, knife, gun, or need of any engine
Would I not have' (Gonzalo)



LONDON

A Social History

ROY PORTER





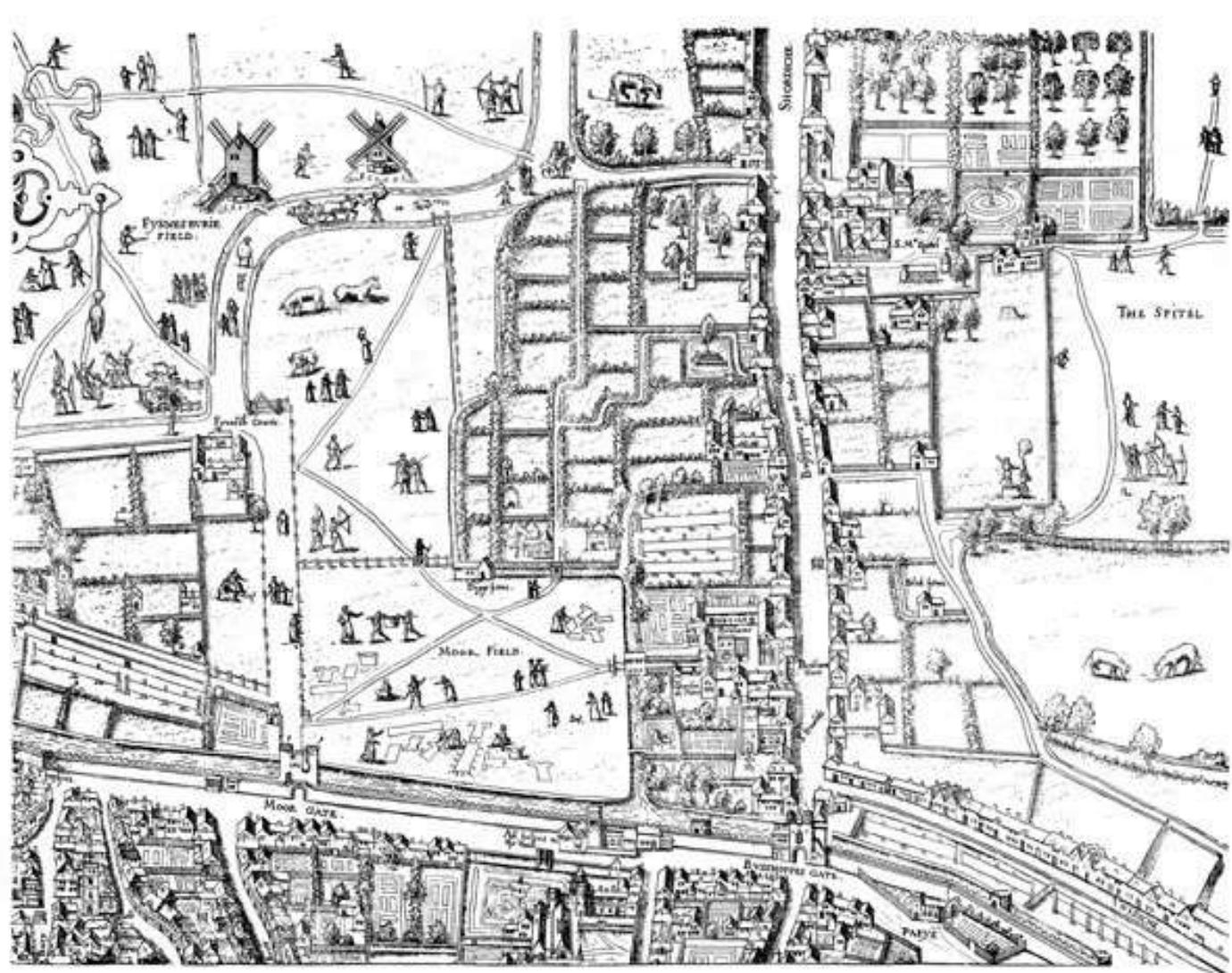
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=x6pd_sgLOJg

‘This house finished, and having some reasonable plot of ground left for a garden, he caused the pales of the gardens adjoining the north part thereof on a sudden to be taken down; twenty-two feet to be measured forth right into the north of every man’s ground; a line there to be drawn, a trench to be cast, a foundation laid, and a high brick wall to be built.

My father had a garden there, and a house standing close to his south pale; this house they loosed from the ground, ere my father heard thereof; no warning was given him, nor other answer, when he spake to the surveyors of that work, but that their master Sir Thomas commanded them so to do; no man durst go to argue the matter, but each man lost his land.

Thus the sudden rising of some men causeth them to forget themselves.’

- John Stow



Details from the Copperplate Map (1550's), which only survives in part, and was probably the basis for the Agas and Braun and Hogenberg maps





Haec est regia illa totius Angliae civitas LONDINUM ad flum.
Thamsum sita. Cetera, ut plures possint, Tresobrium
occupata, multorum gentium coniunctio nobilitata, civitas donis armis et
pli, ex quo archis, clavis, ingens, circa centum artus, locis frumentorum, gen-
re primitur, percolibit. Domus, omnium rerum caput, argo spum, excolita
moxibus, frumentis, ut non raro artus, opes nec Thamsum, servari possunt, per
secolium milia pugnare, ad celestis prelatos aliis numerabilem.

STILLARUM. Horum, Gothicis, dicitur, conuictrum, vel coniugationem sonans, mul-
tarum ciuitatum, confederata Societas, cum, et praefixa Regum, ac Duci, heraldi-
ca: tam, ob securam terram, mariisque, mercaturae, et salutis, cum denique, ad re-
quiam, Regumque pacem, & ad modum, admodum, et institutionem, conser-
vare, instituit, parvum, Regum, ac Procurum, natione, Anglie, Galie, Danie, et
Mare, Norvegia, nec non, Flandria, ac Brabantia. De cum primitur, ac immu-
tetur, narrata fuit. Hocque etiam quartus Imperio, (contra quidem, securam, re quibus
ciuitatum, negotiatorum, reficit, sicutque mercantia, infra, hanc, alterum, hic, Con-
sidemus, etiam, etiam, habemus, domum, Galilee, Thamsum, quae, ruris, etiam, etiam,

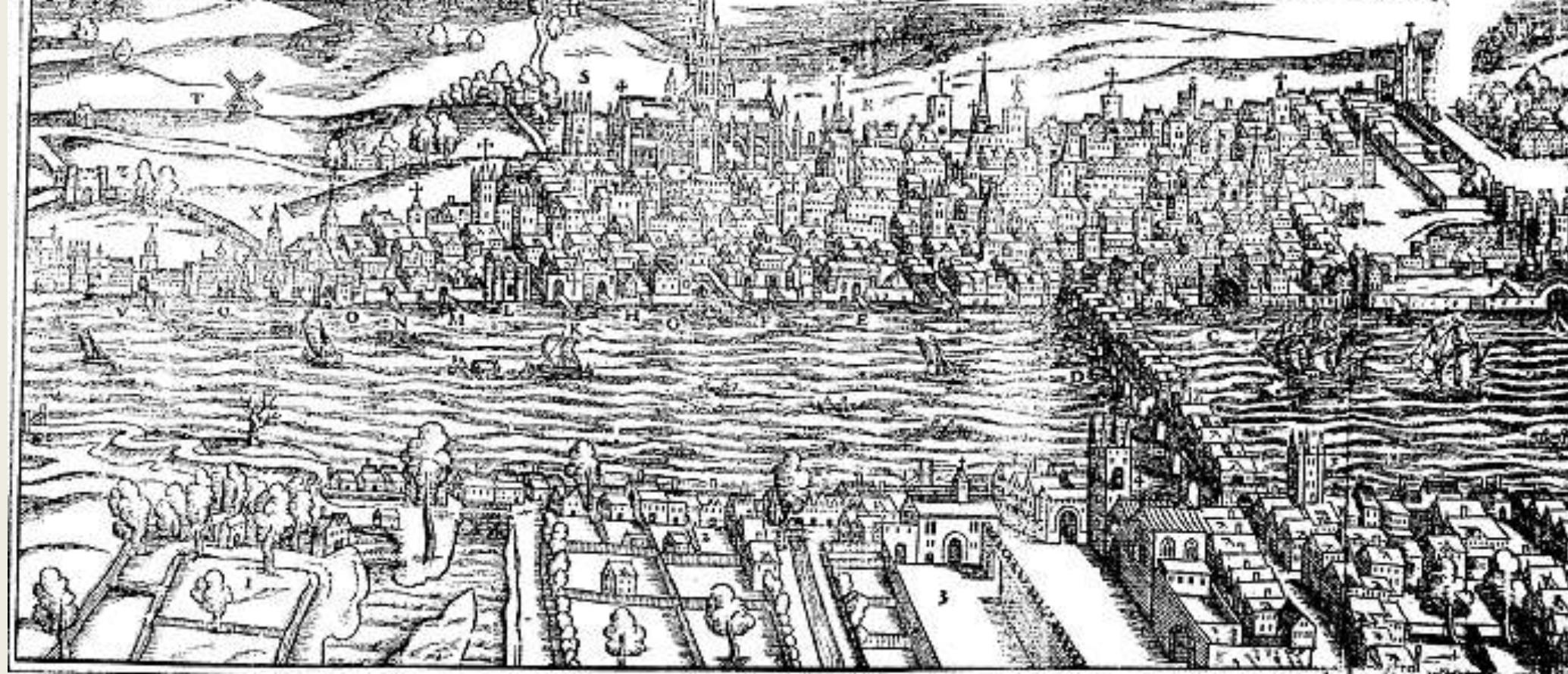


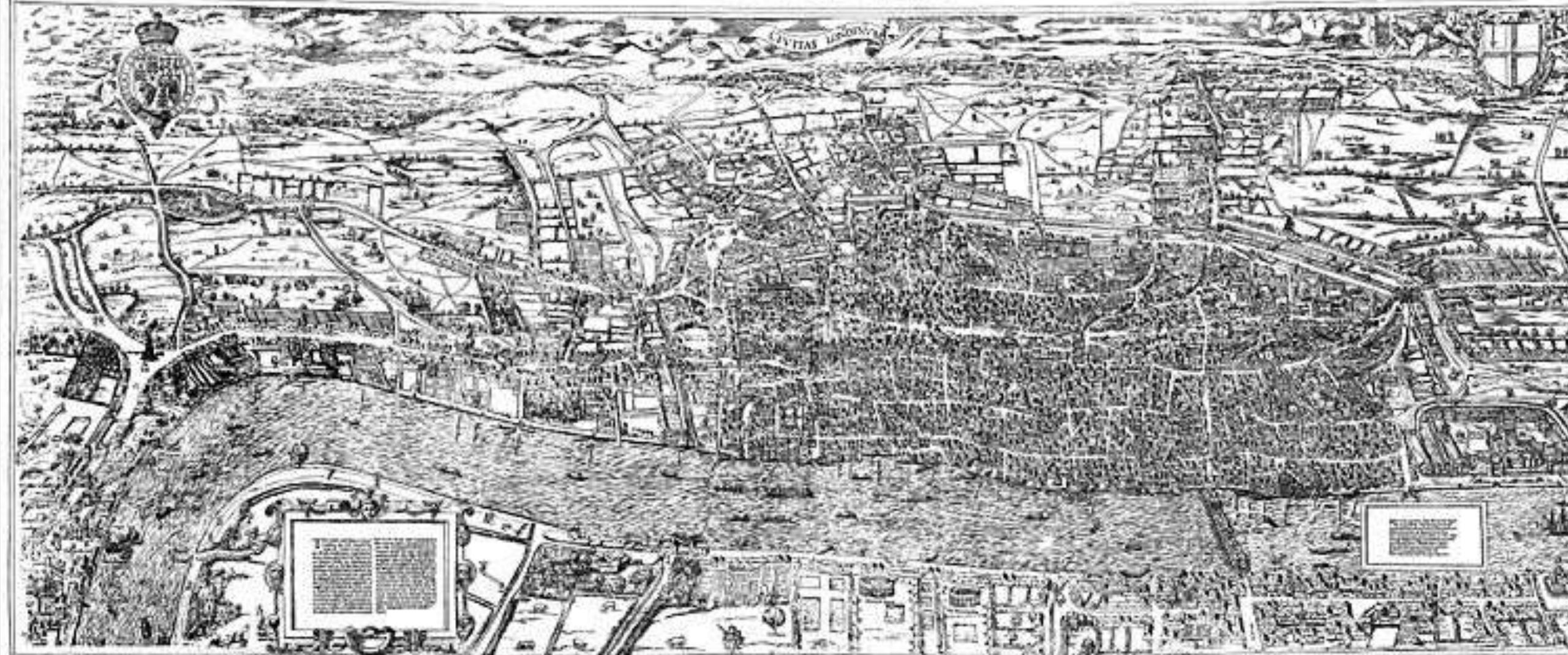
*The city of
London, as it
was before the
burning of St.
Pauls
ste[ple] ,
[London? :
G. Godet?,
1565?]*

The City of London, as it was before the burning of St. P.

A. The Tower
B. Algate
C. Bellingsgate
D. London Bridge
E. Threethree Crosses
F. Queenhithe
G. Paul Wharf
H. Baynard's Castle
I. Common Bayress
K. Blackfriars
L. Bridewell
M. The Temple
N. Sommersthofe

O. The Sunoy
P. Durhamhouse
Q. Whitehall
R. Bowchurch
S. Saint Swithchers
T. Saint Giles in the fields
V. Westmynsterbridge
X. Charing Crofie
Y. Pauls temple
Z. Saint Iapess
1. Lambeth marsh
2. Parc gardens
3. Winchesterhouse
4. Saint Saviour
5. Saint Olaves





Ralph Agas, *Civitas Londinium* (c.1590)



John Norden's map of London (1593) [this copy comes from the 1653 edition of John Norden's *Speculum Britainiae*]

Tudor London - boom

- Population boom: 50,000 (1500) → 120,000 (1550) → 200,000 (1600) → 375,000 (1650)
- Highest mortality in England – regular epidemics (plague, sweating sickness 1485)
- In poorer parishes life expectancy between 20-25, in richer rose to 30-35 years
- Boom in trade of wool, cloth and wine... but low births and high deaths = steady influx of migrants – around 5000 a year, mostly young men from the rest of England
- ‘These fatal infections confirm the evident truth that sixteenth-century London remained a city of the young. The greatest proportion of the citizens were under the age of thirty, and it is this actuarial statistic which helps to explain the energy and restlessness of urban life in all its forms.’ (Ackroyd)

Population of Early Modern European cities (in thousands)

	1500	1550	1600	1650	1700	1750
London	50	120	200	375	490	675
Constantinople					700	
Paris	250	250	450	530	570	
Naples	80	289	265	232	315	
Marseilles	30	45	65	75	88	
Lisbon	100			188		
Amsterdam				172		
Rome		102	121	142	158	
Rouen	40	75	60	82	64	67
Seville		150				
Venice	158	139	120	138	149	
Moscow				130		
Bordeaux	20	33	35	40	45	60
Milan		130	109	120	124	
Palermo	80	105	100	100	107	
Antwerp				66	43	

Sources: T. Chandler and G. Fox, *3000 Years of Urban Growth* (New York, 1974), pp. 11–20; P. Benedict, 'French cities from the sixteenth century to the Revolution: An overview', in P. Benedict, ed., *Cities and Social Change in Early Modern France* (London, 1989), p. 24; R. Finlay and B. Shearer, 'Population growth and suburban expansion', in A. Beier and R. Finlay, eds, *London 1500–1700: The Making of the Metropolis* (London, 1986), p. 39; G. Fellous, 'Italy', in C. Wilson and G. Parker, eds, *An Introduction to the Sources of European Economic History* (London, 1977), pp. 5–6.

Number of cities with at least 10,000 inhabitants, by territory

	1500	1550	1600	1650	1700	1750
Scandinavia	1	1	2	2	2	3
England and Wales	5	4	6	8	11	21
Scotland	1	1	1	1	2	5
Ireland	0	0	0	1	3	9
Netherlands	11	12	19	19	20	18
Belgium	12	12	12	14	15	15
Germany	23	27	30	23	30	35
France	32	34	43	44	55	55
Switzerland	1	1	2	2	3	4
Italy	44	46	59	50	51	65
Spain	20	27	37	24	22	24
Portugal	1	4	5	5	5	5
Austria/Bohemia/Moravia	3	3	3	3	4	6
Poland	0	1	1	1	1	2

Sources: J. de Vries, *European Urbanization 1500–1800* (London, 1984), p. 29.

Total population of all cities with at least 10,000 inhabitants (in thousands)

	1500	1550	1600	1650	1700	1750
Scandinavia	13	13	26	63	115	167
England and Wales	80	112	255	495	718	1,021
Scotland	13	13	30	35	53	119
Ireland	0	0	0	17	96	161
Netherlands	150	191	364	603	639	580
Belgium	295	375	301	415	486	432
Germany	385	534	662	528	714	956
France	688	814	1,114	1,438	1,747	1,970
Switzerland	10	12	25	22	39	60
Italy	1,302	1,498	1,973	1,577	1,761	2,159
Spain	414	639	923	672	673	767
Portugal	30	138	155	199	230	209
Austria/Bohemia/Moravia	60	67	90	100	180	294
Poland	0	10	15	20	15	36

Sources: J. de Vries, *European Urbanization 1500–1800* (London, 1984), p. 30.

Urban population as a percentage of total population

	1500	1550	1600	1650	1700	1750
Scandinavia	0.9	0.8	1.4	2.4	4.0	4.6
England and Wales	3.1	3.5	5.8	8.8	13.3	16.7
Scotland	1.6	1.4	3.0	3.5	5.3	9.2
Ireland	0	0	0	0.9	3.4	5.0
Netherlands	15.8	15.3	24.3	31.7	33.6	30.5
Belgium	21.1	22.7	18.8	20.8	23.9	19.6
Germany	3.2	3.8	4.1	4.4	4.8	5.6
France	4.2	4.3	5.9	7.2	9.2	9.1
Switzerland	1.5	1.5	2.5	2.2	3.3	4.6
Italy	12.4	12.8	14.7	14.0	13.4	14.2
Spain	6.1	8.6	11.4	9.5	9.0	8.6
Portugal	3.0	11.5	14.1	16.6	11.5	9.1
Austria/Bohemia/Moravia	1.7	1.9	2.1	2.4	3.9	5.2
Poland	0	0.3	0.4	0.7	0.5	1.0

Sources: J. de Vries, *European Urbanization 1500–1800* (London, 1984), p. 39.

Introduction: The significance of the metropolis

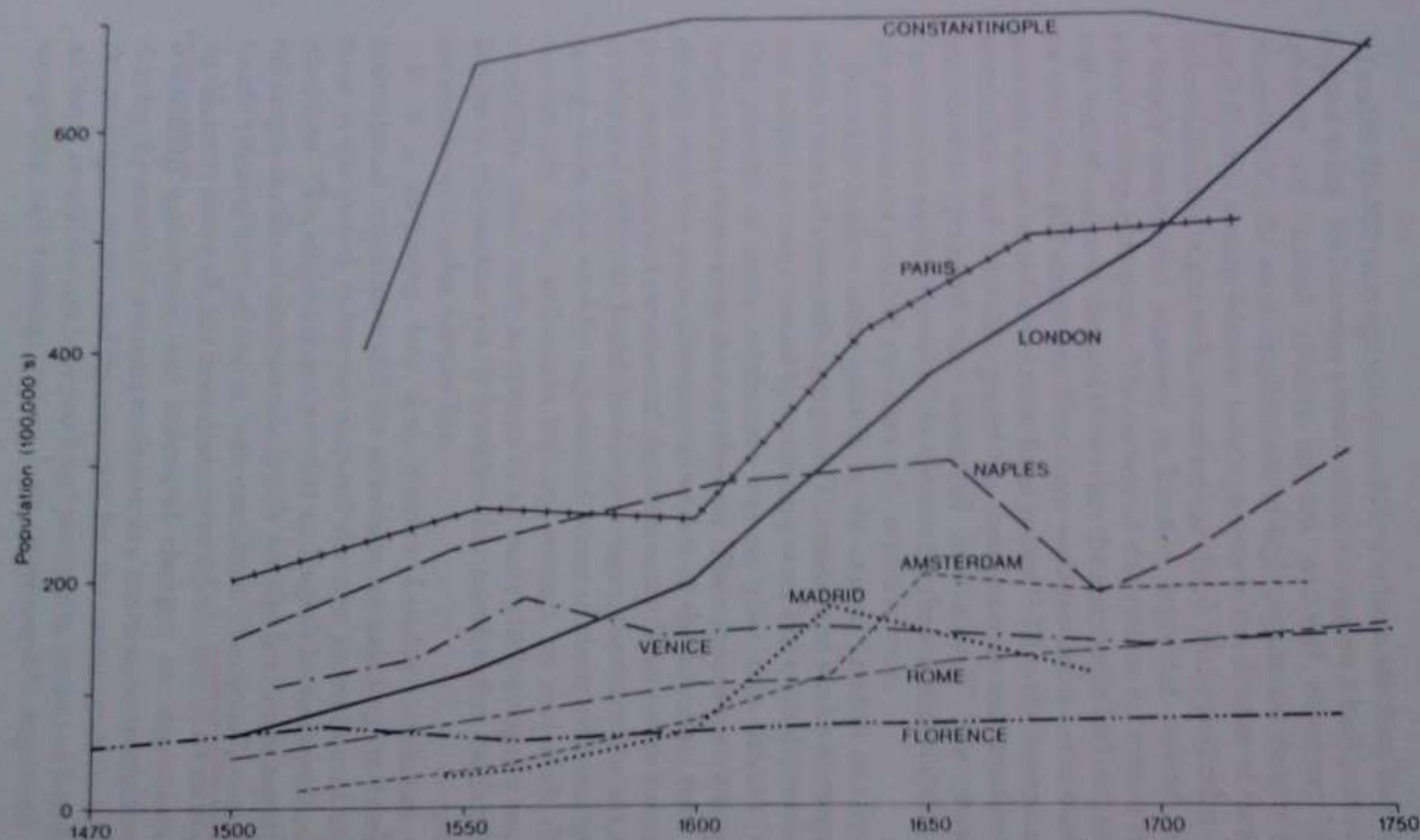
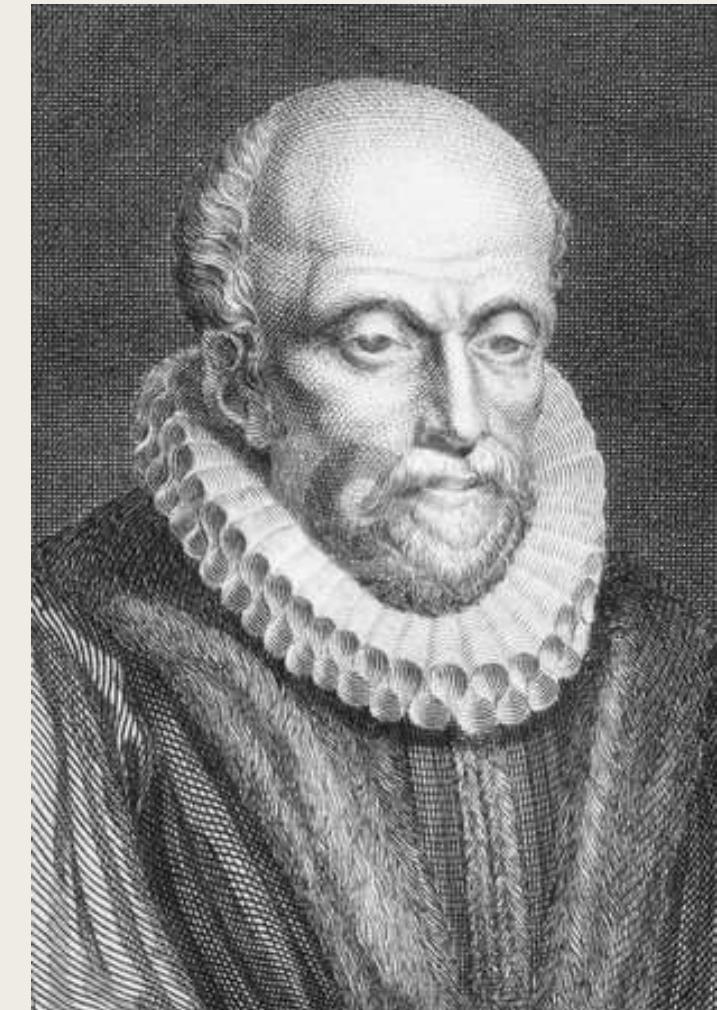


Fig. 1. European metropolitan population movements, 1470-1750. Sources: C. Tilly, Karen Fondeville and Ann V. O'Shea, 'Statistics on the urbanization of Europe, 1500-1950' (unpublished typescript, 1972); E. Hélin, *La démographie de Liège aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles* (Brussels 1963); T. Chandler and G. Fox, *3000 Years of Urban Growth* (London 1974). We are most grateful to Professor Tilly for permission to cite his unpublished figures. The London totals, 1550-1700, are from Table 5, p. 49, below.

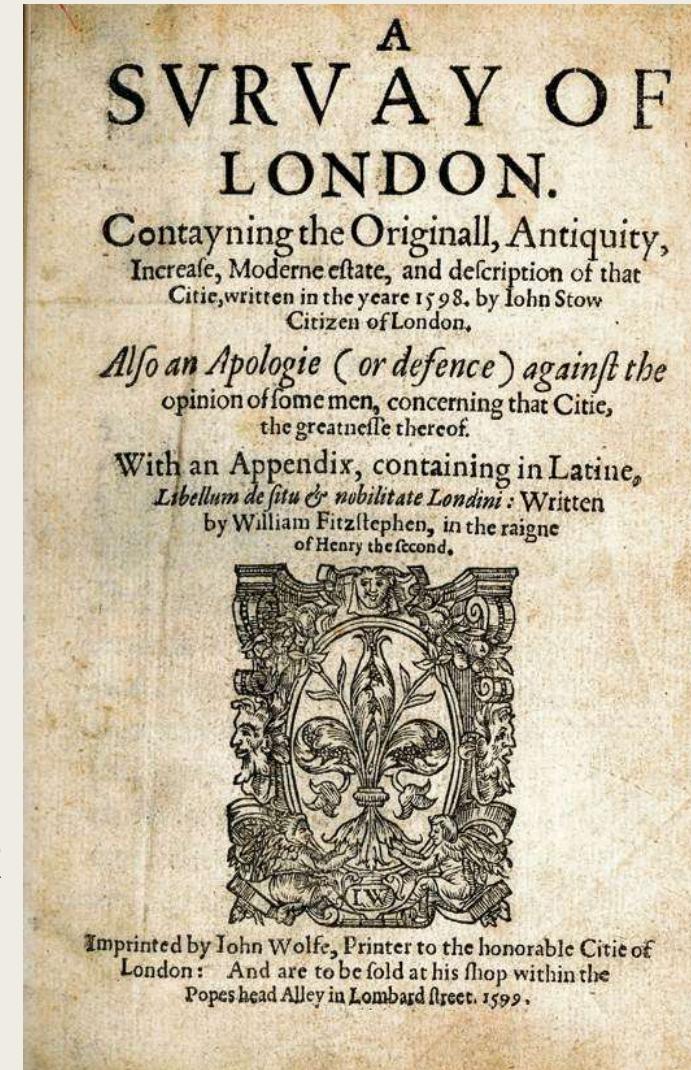
John Stow (1525-1605)

- Born in 1525, parish of St Michael Cornhill, London
- Father, Thomas Stow, was a tallow-chandler. A family of 'good substance and credit', of the artisan class.
- As a child he would carry a jug from his father's house in Cornhill, past Leadenhall market and Aldgate to Goodman's Farm, to buy milk
- His studies 'cost many a weary mile's travel, many a hard-earned penny and pound, and many a cold winter night's study'.
- 'John Stow had monstrous observations in his Chronicle, and was of his craft a tailor. He and I walking alone, he asked two cripples what they would have to take him to their order'. – Ben Jonson



Survey - Purposes

- Historical text = discussing the state of the city, detailing changes and discussing events that influenced those changes
- Topographical text = concerned with the physical 'lie of the land' and Stow documents the urban environment
- Guidebook = used by people wishing to travel around the city but without intimate knowledge of it
- Social study = an examination of the lives and habits of the people of London



Over to you

- Let's take a dive into Stow's text – take a look at extract 1 and discuss in groups:
- He is writing about traffic in the city – *what is his view, and what do we learn about London in 1603?*
- *Is he trying to make a social criticism here do you think?*

Carts and Drayers not wel gouerned in this City dangerous.; Lib. S. Mary Eborum. Riding in Wherlicotes.; Riding in side sadles, that were wont to ride a stride. Riding in Coaches.

The Coach man rides behinde the horse tayles, lasheth them, and looketh not behind him: The Draye man sitteth and sleepeth on his Drea, and letteth his horse leade him home: I know that by the good lawes and customes of this Citty, shodde carts are forbidden to enter the same, except vpon reasonable causes as seruice of the Prince, or such like, they be tollerated. Also that the fore horse of euery carriage should bee lead by hand: but these good orders are not obserued.

Of olde time Coatches were not knowne in this Island, but chariots or Whirlicotes, then so called, and they onely vsed of Princes or great Estates, such as had their footmen about them: and for example to note, I read that Richard the second, being threatned by the rebels of Kent, rode from the Tower of London to the Myles end, and with him his mother ... [tells series of long anecdotes]

... but now of late yeares the vse of coatches brought out of Germanie is taken vp, and made so common, as there is neither distinction of time, nor difference of persons obserued: for the world runs on wheeles with many, whose parents were glad to goe on foote.

A SVRVAY OF LONDON.

Containynge the Originall, Antiquity,
Increase, Moderne estate, and description of that
Cittie, written in the yeare 1598. by John Stow
Citizen of London.

Also an Apologie (or defence) against the
opinion of some men, concerning that Cittie,
the greatnessse thereof.

With an Appendix, containing in Latine,
Libellum de situ & nobilitate Londini: Written
by William Fitzstephen, in the raigne
of Henry the second.



Imprinted by John Wolfe, Printer to the honorable Cittie of
London: And are to be sold at his shop within the
Popes head Alley in Lombard street. 1598.

THE S U R V E Y OF LONDON:

CONTAINING
The Original, Increase, Modern Estate and Govern-
ment of that City, Methodically set down.

*With a Memorial of those famouſer Acts of Charity, which for publick
and Pious Uſes have been bestowed by many Worſhipfull
Citizens and Benfactors.*

As also all the Ancient and Modern Monuments erected in
the Churches, not only of thole two famous Cities, LONDON and
WESTMINSTER, but (now newly added) Four miles compas.

Begun first by the pains and industry of JOHN STOW,
in the year 1598.

Afterwards enlarged by the care and diligence of A.M.
in the year 1618.

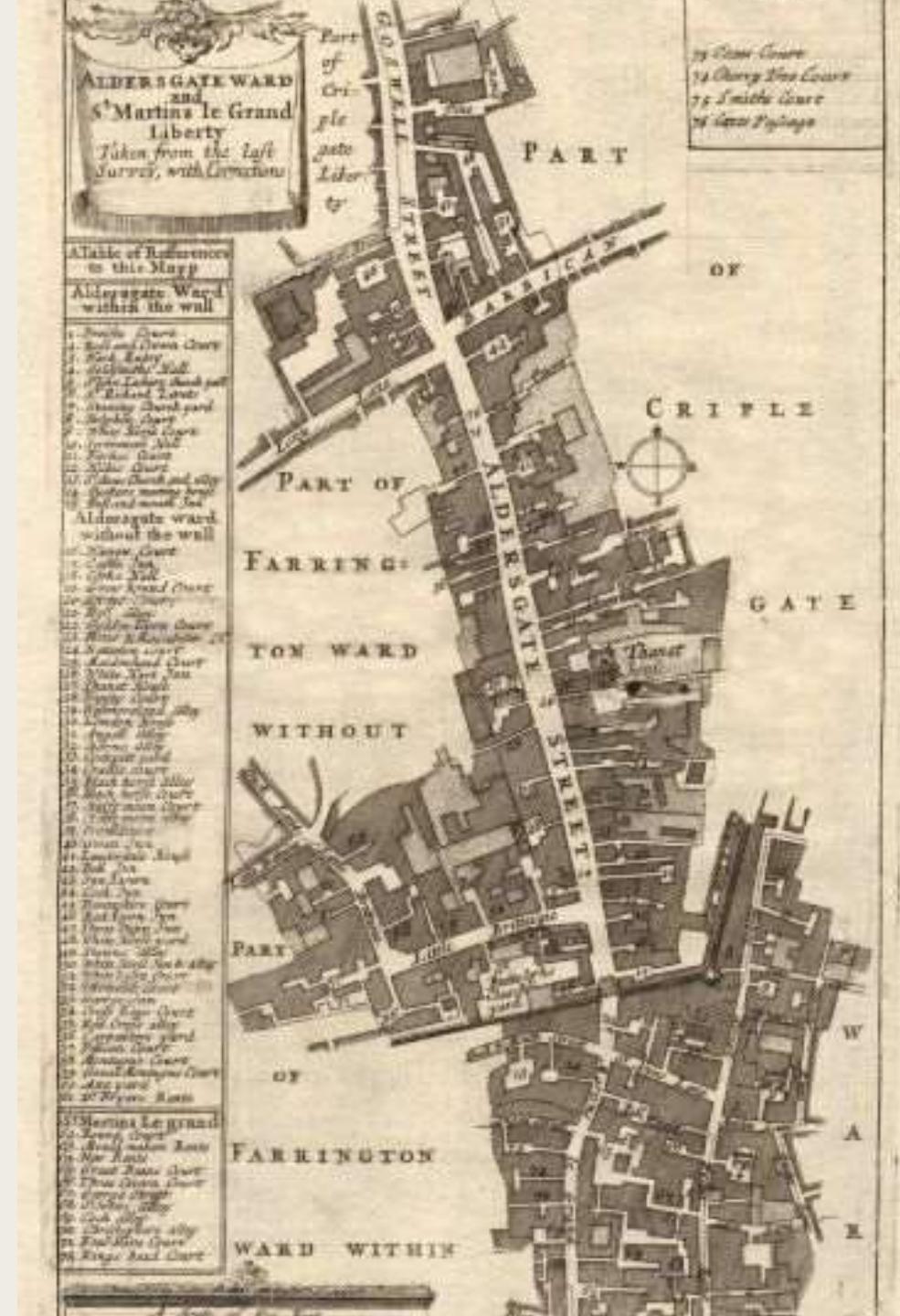
And now compleatly finished by the study & labour of A.M.
H.D. and others, this prefent year 1633.

Whereunto, besides many Additions (as appears by the Contents) are an-
nexed divers alphabetical Tables: especially two,
The first, an Index of Things,
The second, a Concordance of Names.

L O N D O N ,

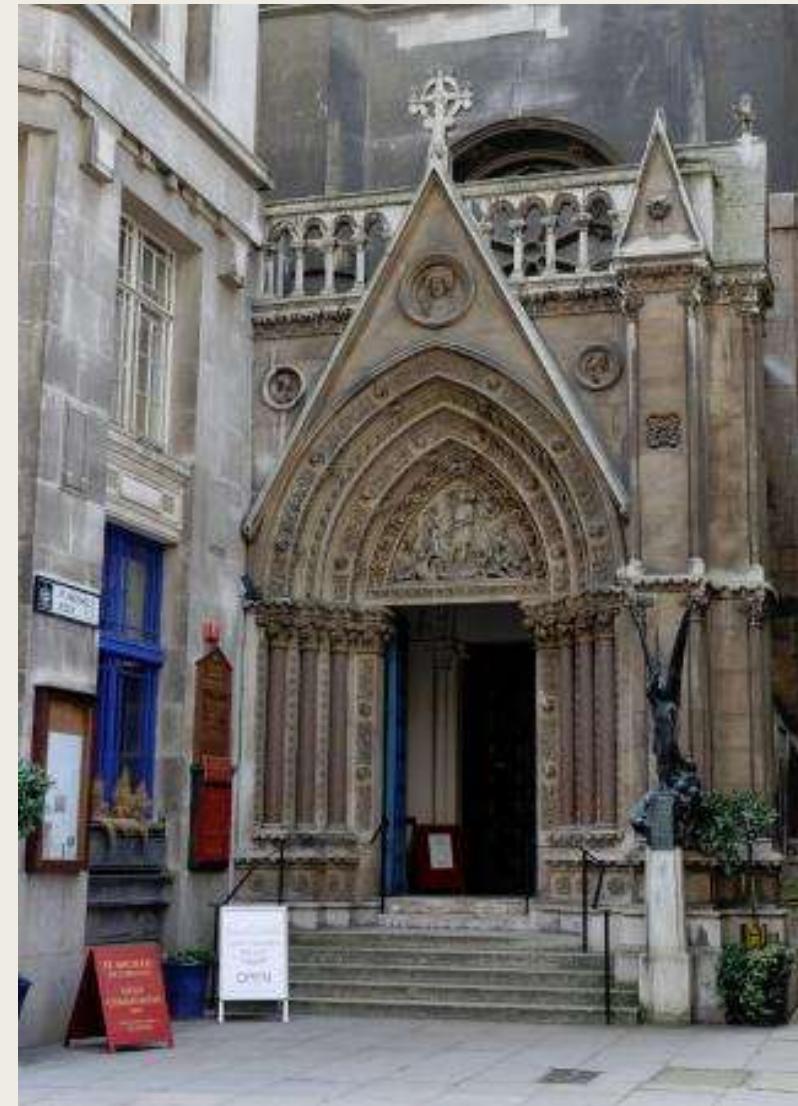
Printed for Nicholas Bourn, and are to be sold at his Shop at the South Entrance of
the ROYAL-EXCHANGE. 1633.

■ Title-pages, 1598
and 1633



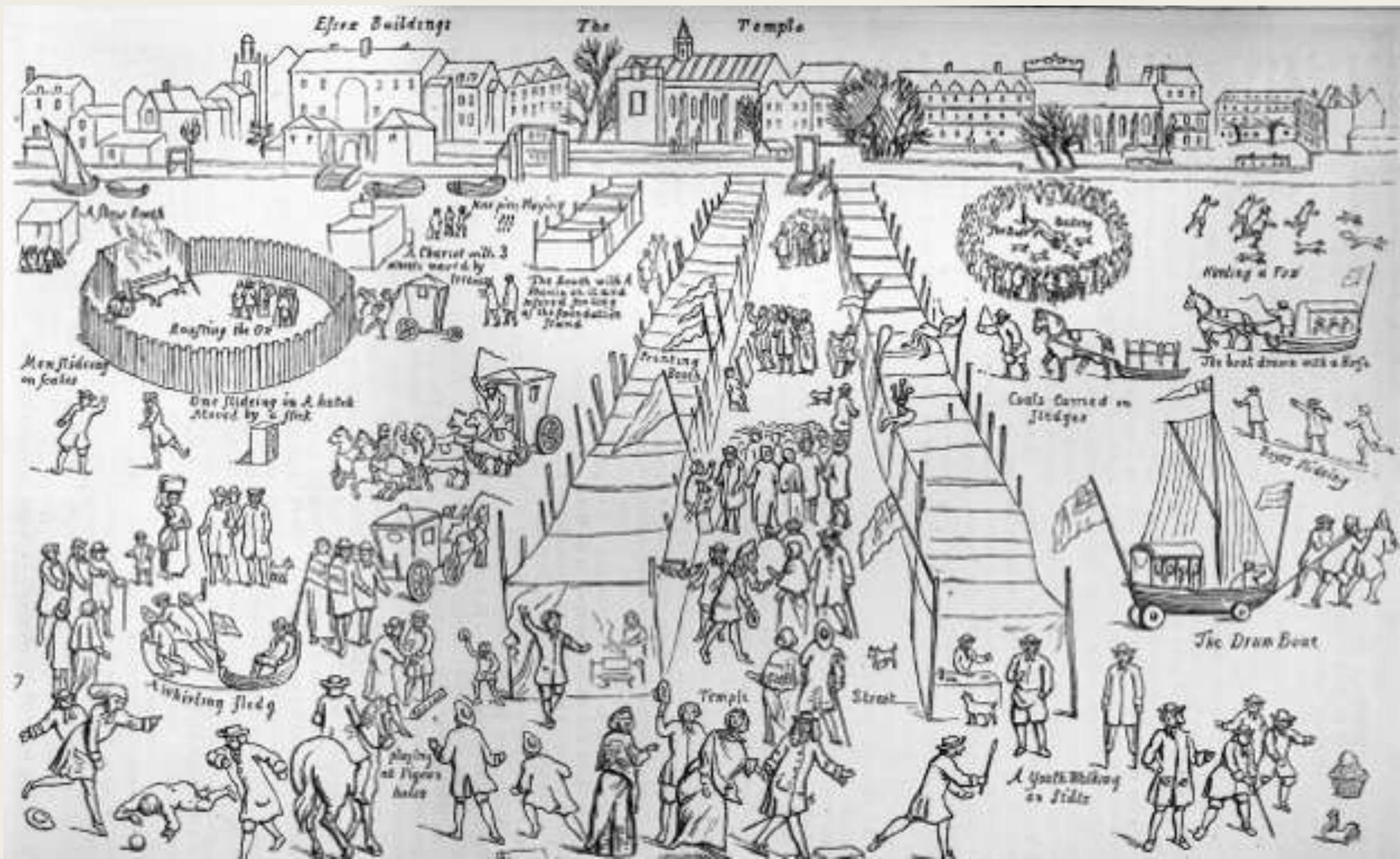
A Survey of London - Method

- Based on detailed description of his walks around the city
- Portrays a London in expansion and transformation, and Stow is often mournful of a lost London, glimpsed through old stonework or great old houses or religious buildings repurposed to satisfy a swollen city
- Consulted historical works to augment his initial topographical composition with additional factual material:
 - classical and medieval historical literature
 - public and civic records
 - own intimate knowledge of the city
- The reader essentially travels through the city, with Stow acting as both a guide and an educator



On St Michael's Cornhill...

- "And here note of this steeple as I have oft heard my father report upon St James's night certain men in the loft next under the bells, ringing of a peale, a tempest of thunder and lightnings did arise, and an ugly shapen sight appeared to them coming in at the south window, and lighted on the north, for feare thereof, they all fell down and lay as dead for the time, letting the bells ring and cease of their own accord.
- When the ringers came to themselves, they found certaine stones of the north window to be 'razed' and 'scrat' as if they had been so much butter printed with a lion's claw, the same stones were fastened there again, and so remain to this day; I have seen them oft, and have put a feather or small stick into the holes where the claws had entered three or four inches deep."



Over to you

- Another dive – Sports and Pastimes, extract 2. In groups:
- What do we learn about leisure, life and customs in London?

On sports and pastimes

When the great fenne or Moore, which watereth the wals of the Citie on the North side, is frozen, many yong men play vpon the yce, some striding as wide as they may, doe slide swiftly: others make themselues seates of yce, as great as Milstones

... some tie bones to their feete, and vnder their heeles, and shouing themselues by a little picked Staffe, doe slide as swiftly as a bird flieth in the ayre, or an arrow out of a Crossebow. Sometime two runne togither with Poles, and hitting one the other, eyther one or both doe fall, not without hurt: some breake their armes, some their legges, but youth desirous of glorie in this sort exerciseth it selfe agaynst the time of warre.

Many of the Citizens doe delight themselues in Hawkes and houndes...



Stow's London

- A city expanding rapidly, undergoing great social transformation
- Elizabeth's 1580 Act sought to restrict overcrowding by prohibiting new building within three miles of the city gates, except on existing foundations, with restrictions on multi-occupations
- Soon flouted: the rich paid for exceptions e.g. Earl of Bedford at Covent Garden
- Religious houses, great buildings and public greens were becoming 'greatly diminished by building of tenements and garden plots' and back alleys
- The road through the East End at Whitechapel 'bee pestered with buildings, with Cottages, and Allies ... sometime the beauty of this City on that part, is so incroched upon by building of filthy Cottages ... that in some places it scarce remaineth a sufficient high way for the meeting of Carriages and droves of Cattell, much lesse is ther any faire, pleasant or wholesome way for people to walke on foote'.

Over to you

- Finally, extract 3. In groups:
- Stow is writing about a particular location (Faringdon Extra, site of Bartholomew Fair).
- What do we learn about the city? And what is Stow's narration like?

London in transformation

- Former Bishops' palaces and monastic houses were given out to Henry VIII's allies, like the Herberts, Walsingham and Lumley, Thomas Wyatt and others
- Others were demolished and, faced with the population crisis, turned into tenements
- The church of the Crutched Friars was pulled down and replaced with 'a carpenter's yard, a Tennis Court and such the like', while the friars' hall was turned into a glass-blowing workshop
- Of the order of the Franciscan Minoresses – 'in place of this house of nuns, is now built divers fair and large storehouses for armour and habiliments of war'
- Stow documents how the Bishop of Hereford's inn became a sugar mill, the Cistercian abbey of Eastminster became a ship's biscuit bakery, and St Martin's-le-Grand became used by Dutch watchmakers and common thieves
- England's first indoor theatre at Blackfriars began when the Convent became used as a store for props in 1541



'the most scoffing, carping, respectlesse, and unthankfule age that ever was'?

Wednesday: a walk around Stow's London

- Meet at 14:00 outside the Barrowboy and Banker pub, **8 Borough High Street, SE1 9QQ**
- Nearest tube: London Bridge (3 mins)
- We'll explore the changing world of Tudor and Stuart London, comparing past and present
- We will navigate the streets not with modern maps, but those from 1720 – we may get lost...
- In advance, I've set you a task to research one place and guide us there – see your map...
- If you're running late, text me: 07784 084754





