Emotions in Place:
The Creation of the Suburban 'Other' in
Early Modern London

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A Thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

The University of Adelaide

School of Architecture and the Built Environment
and the
Australian Research Council's Centre of Excellence for the History of Emotions 1100-1800

For my father.

From whom I inherited my stubbornness and love of books.

Without which, I would not have finished.

CONTENTS

ABSTRACT

Following Henri Lefebvre's suggestion that space is socially constructed and constituted, cities have been reclassified from static 'maps' for human activities to performed spaces that draw together human behaviour, meaning, discourse, and material conditions in their production. Cities are not simply a background for movement, but a function of cultural and emotional practice. Responding specifically to Lefebvre's call for a 'history of the representations of space', this thesis interrogates the role emotion played in visual and literary representations of early modern London. Tracing the impact that these representations had on social and cultural power structures in the city, this thesis argues they could be used as 'emotional tools' to designate the 'other' within the city, both spatially and socially.

Historically based (1580-1750), the project applies contemporary cultural and spatial theory to emotions research on the city. The project follows ideas and ideologies through the early modern period, tracking the changing conceptions and constructions of spatialised otherness within the city. The thesis questions how spatial boundaries are produced through and with emotion and how emotional communities form and define themselves in relation to urban space. Importantly, it interrogates how the emotionally charged imaginings of urban environments impacted on their histories, identities and communities.

The project sits at the intersection between cultural studies and the history of emotions and is informed by urban history. However, it is not another urban history of London; rather it aims to re-imagine the vast body of work on the city in the early modern period in order to understand how emotion is entangled with the city and its people. The work focuses primarily on the suburb of Cripplegate Without, an area just north of the London Wall, however it also takes into account the wider cultural and social contexts of the city during the period. Building

on Sara Ahmed's concept of 'emotional stickiness', a way of explaining how emotion could become 'stuck' to objects and subjects, the thesis posits a further question: why does emotion stick *there*? The thesis argues that the notion of otherness in early modern London was not a static concept. The boundaries of what was considered 'other' could, and did, shift over time, both spatially within the city and socially within London society. The negotiation of these boundaries was linked with the concepts of emotion and place within the city.

DECLARATION

I certify that this work contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in my name, in any university or other tertiary institution and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text. In addition, I certify that no part of this work will, in the future, be used in a submission in my name, for any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution without the prior approval of the University of Adelaide and where applicable, any partner institution responsible for the joint-award of this degree.

I give permission for the digital version of my thesis to be made available on the web, via the University's digital research repository, the Library Search and also through web search engines, unless permission has been granted by the University to restrict access for a period of time.

I acknowledge the support I have received for my research through the provision of an Australian Government Research Training Program Scholarship.

Jade Riddle
November 2018

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

FIGURES

INTRODUCTION

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS, HISTORICAL CONTEXTS AND SOURCES

We should have to study not only the history of space itself, but also the history of *representations* [of space], along with that of their relationships – with each other, with practice, and with ideology. History would have to take in not only the genesis of these spaces but also, and especially, their interconnections, distortions, displacements, mutual interactions, and their links with the spatial practice of the particular society or mode of production under consideration.

- Henri Lefebvre, 1991[1]

Perhaps in terms of "relevance" urban history has an even more important and under-acknowledged role to play in the exploration of the self and in our quest for a system of values by which we administer our society.

- Richard Rodger, 2003[2]

Shared feelings … seem to surround us, like a thickness in the air, or an atmosphere. It is the objects of emotion that circulate, rather than emotion as such. Such objects become sticky, or saturated with affect, as sites of personal and social tension… *What sticks*?

- Sara Ahmed, 2004[3]

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[1] Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space,* trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Massachusetts: Blackwell Press 1991 [1974]), 42. Emphasis added.
[2] Richard Rodger, "Taking Stock: Perspectives on British Urban History" *Urban History Review* 32, 1 (2003), 59.
[3] Sara Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics of Emotion* (New York: Routledge, 2004), 10-11. Emphasis added.

Responding to Lefebvre's call for a "history of the representations of space", this thesis interrogates the role emotion played in the representation of early modern London. The way in which urban meaning is constructed and reinforced has received critical attention both in contemporary and historical research for some time. Many texts have focused on urban meaning in early modern London. Notable are Steven Mullaney's work modelling a "rhetoric of urban space", Lawrence Manley's "fictions of urban settlement" and Gail Kern Paster's investigation of the "idea of the city".[4] Such work asks how the idea of a city, building or landscape is constructed, communicated and reinforced within particular societies and what role these urban meanings or ideas play in societal power structures. Conversely, they also investigate the impact of power structures within society on the construction of urban meaning. This scholarship is, of yet, lacking an appreciation of how emotion can be entangled with the city and its people, and its influence on representation and meaning within the city.[5] How did emotion shape or influence these representations, how was emotion portrayed in the representation of urban space, and what impact did this have on city space and those in it? The work that follows seeks to understand how these emotionally laden representations could act as "tools" in shaping the interpretation and experience of early modern London's city spaces. The history of early modern London is vast, and well covered in the literature. Instead, this thesis focuses on the suburb of Cripplegate Without, immediately north of the London Wall, that saw important changes in both its spatial and social context throughout the early modern period. The rest of this introduction covers: firstly, an overview of the

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[4] Steven Mullaney, *The Place of the Stage: License, Play and Power in Renaissance England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988); Gail Kern Paster, *The Idea of the City in the Age of Shakespeare* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1985) and Lawrence Manley, *Literature and Culture in Early Modern London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

[5] That is not to say there is not work on emotions in city life, which is a burgeoning area of work. Rather the interaction between the *representation* of city space and emotions is to date lacking, particularly in the early modern period. Notable work on the emotional experience of modern city life include Nicolas Kenny, *The Feel of the City* (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 2014) and on the emotional reactions to urban change in Cairo and Berlin see: Joseph Ben Prestel, *Emotional Cities: Debates on Urban Change in Berlin and Cairo, 1860-1910* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).

theoretical framework that shaped the following chapters and secondly, a summary of the historical contexts at play.

THEORIES OF SPACE AND EMOTION

The work contained in this thesis is based on three theoretical assumptions: firstly, space (and place) is socially produced; secondly, emotional responses are culturally specific (both temporally and geographically); and thirdly, language (both visual and linguistic) plays an inherent role in understanding these processes. These theoretical assumptions are drawn from three diverse disciplinary groups: spatial theory and philosophy; emotions history and theory; and cultural and linguistic theory. The transdisciplinary methodology produced through their interaction is applied to a historical case study: early modern London. In order to allow these theoretical assumptions to interact and prove fruitful, the following section outlines the fields in which they come from and the work pertaining to their understanding.

Transdisciplinarity is derived from discipline specific practices; however, it incorporates the idea that these practices must advance beyond their individual disciplines in order to keep up with the "complexity of the issues facing today's [academic] community".[6] Different to interdisciplinary work, where the focus is on the relations of disciplines; Interdisciplinarity's primary concern is with the understanding *between* disciplines. In other words, as Thierry Ramadier suggests, "the specificity of transdisciplinarity is that it simultaneously integrates two [or more] movements of disciplinary thinking". He says it incorporates the compartmentalisation of knowledge yet identifies the space between disciplines as fruitful –

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[6] Thierry Ramadier, "Transdisciplinarity and its Challenges: The Case of Urban Studies" *Futures* 36, 4 (2004), 424.

"the aim being to determine how the different forms of knowledge thus produced can be articulated *together*".[7]

By design, I have not limited this thesis by restricting theoretical understandings, primary source material or secondary literature to any one discipline. Rather, it has been inspired by an array of works centred around the understanding of cities and emotion. It draws together a vast body of secondary literature in order to understand and answer the theoretical and historical questions at hand. What follows explores the three theoretical assumptions that underpin the work within this thesis and their disciplinary backgrounds.

The Social Production of Space

The spatial turn refers to a shift towards a spatial or geographical analysis of society in fields as broad as critical theory, history, philosophy and even psychology. Bertrand Westphal suggests that the devastating restructuring of societies after the Second World War led to the decline in obsession with time as an analytical category and the rise of spatial analysis.[8] Robert Tally agrees, citing the increasing level of global mobility and displacement around this time as the catalyst, where "one's place could not simply be taken for granted any longer".[9] He continues by stating that the "spatial turn is a turn towards the world itself, towards an understanding of our lives as situated in a mobile array of social and spatial relations that, in one way or another, need to be mapped".[10] From the mid twentieth century, these spatial and social relations began to be charted.

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[7] Ibid. Emphasis added. See also Christian Pohl, "What is Progress in Transdisciplinary Research" *Futures* 43, 6 (2011), 618-626.

[8] Bertrand Westphal, *Geocriticism: Real and Fictional Spaces,* trans. Robert Tally (London: Palgrave McMillan, 2011), 14.

[9] Robert Tally, *Spatiality*, (New York: Routledge, 2013), 13. Emphasis original.

[10] Ibid., 16-17.

Influential in understanding the importance of spatial considerations within society has been the work of French philosophers during the 1970s, particularly Michel Foucault, Henri Lefebvre and Michel de Certeau.[11] The translation of these French works led many "to spatialise understandings of identity, social relations" and their constructions and meaning.[12] The subsequent spatial turn focused primarily on capitalism, surveillance and power relations. In the discipline of geography, this was then translated into well-known theories such as David Harvey's 'space-time compression", a discussion of the relationship between time and space and Doreen Massey's "power geometry", which investigated how globalisation and "power in relation to flows of movement" impacts people differently.[13] In the humanities, the spatial turn represented a shift in focus within historical work from the notion of time to place. For example, the city became an archive of material culture that could be investigated to understand cultural memory and meaning.[14] It is this last body of work within the humanities that the arguments in this thesis are most closely aligned.

A crucial factor in any attempt to understand the work arising from the spatial turn, Doris Bachmann-Medick says, "is not the great variety of spatial concepts or the reflections on them, but rather the distinct interdisciplinary [or even perhaps transdisciplinary] practice

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[11] In particular, see Michel Foucault, "Of Other Spaces" *Diacritics 16* (1986), 22-27; Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* and Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. Stephen Rendall (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011 [1984]).

[12] See Edward Soja, *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory* (London: Verso Books, 1989); Gaston Bachelard, *The Poetics of Space*, trans. Marie Jolas (Massachusetts: Beacon Press, 1969); Fran Tonkiss, *Space, the City and Social Theory: Social Relations and Urban Form* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2005) and Fran Tonkiss, *Cities by Design: The Social Life of Urban Form* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2013).

[13] See David Harvey, *Spaces of Capital: Towards a Critical Geography* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2001); Saskia Sassen, *The Global City: New York, London, Tokyo* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990) and Manuel Castells, *The City and the Grassroots: A Cross Cultural Theory of Urban Social Movements* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983).

[14] See Doreen Massey, "Power-Geometry and a Progressive Sense of Place" in *Mapping the Futures: Local Cultures, Global Change,* eds. Jon Bird et al. (London: Routledge, 2012), 59-69 and David Harvey, *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change* (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Press, 1990). For an overview of Humanities work influenced by the spatial turn see Barney Warf and Santa Arias, eds., *The Spatial Turn: Interdisciplinary Perspectives* (London: Routledge, 2009). For more specific work arising from the understanding of the city as an archive of material culture see Alan Robinson, *Imagining London 1700-1900* (Basingstoke: Palgrave McMillian, 2004) and Iain Borden et al., eds., *The Unknown City: Contesting Architecture and Social Space* (Massachusetts: MIT Press, 2001).

of assuming a spatial perspective".[15] It is this interdisciplinary view that allows us to see "space", not merely as a background for movement, nor a container in which things are placed, but as a process entangled with cultural practice. Space is both a function *and* result of cultural practice. Edward Soja links this particular way of thinking with Lefebvre's work, who placed an emphasis on both the social formation of space and the role played by space in creating social relations.[16]

Space is no longer seen as purely physical or territorial, but rather a relational concept; it is now understood to be entangled with symbolic representation, including perception, appropriations and spatial codes.[17] Lefebvre theorised three modes of spatial production: spatial practice; the representation of space; and spaces of representation. This thesis is concerned primarily with the second and third categories. Christian Schmid gives an overview of them as such: "the representation of space gives an image and defines a space. Representations of space emerge at the level of discourse, of speech as such, and therefore comprise verbalised forms such as descriptions, definitions, and especially theories of space".[18] Spaces of representation on the other hand, concern the symbolic understanding of space. Schmid notes that "spaces of representation do not refer to the spaces themselves but to something else" such as power relationships; the nation or even gendered understandings of a space's usage for example. As such, the production of spaces of representation "refers to the process of signification that links itself to a (material) symbol".[19]

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[15] Doris Bachmann-Medick, *Cultural Turns: New Orientations in the Study of Culture* (Berlin: DeGruyter, 2016), 216. See also Yair Mintzker. "Between the Linguistic and Spatial Turns: A Reconsideration of the Concept of Space and its Role in the Early Modern Period" *Historical Reflections* 35, 3 (2009), 37 and Phillip Ethington, "Placing the Past: "Groundwork" for a Spatial Theory of History" *Rethinking History* 11, 4 (2007), 467.

[16] Edward Soja, *Thirdspace: Journeys to Los Angeles and Other Real and Imagined Places* (Cambridge: Blackwell Press, 1996), 47.

[17] Bachmann-Medick, *Cultural Turns,* 216.

[18] Christian Schmid, "Henri Lefebvre's Theory of the Production of Space: Towards a Three-Dimensional Dialectic", trans. Bandulasena Goonewardena, in *Space, Difference, Everyday Life: Reading Henri Lefebvre,* eds. Kanishka Goonewardena et al. (New York: Routledge, 2008), 36.

[19] Ibid., 37.

It is the area between representations of space (both visual and those found in written accounts of the city) and the spaces of representation that the work of this thesis aims to investigate. Stan Fung, in a recent conversation, clarified this point. He suggests much contemporary work on the production of social space is guilty of a "slippage in usage of the term 'space'". To do justice to the ideas at play here, we must instead be mindful of the difference between "what is represented but not experienced" and conversely, "what is experienced but not represented".[20] The chapters that follow speak to this difference, but importantly, also extend this understanding by exploring the messy relationship *between* them.

Richard Helgerson nuances the representation of space further, stating that "the choice cartographers [and authors] made, the choice of what to study and describe, was a choice of one system of authority, one source of legitimacy over the other".[21] In this way, Helgerson problematizes history more generally, in that no one account is absolute, thereby rendering any historical account of the city provisional and particular to a given time, culture and even social class. The early modern author might encourage us to believe that their work is historically accurate, yet narrational choice and social position within society influence the final representation just as it does in any fictional work. This is particularly significant for written accounts of the city, and even visual accounts such as maps, that appear conventional in their descriptive function but can remain, just the same, ideological.[22] John Scattergood adds that:

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[20] Many thanks to Stan Fung for discussing this point with me at the *Centre for Asian and Middle Eastern Architecture* Symposium, University of Adelaide. July 2017.

[21] Richard Helgerson, "The Land Speaks: Cartography, Chorography, and Subversion in Renaissance England" in *Representing the English Renaissance,* ed. Stephen Greenblatt (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 334.

[22] See John Harley and Paul Laxton, eds., *The New Nature of Maps: Essays in the History of Cartography* (London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001); James Howgego and Ida Darlington, *Printed Maps of London circa 1553-1850* (Folkestone: Dawson, 1978).

If representation has to be imperfect, if it has to be partial and selective, if it has to misrepresent and deceive, it follows that "the thing itself" can be described in a (theoretically infinite) number of different ways, among which the describer is free to choose what to include and what to exclude, what point of view to adopt, what style to write in. Literary representation, description, [therefore] belongs in the category of rhetoric.[23]

Further to this, William Hall argues that "historical narrative is a fabrication, an artificial [or constructed] representation, a picture of the way things might have been".[24] Neither of these statements are particularly revolutionary for contemporary historians; however, they provide a useful heuristic model for discussing the theoretical concepts of representation of space and spaces of representation.

Understanding that representations of the city are constructed and aimed at directing the gaze in a particular way opens up the opportunity to question the intentions behind such representations. By using this framework, we can explore how social space is produced through these representations. Why is the gaze being directed in a particular way? What function does such description serve? And potentially, what are these representations trying to hide? By exploring these representations through an emotional lens, we can begin investigating the messy space between representations of space and spaces of representation.

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[23] John Scattergood, *Reading the Past: Essays on Medieval and Renaissance Literature* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1996), 17.

[24] William Hall, "A Topography of Time: Historical Narration in John Stow's *Survey of London*" *Studies in Philology* 88, 1 (1991), 12.

Lessons from the Cultural Turn

Using early modern representations of the city to explore the social, cultural and emotional production of space requires an engagement with historical sources as cultural products. The cultural turn was a methodological and theoretical shift in focus toward cultural meaning and symbolism within the humanities and other fields. The surge of interest in this direction began in the 1970s and 1980s with works by Jeffery Alexander, Hayden White and Clifford Geertz.[25] Just as the spatial turn was born from the philosophical work of Lefebvre, Foucault and de Certeau, so to can the cultural turn be linked with works by Pierre Bourdieu.[26] Investigating the depiction of culture as a symbolic, linguistic and representational system, scholars associated with the cultural turn cast aside many of the theoretical conventions and methods of social science based approaches.[27] The cultural turn emphasised approaches that belong to the interpretive and hermeneutic tradition, highlighting subjectivity and contextual meaning.[28] For example in urban history, quantitative methods that focused on areas where quantifiable source material was available and had been implicit in many early ways of "doing history" were criticised for depersonalising towns and cities. These methods often depicted cities as abstract entities that simply grew or declined in population and physical size which resulted in some facets of urban life being neglected.[29] In the wake of the cultural turn, the focus shifted onto the meaning of "identity and experience" and particularly, how this

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[25] See Jeffery Alexander, "The New Theoretical Movement" in *Handbook of Sociology,* ed. Neil Smelser (California: Sage Publications, 1988); Hayden White, *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973); Hayden White, *The Content of Form: Narrative Discourse and Historical Representation* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1987) and Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays* (New York: Basic Books, 1973).

[26] Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice,* trans. R. Nice (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977 [1972]).

[27] See David Chaney, *The Cultural Turn: Scene Setting Essays on Contemporary Cultural History* (London: Routledge, 1994) and Victoria Bonnell and Lynn Hunt, *Beyond the Cultural Turn: New Directions in the Study of Society and Culture* (California: University of California Press, 1999).

[28] Bonnell and Hunt, *Beyond the Cultural Turn*, 1.

[29] See Simon Naylor et al., *Cultural Turns/Geographical Turns: Perspectives on Cultural Geography* (London: Routledge, 2016).

meaning was constructed. Simon Gunn eloquently adds that "one way of understanding cultural theory, then, is to see it as a critique not of history as such but of historical objectivity … that is to say, of a particular model or construction of history".[30]

Rather than histories based solely on quantitative readings of historical documents, cultural history methodology strives to understand and explain the construction of meaning through systems of representation. Often the same source material may be used, but read in a way that looks for contested meaning or omissions. Peter Mandler argues that "the best cultural history is … very inter-disciplinary - it should draw on fictional and non-fictional texts, on visual representations, on high, popular and middlebrow culture, on fantasy and experience". But he warns, "the more we mix in this way, the harder is the task of maintaining conceptual clarity".[31] The lack of conceptual clarity can often produce "big picture" cultural history. These "big picture" histories, Mandler says, are attractive but often reach too far and can ultimately be logically and methodologically indefensible.[32]

These big picture histories are in some way a hangover from methodological problems in social history. Peter Burke identifies this when he notes that explanations of society in social history "were frequently expressed in terms of social class, making claims such as 'X did Y because he or she was a bourgeois'".[33] He argues "this kind of explanation is reductionist, omitting the specific aims of individual agents and reducing them to representatives of their class".[34] So how do we avoid "big picture" cultural history? The first strategy is to focus on specific, particular events or moments in history. This Geertzian style of "thick description"

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[30] Simon Gunn, *History and Cultural Theory* (Harlow: Pearson Longman, 2006), 9.
[31] Peter Mandler, "The Problem with Cultural History" *Cultural and Social History* 1, 1 (2004), 104.
[32] Ibid.
[33] Peter Burke, *What is Cultural History?* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2008), 5.
[34] Ibid.

aims at being more *illustrative* of broader trends rather than claiming to be *evidence* for their existence and are less vulnerable of becoming "big picture" history.

One important way cultural history achieves an understanding of identity and meaning is through its roots in the linguistic turn. The linguistic turn is a broad concept that has influenced a wealth of disciplines including: philosophy, sociology, literary criticism and history.[35] All of the approaches within the linguistic turn share one fundamental belief: "that language is not a transparent medium"; that is, both things (a person, a house, a bus) and ideas (the nation, capitalism) are "anchored in, and constituted by, language".[36] Only by understanding how linguistic constructions of ideas and things have shifted over time and in different places, can we then understand what took place in history.[37]

Here lies our first disciplinary challenge: the use of twentieth and twenty-first century theories of spatial production in a historical setting is problematic when understood in relation to the linguistic turn. Using such postmodern thinking on historical material offers new opportunities for understanding early modern culture, but importantly, it also poses complex linguistic issues. Yair Mintzker identifies for example, that the word "space" seems to have undergone two major "linguistic explosions" in English. Firstly, in the fourteenth century when the word was introduced into English as a temporal concept, and secondly in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries when it expanded into what would later become the fields of geometry and metaphysics.[38] Initially, in the fourteenth century, the term described a duration of time; for example, an expression such as "in the space of a few

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[35] See Lynn Hunt, "Introduction" in Lynn Hunt, ed., *The New Cultural History* (California: University of California Press, 1989); John Toews, "Intellectual History after the Linguistic Turn: The Autonomy of Meaning and the Irreducibility of Experience" *The American Historical Review* 92, 4 (1987), 879-907 and Elizabeth Clark, *History, Theory, Text: Historians and the Linguistic Turn* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004).

[36] Mintzker, "Between the Linguistic and Spatial Turns", 38.

[37] Ibid., 39. For a different view see Keith Baker, *Inventing the French Revolution: Essays on French Political Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 12-30.

[38] Mintzker, "Between the Linguistic and Spatial Turns", 41. See also Peter Zumthor, *Atmospheres: Architectural Environments and Surrounding Objects* (Basel: Boston Press. 2006).

days", still common in English, finds its historical roots in this original meaning of the word. The geometric understanding of the term in the sixteenth century signified at first a gap or distance between two or more physical objects. John Locke for example, discussing space in this way, wrote that "space, [is] considered… in length between any two beings".[39] The understanding of space as an endless extension in all directions can also be dated to this period.[40] The fourteenth and sixteenth-century understandings of what space is then, does not match our contemporary understanding of the concept.

The lack of the term space from significant intellectual works during the early modern period is therefore the first interpretive challenge that arises from the linguistic turn. This challenge stems from scholars wanting, on the one hand, to discuss space in the postmodern sense; but on the other hand, they also want to give language its due, and be faithful to the historical vocabulary.[41] Often modern scholars, living in an era to which the word space is almost indispensable, tend to introduce the word into earlier periods from which the word was historically largely absent.[42] One is left wondering if the term space is the best fit for historical studies or whether another term might be better. Here I do not wish to discount the concept of space as an analytical framework. Rather, I seek to be mindful about the term's usage in historical contexts.

An alternative can be found in Edward Casey's philosophical work, in which he suggests that "place long reigned as the 'supreme term' in western thought [throughout the early modern period], but by the end of the eighteenth century, it vanished altogether from serious theoretical discourse in physics and philosophy, demoted during the rise of modern

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[39] John Locke, *Essay Concerning Human Understanding,* ed. Peter Nidditich (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975 [1689]) Book II, Chapter XIII, Section IIII.
[40] Mintzker, "Between the Linguistic and Spatial Turns", 40.
[41] Ibid., 48.
[42] Ibid., 42.

science".[43] If space was closely aligned with concepts of distance and volume in geometry and metaphysics, what then did the term "place" align with in the early modern period? Charles Withers states that "place is one of the most fundamental concepts in human geography, yet it is also one of the most problematic".[44] Attempting to define the concept, Casey states that "a place is more an event than a thing to be assimilated to known categories. It is not a mere patch of ground, a bare stretch of earth, a sedentary set of stones".[45] He continues by suggesting that places are "collective phenomena, transformed by sentient bodies that inhabit, know, or recognise them. Places are the condition of possibility for human culture itself." "To have a culture", he continues, "is to inhabit a place sufficiently intensively to cultivate it ... culture is carried into places by bodies".[46] Yi-Fu Tuan goes further to relate and define the understanding of place through its association with space.[47] In this understanding, space is a void and place is defined by action or as this work argues, cultural practice.[48]

Timothy Cresswell goes further to argue that the representation of people and cultural practices were often strongly linked to places within society and could have a normative nature.[49] In much of his work, Cresswell understands place "through the lens of social and cultural conflict. Issues of race, class, gender, sexuality and a host of other social relations were at the centre of this analysis".[50] Therefore, place is different from space in that is not

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[43] Edward Casey, *Fate of Place: A Philosophical History* (Berkeley: University of California Press. 2013), 17.

[44] Charles Withers, "Place and the Spatial Turn in Geography and in History" *Journal of the History of Ideas* 70, 4 (2009), 639.

[45] Casey, *Fate of Place*, 26.

[46] Ibid., 34.

[47] Yi-Fu Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1977).

[48] This view is championed by Robert Preucel and Lynn Meskell, "Places" in *A Companion to Social Archaeology,* eds. Lynn Meskell and Robert Preucel (Massachusetts: Blackwell Press, 2004), 215.

[49] Timothy Cresswell, *In Place/Out of Place: Geography, Ideology and Transgression* (Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press. 1996). 1-28.

[50] Ibid., 29.

just the location of social practices; but rather, also the result of social practices and processes.[51]

Lefebvre suggests that between the sixteenth and nineteenth century there was a code "at once architectural, urbanistic and political that constituted a common language to country people and towns people, to the authorities and the artists which allowed space to not only be 'read' but also constructed".[52] If we take into account the use of the word "space" in the early modern period then we see that even Lefebvre used the term anachronistically. But his concept closely aligns with the early modern conception of place. Ethington expands on this arguing that historical writing from the early modern period 'should be thought of as a map because the past can only be known by placing it, and the way of knowing places is to map them".[53] By interrogating the temporality of history, Ethington argues "we have revealed experience as the intersection of place and space, which is also the intersection of human and natural time".[54] Thinking through ideas of place and/or space in relation to historical experience, Ethington suggests, recognises the "placefulness of pastness" and offers a solution to the problems raised by the linguistic turn.[55]

Emotion and Affect

Robert Park and Ernest Burgess's work on the city identifies that the process of urbanisation is "accompanied by corresponding changes in the habits, sentiments and character of the urban population".[56] Such developments include changes in attachment to place, ideas of

[51] Withers, "Place and the Spatial Turn", 641.
[52] Lefebvre, *The Production of Space,* 7.
[53] Ethington, "Placing the Past", 487.
[54] Ibid. emphasis added.
[55] Ibid.
[56] Robert Park and Ernest Burgess, *The City: Suggestions for Investigation of Human Behaviour in the Urban Environment* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967 [1925]), 23.

identity formation and judgements of worth and worthlessness. Charles Withers agrees, stating that "sense of place is taken to embrace the affective attachment that people have to a place".[57] An understanding of city space and place is incomplete without an understanding of how emotion functions within this process.

The concept of affective attachments to place open up key questions about the role of affect and emotion in the construction of city space. Scholars of affect and historians of emotion have begun exploring this area in recent decades, resulting in what has been called the affective turn. It refers to a movement born out of the work of psychologist Silvan Tomkins in the 1960s, and to a somewhat lesser extent, philosophical work by Benedict Spinoza and Giles Deleuze, for whom feelings and emotions are related to affects, but make the distinction of affects being "states of mind".[58] The early work within the "turn to affect" was most often associated with the scientific disciplines and has more recently, moved into the humanities as well. Melissa Gregg and Gregory Seigworth state that the return of interest in affect came in 1995, with the publication of Brian Massumi's "The Autonomy of Affect" and Eve Sedgwick and Adam Frank's "shame in the Cybernetic Fold".[59] These works reinvigorated earlier work by Deleuze and Tomkins respectively.[60] Since then, humanities-based disciplines have rivalled the scientific fields for both quality and quantity of work relating to affect and emotion. Stephanie Trigg suggests that the relationship between "emotion" and "affect" as concepts of enquiry for historical study is a difficult one. She identifies that "emotion" has become a

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[57] Withers, "Place and the Spatial Turn", 640.

[58] Benedict Spinoza, *Ethics,* trans. W. White and A. Stirling (London: Wordsworth Editions, 2001 [1677]), 141.

[59] Melissa Gregg and Gregory Seigworth eds., *The Affect Theory Reader* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010), 5; See Brian Massumi, "The Autonomy of Affect" *Cultural Critique* 31, 1 (1995), 83-109 and Eve Sedgwick and Adam Frank, 'shame in the Cybernetic Fold: Reading Silvan Tomkins" *Critical Inquiry* 21, 2 (1995), 496-522.

[60] See Gilles Deleuze, *Spinoza: Practical Philosophy,* trans. Robert Hurley (San Francisco: City Lights Books, 1988) and Silvan Tomkins, *Affect Imagery Consciousness: Vol I: The Positive Affects* (New York: Springer, 1962).

concept primarily used in historically-orientated and multidisciplinary studies within the humanities, while "affect" has often been claimed by the scientific fields.[61]

Within the scientific fields, there has been little consensus on defining the meaning of affect. Cultural anthropologists define the whole body as a site of affective expression that can be used as a form of social expression.[62] Evolutionary psychologists on the other hand tend towards the belief that affect is outside of conscious feeling. That is, they are purely physiological elements of human nature, and as such evolutionary psychologists tend to focus their work on, among other things, heart rates and brain wave cognition.[63] Behavioural psychologists differ again, focusing on the face as the site of emotional and affective expression.[64] Thus, we can see how far individual disciplines within the scientific fields diverge when it comes to the study of affect and emotion. They do, however, generally focus on bodily affects, but limit their scope of works to contemporary sources.[65]

These scientific ways of thinking follow in the footsteps of Massumi, for whom affect and emotion are quite separate things.[66] In this way of thinking, affect is seen as a series of linear events that begin as a pre-personal and non-conscious *within* the body (racing heart rate, body temperature rises, goosebumps etc). An awareness of this affect is then checked and registered against the individual's past experiences and memories, finally resulting in a

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[61] Stephanie Trigg, "Introduction: Emotional Histories - Beyond the Personalisation of the Past and the Abstraction of Affect Theory" *Exemplaria* 26, 1 (2014).

[62] See Hazel Rose Markus and Shinobu Kitayan, "Culture and the Self: Implications for Cognition, Emotion and Motivation" *Psychology Review* 98, 2 (1991), 224-253; Catherine Lutz "Emotion, Thought and Estrangement: Emotion as a Cultural Category" *Cultural Anthropology 1* (1986), 287-309 and Helena Wulff, *The Emotions: A Cultural Reader* (Oxford: Berg, 2007).

[63] See Leda Cosmides and John Tooby, "Evolutionary Psychology: New Perspectives on Cognition and Motives" *Annual Review of Psychology* 64 (2013), 201-229 and Roger Masters, "Mechanism and Function in Evolutionary Psychology: Emotion, Cognitive Neuroscience and Personality" *Psychology Inquiry* 6, 1 (1995), 65-68.

[64] See Paula Niedenthal and Markus Brauer, 'social Functionality of Human Emotion" *Annual Review of Psychology* 63 (2012), 259-285; Bryce Huebner, Susan Dwyer and Marc Hauser, "The Role of Emotion in Moral Psychology" *Trends in Cognitive Sciences* 13, 1 (2009), 1-6.

[65] See Gail Kern Pastor et al., *Reading the Early Modern Passions: Essays in the Cultural History of Emotion* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004) Particularly pages 1-20, which has an excellent overview of the differences and debates between the scientific and historical work on emotion.

[66] See Massumi, "The Autonomy of Affect".

socially-constructed expression of *emotion* which can be read as an outward expression of the internal affective event. This idea of affect being pre-signifying and abstract from consciousness moves the focus away from cultural meaning and ideology. The separation of cultural meaning and affect creates, what Ruth Leys describes as "indifference to the role of ideas, beliefs and language within culture in favour of ontological concern with different people's corporeal-affective reactions".[67] This disconnection from cultural production and meaning of emotion is often seen in what has become known as "discrete emotions theory", which conceptualises "basic emotions" that are thought to traverse across both geographical and temporal contexts.[68]

Not all scholars see the separation of affect and emotion as linear in nature. Ben Anderson's work suggests that affect and emotion are part of the same feedback "loop". He argues "there is not, first an affective 'event' and then, second, an emotional "effect" of such an event". Instead, "affect takes place before and after the distinctions of subject-world or inside-outside as a ceaseless oscillating foreground/background or better, an immanent 'plane' (i.e.: this is an in-between with a consistency all of its own)".[69] By considering lived experiences and cultural meaning, he argues, "affect is not simply received by a blank body *in* space or *in* time. Feelings act as an instantaneous assessment of affect that are dependent upon the affected body's existing condition to be affected".[70] In this way, the relation

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[67] Ruth Leys, "The Turn to Affect: A Critique" *Critical inquiry 37, 3* (2011), 451.

[68] On "discrete" or basic emotions theory see Silvan Tomkins, *Affect Imagery Consciousness: Vol I*; Silvan Tomkins, *Affect Imagery Consciousness: Vol II: The Negative Affects* (New York: Springer, 1963); Paul Ekman, John Zelenski and Randy Larsen, "The Distribution of Basic Emotions in Everyday Life: A State and Trait Perspective from Experience Sampling Data" *The Journal of Research in Personality* 34, 2 (2000), 178-197 and Carroll Izard, "Basic Emotions, Relations Among Emotions and Emotion-Cognition Relations" *Psychological Review* 99, 3 (1992), 561-565.

[69] Ben Anderson, "Becoming and Being Hopeful: Towards a Theory of Affect" *Environment and Planning: Society and Space* 24, 5 (2006), 736.

[70] Ibid.

between affect and emotion is not one of movement from affect *to* emotion– it is constantly moving between the two.[71]

The debate that stems from the differences between scientific work on emotion and the work by historians is still strong today, with some insisting that emotions are wholly dependent on culture, except for some small contributions from human nature. Others insist on a middle ground where some emotions are "basic" and universal, and some are influences by culture and social practice.[72] William Reddy believes most scholars these days "prefer to locate themselves somewhere between the extremes, suspecting that human nature must predispose us towards certain kinds of emotional responses and that culture also has a strong role in shaping this predisposition".[73] The scientific fields appear to be restricted to contemporary studies, while the humanities-based historical fields located their strength in understanding the social evolution of emotions through time.

While historians can be sympathetic towards the empirical work produced by the scientific fields, they also argue that universalist ideals cannot support or explain the cultural expressions of different societies or, even more importantly, time periods within the same society. Trigg says in "contrast to the unconscious or pre-discursive emphasis of affect theory, 'emotion' emerges with a more specialised sense, referring to the way we experience, narrate, and perform what we feel".[74] This dictates certain theoretical and methodological boundaries in a historical context. If we cannot talk to, or accurately measure the physiological "affective events" of our historical subjects then we "must rely on textual and material traces and representations of feelings and passions: the emotions as they are

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[71] Ibid., 737.
[72] William Reddy, "Historical Research on the Self and Emotions" *Emotion Review* 1, 4 (2009), 305.
[73] Ibid.
[74] Trigg, "Introduction: Emotional Histories", 7.

processed, described, and performed by human subjects".[75] Thus, Trigg says "the emphasis falls less on the mechanics of feeling than the role of emotions in historical, social, and cultural change".[76] Monique Scheer notes, however, this "leaves us with the somewhat dissatisfying sense that the history of emotions can only be a history of half of the phenomenon, abdicating the other half to the natural sciences rather than integrating it into a historical study".[77]

By viewing social norms and "true feelings" as different, Scheer argues historians of emotion are simply reproducing this divide between experience and expression.[78] Scheer proposes that to "conceive of emotions as practices means understanding them as emerging from bodily dispositions conditioned by a social context, which always has cultural and historical specificity".[79] By understanding emotions as practices that are interactive in nature that incorporate both cultural norms and individual agency, she argues these "emotional practices not only generate emotions but that emotions themselves can be viewed as a practical engagement with the world".[80]

The conditioning of social context is a common idea in history of emotions work and an important avenue for understanding and measuring change in emotional norms and practices through time and space. It is these emotional norms or *standards* that Carol Stearns and Peter Stearns were originally concerned with in their concept of "emotionology". They identified that these standards were "not the same thing as emotional experience" (or even the expression of such experiences), and that the discourse that mediated the difference between them was central to the study of emotions in history.[81] Stearns and Stearns defined

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[75] Ibid.

[76] Ibid.

[77] Monique Scheer, "Are Emotions a Kind of Practice (And is That What Makes Them Have a History)? A Bourdieuian Approach to Understanding Emotion" *History and Theory* 51, 2 (2012), 196.

[78] Ibid.

[79] Ibid.

[80] Ibid., 193.

[81] Carol Stearns and Peter Stearns, "Emotionology: Clarifying the History of Emotions and Emotional Standards" *American Historical Review* 90, 4 (1985), 813-836.

these emotional standards to be held and maintained by a particular group, and by tracing these collective emotional standards through time and space, they argued it became possible to ask, "whether emotional changes cause other fundamental changes … or more commonly *reflect* other basic factors, like ideology or economic relationships".[82]

Other key scholars in the field of the history of emotions such as Reddy and Barbara Rosenwein, have investigated the impact social and cultural context has had on emotional expression. Through *The Navigation of Feeling* and *Emotional Communities in the Middle Ages*, published in 2001 and 2006 respectively, Reddy and Rosenwein developed the understanding that the expression of emotion is shaped by various levels of shared identity and social goals. Reddy conceptualised emotional "regimes" and "refuges" which offered a framework for investigating large scale power relationships and on the role of emotion in their production.[83] He states that "central to the life of individuals, open to deep social influence, emotions are of the highest political significance. Any enduring political regime must establish as an essential element, a normative order for emotions, an 'emotional regime'".[84] Conversely, Rosenwein developed the concept of "emotional communities" to explain how different modes of emotional expression, practice and norms could coexist in the medieval period.[85] If Rosenwein's "emotional communities" could be conceptualised as a somewhat "soft" or self-regulating typology of emotional practice within society then Reddy's emotional "regimes" and "refuges" sits at the other end of the scale.

Whether they are labelled emotional expressions, practices or affective articulations, belonging to regimes, refuges or communities, the expression of emotion is routinely

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[82] Ibid., 820. Emphasis added.
[83] William Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).
[84] Ibid., 124.
[85] Barbara Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (London: Cornell University Press, 2006).

attributed to the cultural practices of a given historical context.[86] It is in tracing the difference between emotional standards and actual practice, that is, the difference between what one should do and what one does do, that the history of emotions fields has the most to offer. As such, Trigg states "the history of emotions can often be found in the interstices between intention and practice".[87]

Sitting somewhere between precognitive affect theory and the historically-focused study of the expression of emotion is Sara Ahmed's *Cultural Politics of Emotion*, in which she outlines her concept of the social form of emotion. Scheer identifies that affect theory can suggest two sites of emotion, with the "expression" of feelings commonly understood to originate inside and then move from inner to outer.[88] Ahmed agrees, stating that "the everyday language of emotion is based on the presumption of interiority". The logic here, she says, is "that we have feelings, which then move outwards towards objects and others", and which then, in a cycle like Anderson's thinking, might return to us.[89] This is what Ahmed calls the "inside-out" model of emotions. Rather than this "inside-out" model, Ahmed suggests what she calls a model of "sociality of emotion", in which emotion becomes "a social form rather than individual self-expression". In order to explain this model, Ahmed looks to Emile Durkheim:

> The rise of emotion in crowds, suggest[s] that such great movements of
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> feeling, do not originate in any one particular individual consciousness … this

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[86] For an understanding of "affective articulation" see Susan Broomhall, "Introduction" in *Spaces for Feeling,* ed. Susan Broomhall (London: Routledge, 2015); for an understanding of the term "emotives" see Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling*.
[87] Trigg, "Introduction: Emotional Histories", 8.
[88] Scheer, "Are Emotions a Kind of Practice", 198.
[89] Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*, 9 and Anderson, "Becoming and Being Hopeful".

force must also … organise itself within us; it thus becomes an integral part of

our being and by that very fact is elevated and magnified.[90]

Here, Ahmed notes that "the individual is no longer the origin of feeling, feeling itself comes

from without".[91] In this way, the "inside out" model becomes an "outside in" model:

"emotions are assumed to *come from without and move inward*".[92] Through this process,

emotions become bound up with social hierarchy, context and places and emotional practices

can be seen as socially coded phenomena.[93] Ahmed states:

It is not difficult to see how emotions are bound up with the securing of social

hierarchy: emotions become attributes of bodies as a way of transforming

what is "lower" or "higher" into bodily traits. So, emotionality as a claim about

a subject or a collective is clearly dependent on relations of power, which

endow "others" with meaning and value.[94]

In this way, emotions are not interior states within individuals, but rather social and cultural

practices created by the association between objects, subject, and I argue, places.[95] Rather

than asking "what are emotions?", Ahmed asks "what do emotions do?". By doing so, she

seeks to understand how emotions circulate both collectively and individually, and how they

leave impressions, or as she says, "stick" to objects and subjects within society.[96] Importantly,

Ahmed develops a concept of "emotional stickiness" or how emotions come to stick to

objects and subjects. Rather than focusing on "an object's surface", however, she says we

should "think of stickiness as an effect of surfacing, *as an effect of the histories of contact*

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[90] Emile Durkhiem, *The Rules of Sociological Method*, trans. S.A. Solovay and J.H. Mueller (New York: The Free Press. 1966), 4 and Emile Durkheim, *The Elementary Forms of the Religious Life,* trans. J.W. Swain (London: George Allen Unwin Press, 1976), 209. Both quoted in Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics of Emotion,* 9.

[91] Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics of Emotion,* 9

[92] Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*, 9. Emphasis original.

[93] Broomhall, ed., *Spaces for Feeling,* 2.

[94] Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*, 4.

[95] Ibid., 8.

[96] Ibid., 4.

between bodies, objects and signs".[97] Stickiness, she says, "depends on histories of contact that have already impressed upon the surface of the object"; often, this is mediated through movement and attachment. [98] These movements can be both *toward* and *away* from others, and as such they "shape the contours of social as well as bodily space".[99] These ideas are provocative when thinking about the relation of emotion to city places. Thinking through the movement and attachment of emotion leads to questions of what is *drawn to* or *pushed away* from urban space throughout history. Here I want to add my own distinction. Ahmed discusses "emotional stickiness" in relation to objects and subjects; this thesis aims to develop the concept further to include place. What sticks *in place*. If we take Ahmed's "outside-in" model of emotion, by being "outside" rather than interior to individuals, the model suggests that space takes on a heightened importance for the question of "what do emotions do?". How does the movement of emotion between object and subject shape the contours of place? Just as Ahmed asks, "what sticks?"; I ask another question: why does it stick *there*?

THE EARLY MODERN CONTEXT: CITIES AND EMOTION

Since the cultural turn, the study of cities and emotion has been a multi and interdisciplinary enterprise. Just as the theoretical framework for this study is derived from many concepts in various disciplines, so too is the historical contexts it speaks to. The work contained in the rest of this thesis is situated within a number of key fields, most notably those pertaining to the history of cities and emotion. The following section outlines how and where this work sits within the study of early modern cities and emotions. Other literatures, while necessary in a

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[97] Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*, 90.
[98] Ibid.
[99] Ibid., 209.

broad sense for the project, have been included in the various chapters that speak most directly to them.

Urban Histories

Richard Rodger notes that the history of towns and cities is a "constantly reconfiguring and negotiated set of interests … with new perspectives continually emerging".[100] Urban history responds particularly well to the cultural and linguistic turns in the humanities and often intersects with other disciplines, most notably sociology and social history, political studies, economics, demography and geography. Responding to the translation of Lefebvre's *The Production of Space*, Rosemary Sweet eloquently notes that the discipline of urban history "came to the understanding that the material fabric of the city could no longer be seen as a passive actor in the historical process: rather urban space both moulded and was moulded by the behaviour and actions of urban inhabitants".[101] Due to the breadth of ways we can investigate the urban environment, urban history, she says "always stands in danger of losing its coherence as a particular approach, due to its inherent interdisciplinarity".[102] In the wake of the cultural turn however, urban history as a discipline has done well to adapt to a new, broader framework of enquiry. This section will explore the study of urban history, from the broad works that define the discipline, to the history of early modern London, and then a brief overview of the micro history of Cripplegate Without that is at the heart of this study.

Writing on and about towns and cities has occurred since antiquity, and these texts form a crucial component in the city's historical narrative and sense of place. The emergence

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[100] Rodger, "Taking Stock: Perspectives on British Urban History", 59.
[101] Rosemary Sweet, "Urban History" in *International Encyclopaedia of the Social and Behavioural Sciences,* ed. James Wright (Oxford: Elsevier Science, 2015), 813.
[102] Ibid., 814. See also Ramadier, "Transdisciplinarity and its Challenges", 423-439.

of urban history as a genre of scholarship is a twentieth-century phenomenon built on earlier eighteenth and nineteenth-century identifications of the importance of cities.[103] The 1950s saw a rush of new works, particularly in European and British histories, characterised by a deliberate move away from singular towns or cities.[104] Instead, historians began identifying urban typologies based on scale, function and ideology. This work became more analytical and thematic in approach and was very much a product of the positivism of social science based research of the era.[105] Peter Clark suggests that British urban history since the 1980s has renewed the focus on specific cities or towns rather than Britain in its entirety; however, the analytical and thematic approach to understanding them has stuck.[106] Since then, there has been a great increase in the quality and volume of work generally, but particularly on Britain.

This proliferation of publications represents not only a demand for and interest in historical work on the urban condition, but also an increase in the variety of work and recent years have seen further areas open up.[107] In the wake of the linguistic and cultural turns, we have seen language, identity and affective experience become prominent areas of

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[103] Sweet, "Urban History", 811. For early literature on urban history see H.J Dyos, *The Study of Urban History* (London: Edward Arnold, 1967).

[104] Peter Clark, "Introduction" in Peter Clark, ed. *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 17.

[105] Sweet, "Urban History", 812. As example of this body of work, see Donna Andrew, "The Aldermen and the Big Bourgeoisie of London Reconsidered" *Social History* 6, 3 (1981), 359-364; Robert Ashton, "Popular Entertainment and Social Control in Later Elizabethan and Early Stuart London" *London Journal* 9, 1 (1983), 3-19 and Michael Berlin, "Civic Ceremony in Early Modern London" *Urban History* 13 (1986), 15-27.

[106] See for example, Peter Burke, "Popular Culture in Seventeenth-Century London" *The London Journal* 3, 2 (1977), 143-162; Peter Clark and Paul Slack, eds., *Crisis and Order in English Towns 1500-1700* (London: Routledge, 1972) and Valerie Pearl, "Change and Stability in Seventeenth-Century London" *The London Journal* 5, 1 (1979), 3-34.

[107] The annual "Bibliography of Urban History" published by the Journal *Urban History*, demonstrated that in 2014 alone there were a staggering 988 English publications recorded for the year, while 2015 saw this number rise even further to 1060 publications. See Aaron Andrews, "Bibliography of Urban History 2015" *Urban History* 42, 4 (2015), 704-753 and Aaron Andrews, "Bibliography of Urban History 2016" *Urban History* 43, 4 (2016), 656-707. On social disruption and segregation see Terence McGee, *The Urbanisation Process in the Third World: Explorations in Search of a Theory* (London: Bell Publishers, 1971); William Hance, *Population, Migration and Urbanisation in Africa* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970); Dennis Walmsley, *Urban Living: The Individual in the City* (New York: Wiley Press, 1988). On power structures within the city see Gary De Krey, *A Fractured Society: The Politics of London in the First Age of Party 1688-1715* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985) and John Brewer, *The Sinews of Power: War Money and the English State 1688-1783* (London: Century Hutchinson, 1988).

scholarship. Richard Rodger notes that concepts of the self, affect and emotion have regularly and persistently surfaced in historical work since at least the nineteenth century, but he continues, "we are only just beginning to explore what identity; the self and affect have to offer urban history more generally".[108] It is this periphery that this project occupies. Interestingly, Rodger cites Elias" work on civility, eluding to the rise of emotions research in the realm of urban and spatial theorising more broadly.[109] He makes this connection through spatial theories of boundaries and territorialities, which he argues has great depth and significance to questions of urban history. He clarifies this position by stating that "the nature of boundaries defines insiders and by implication aliens or outsiders", raising questions about identity, legitimacy and authority.[110] This body of work adds to the growing literature on the importance of understanding how emotion and the social production of city space influence and contribute to one another.

Early Modern London

"Early Modern London", Vanessa Harding states, is not easy to define in either "historical or historiographical terms". She suggests it is often understood as "narrower than Tudor and Stuart London (1485-1714), and that even the period 1500-1700 is sometimes seen as too broad".[111] However, by cutting down the early modern period, she notes that studies often can ignore the important continuities that exist over time.[112] For example, she cites "the

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[108] Richard Rodger, "Taking Stock: Perspectives on British Urban History", 54. See for example Maarten Delbeke and Minou Schraven, eds., *Foundation, Dedication and Consecration in Early Modern Europe* (Leiden: Brill, 2012); Hugo Benavides, *Politics of Sentiment: Imagining and Remembering Guayaquil* (Texas: University of Texas Press, 2006) and Farid Azafar, "Beastly Sodomites and the Shameless Urban Future" *Eighteenth Century: Theory and Interpretation* 55, 4 (2014), 391-410.
[109] Rodger, "Taking Stock: Perspectives on British Urban History", 56. See Norbert Elias, *The Civilising Process,* trans. Edmund Jephcott (New York: Pantheon Books, 1982 [1939]).
[110] Rodgers, "Taking Stock: Perspectives on British Urban History", 56.
[111] Vanessa Harding, "Early Modern London 1550-1700" *The London Journal* 20, 2 (1995), 34.
[112] Ibid. For a general history of London in the early modern period see Stephen Inwood, *A history of London* (London: McMillan Press, 1998); Roy Porter, *London: A Social History* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1998) and Francis Sheppard, *London: A History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998).

dramatic demographic growth" of London from the sixteenth century and "continued (without the marked slowdown once suggested) through to the late seventeenth and even early eighteenth century" is often overlooked by studies that span a short period.[113]

If the early modern period is hard to define, there is, however, consensus that by the eighteenth century, London was overwhelmingly urban with a population of 600,000-675,000 by 1750.[114] By 1800, the physical size of London had grown from roughly five square miles along the northern bank of the Thames to almost double that, at ten square miles, extending to include the southern side of the river. Earlier in the period, in the lead up to 1600, the increase of commerce in the city brought many new inhabitants to the city seeking a more prosperous life.[115] This saw large settlements spring up on the outskirts of the walled city, which would later be incorporated as the suburbs of London. Thus, Harding says, there is consensus in stating: "what London was, and what it was to be a Londoner, were radically different in 1500 and 1700".[116] We now understand that London changed dramatically from a small, compact city bounded by the Roman walls, to a sprawling mass of suburbs well beyond the walls. Through this process, its culture and character changed dramatically.[117]

In the early modern period, London consisted of the City of London (within the bounds of the Wall); The City of Westminster (to the west of the traditional walled city); and the beginnings of a multitude of different parishes (in all directions outside the city's walls and legal jurisdiction), each a separate legal entity in itself. The London we know today did not

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[113] Harding, "Early Modern London 1550-1700", 34. See Roger Finlay, *Population and Metropolis: The Demography of London 1580-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981); Vanessa Harding, "The Population of London 1550-1700: A Review of the Published Evidence" *The London Journal* 15, 2 (1990), 111-128 and Peter Earle, *A City Full of People: Men and Women of London 1650-1750* (London: Methuen, 1994).

[114] See Harding, "The Population of London, 1550-1700", 111-28.

[115] Steen Rasmussen, *London: The Unique City* (London: Cape Press, 1948), 63.

[116] Vanessa Harding, "Recent Perspectives on Early Modern London", *The Historical Journal* 47, 2 (2004), 435.

[117] Ibid., 435. See Lena Orlin, ed., *Material London ca. 1600* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000); Manley, *Literature and Culture in Early Modern London*; and Ian Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability: Social Relations in Elizabethan London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

exist as a legal unit until 1888.[118] This made the task of controlling the metropolis a complex undertaking. The most substantial alterations within the city in terms of urban change occurred in the second half of the seventeenth century. The impact of both the plague and the fire of 1666 changed the city's urban fabric from an essentially medieval town with its predominately timber buildings within the walls into the beginnings of the metropolis that it would become. Brick and stone became the preferred building materials and the network of streets was recast. The 1660s also saw a revitalisation of the City of London through economic growth after the downturn of the 1640s and 1650s. Elizabeth McKellar states that "within a short space of time a new townscape of spacious streets and squares replaced the tightly packed buildings of the old city".[119]

The most recognisable history of London in the early modern period is John Stow's 1598 *Survey of London and Westminster*, with numerous reprints and editions well into the eighteenth century when an expansion in the writing of urban history occurred. By this time, the readership of publications about the city was no longer restricted to the genteel class, but included the middle-class consumer market in the form of pocket books and maps.[120] Sweet argues that the growth of urban histories as a genre of writing in the eighteenth century was only possible because the antiquarians had already done so much of the groundwork in recording the city.[121] After the fire however, Cynthia Wall notes that the maps produced created a new visual representation of London that responded to the instability and disorientation felt by Londoners. She suggests that these new representations of the city invented a new "grammar" of space: "places within the city were not as static as once thought

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[118] Elizabeth McKellar, *The Birth of Modern London: The Development and Design of the City 1660-1720* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999), 10-15.
[119] Ibid., 12.
[120] Rosemary Sweet, *The Writing of Urban Histories in Eighteenth-Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997).
[121] Ibid.

- things move".[122] Wall notes the importance of John Stow's 1598 *Survey* in the understanding of pre-fire London. She argues that almost all "textual topographies" before the fire were influenced by or modelled on the *Survey*. This created a "sense of urban fixity" and a clear relationship "between place-name and place-behaviour". In this way, Wall notes that the *Survey* offered "a grammatical paradigm of stasis, fixity, possession and containment, thus, suggesting that the spaces and patterns of London's streets seemed more or less knowable, reliable and relatively static".[123] Stow's *Survey* then, was an important document in the cultural and emotional memory of early modern London.

The changing urban landscape of the city resulted in shops, traders, and social patterns no longer matching the medieval urban layout, resettling in new places and resulting in transient urban forms. The cultural meaning and understanding of places within the city kept changing at a rapid rate, and place names no longer signified what might be found at the location.[124] Wall argues that part of the understanding of this changed urban condition was "perceptual and comparative" – "Londoners after the fire perceived and described themselves in terms of drastic historical and cultural change, looking back nostalgically towards a non-existent golden age of topographical reliability and fixity".[125] The fire of 1666 and Stow's *Survey* have long attracted attention for their importance to London's urban history. More recently urban historians have begun to explore such topics as the process of modernity, morality within the city and the representation of the city in literature, maps and imagery.

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[122] Cynthia Wall, "Grammars of Space: The Language of London from Stow's *Survey* to Defoe's *Tour*" *Philological Quarterly* 76, 4 (1997), 397.
[123] Ibid., 387-388.
[124] Ibid., 387.
[125] Ibid., 390.

<u>Cripplegate Without</u>

The focus of much of the work that follows is the suburb of Cripplegate Without, situated just north of the traditional London Wall (see Figure 1). Cripplegate Without has an interesting, history, yet little has been published on it since the nineteenth century.[126] After the decline of the Roman city of Londinium, the Anglo-Saxons avoided the walled city and minimal activity has been recorded there from the seventh century to the closing years of the ninth century. Rather, archaeological studies have revealed that a substantial Saxon settlement was located to the west of the walled city on what is now Covent Gardens. This settlement of Lundenwic was laid out as a planned town by 670. The town of Lundenwic expanded in the eighth century; however, repeated Viking attacks in the ninth century forced a decline.[127] The settlement was not within but rather outside the Roman walls of London, between the west wall and today's Westminster.[128]

To the north of the wall, the first mention of the Manor of Finsbury (forming what would later be called Cripplegate Without) is in 1104.[129] There were, before that time, believed to be no houses north of the wall.[130] John Kemble's 1849 *The Saxons in England* states the name "Finsbury" was derived from the "Finnes" or "Fynes" family which formally owned the land north of the wall and held their "bur" or "burh" there in ancient times.[131] This manor estate

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[126] See William Miller, *London before the fire of 1666: With an Historical Account of the Parish, the Ward and the Church of St. Giles without Cripplegate, Brought Down to the Present Time* (London: J.H. Woodley, 1867) and John James Baddeley, *An Account of the Church and Parish of St. Giles, without Cripplegate* (London: J.J. Baddeley, 1888).

[127] Lyn Blackmore, "The Origins and Growth of Lundenwic, a Mart of Many Nations" in *Central Places in the Migration and Merovingian Periods: Papers from the 52nd Sachsen Symposium, Lund August 2001*, eds. Brigitta Hardh and Lars Larsson (Stockhom: Almqvist and Wiksell International, 2002), 273.

[128] F. Donald Logan, "Introduction" in William Fitzstephen, *Norman London: An Essay*, ed. Frank Stenton (New York: Italica Press, 1990), xiv. Emphasis original.

[129] Ken Pitt and Jeremy Taylor, *Finsbury's Moated Manor, Medieval Land Use and Later Development in the Finsbury Square Area, Islington* (London: Museum of London Archaeology Service, 2010), 44. See also Christopher Thomas, Barry Sloane and Christopher Phillpotts, eds., *Excavations at the Priory and Hospital of St Mary Spital, London* (London: Museum of London Archaeology Service, 1997), 14-15.

[130] Rev W. Denton, *Records of St. Giles, Cripplegate* (London: George Bell and Sons, 1883), 12.

[131] John Kemble, *The Saxons in England: A History of the English Commonwealth til the Period of the Norman Conquest* (Published for Brown, Green and Longmans, 1849), Vol.I, 59. See also Joseph Bosworth, *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972) which also states that it was two members of this family which gave the land to the city; however, details to support this claim were unable to be found.

extended towards the London Wall and also into St Leonards Shoreditch, to the east.[132] The estate included the moorlands to the east of the manor, which were recorded as being waterlogged in winter by the twelfth century.[133] The Walbrook stream that had once run through the city of London to the River Thames, had been disrupted by the construction of the city wall, creating a marshy, waterlogged land to its northern side. This was mentioned by William the Conqueror who stated that a "water course passed from the Moor into the city". It is unclear whether there was a manor house attached to Finsbury estate in its earliest years; there were, however, records of one located "at the corner of Chiswell Street and Finsbury Pavement" by 1272.[134] The manor house is described in 1567 as comprised of "a great barn, a gatehouse, stables and a court". "A great garden and orchard", along with other gardens belonging to the lordship of the manor further south were also recorded.[135]

From the early thirteenth century, small-scale urban development outside the walls began occurring. For example, we see records of a William de Barra and his wife Ascelina who purchased two messuages to the north of the wall in 1204 "in the Parish of St Giles, near Rosy Cross Without Cripplegate".[136] "Rosy Cross Without Cripplegate" appears to be an early reference to Redcross Street in the west of the suburb, so named for the red cross that stood on the street. These messuages would have been houses, with the associated land, gardens and outbuildings. They were more closely aligned with a country house and estate type

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[132] Thomas, Sloane and Phillpotts, eds., *Excavations at the Priory and Hospital of St Mary Spital, London,* 14-15.
[133] Denton, *Records of St. Giles, Cripplegate*, 13.
[134] Pitt and Taylor, *Finsbury's Moated Manor,* 5.
[135] Ibid., 6.
[136] William Hardy and William Page, *A Calendar to the Feet of Fines for London and Middlesex (From the Reign of Richard I)* (London: Hardy & Page, 1892), Vol. I, p.8, no.33.
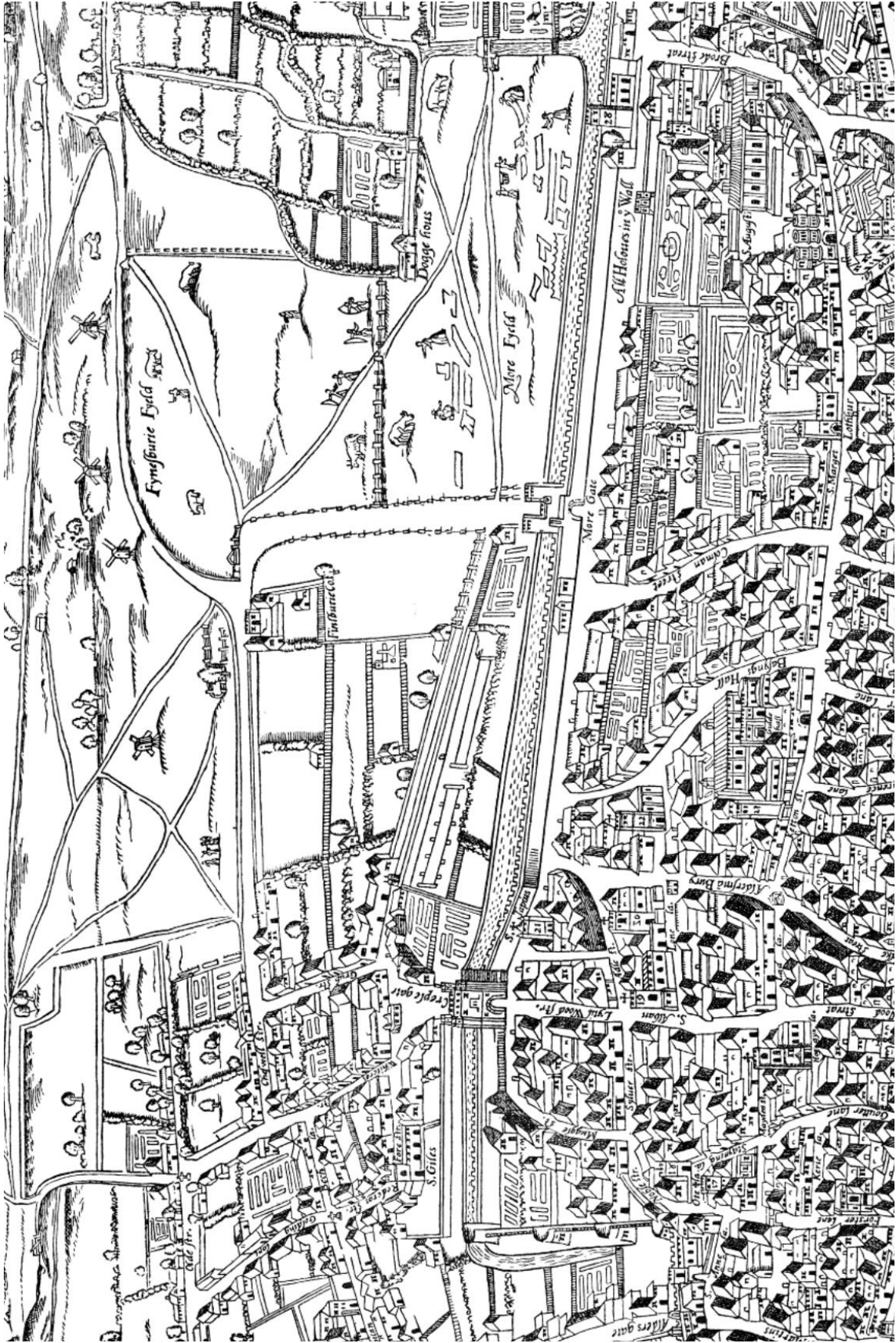
Figure 1: Agas Map (or "Woodcut Map") depicting Cripplegate Without (north of the London Wall) c. 1561. (Held by the City of London, LMA. Wikimedia Commons)

development, having a much lower density than the city. Further to the east of the suburb,

records show Laurence Blundum purchased land in "Vinisbr" in 1230-1 and later in the

thirteenth and early fourteenth century further land transfers were recorded, relating to the

area "south of Chiselstrete (Chiswell Street) on the eastern side of Grubestrete (Grub

Street)".[137] This land appears to have been divided into blocks running north/south, each 1 or

2 acres.[138] By the end of the thirteenth century, these plots consisted of large gardens with

houses being built along the street frontages on the south side of Chiswell Street and on the

east side of Grub Street.[139] This pattern of development was still evident in 1485, when part

of Grub Street, "of a tenement with a garden", was granted as a seven year lease to William

Birkhead.[140] Grub Street is thought to have been the primary street in the suburb during these

early days, and was certainly one of the earliest established streets to be recorded: Grobbe

Lane and Grube Strete both appear early in the fourteenth century. Cripplegate Without

began as a manor estate, but once the pressure of an expanding city was felt within the city

during the early modern period, the once rural land was developed as a residential parish

attached to, but not fully within, the jurisdiction of the City of London.

Emotional Early Moderns

Early modern emotions are now a key area of study, not least emotions in cities. This includes

how they can be used in the construction of identity and in suggesting morally good

behaviours within society. Early modern emotions were not always recognised as such a

central area of study, particularly while the notion of "the Age of Reason" prevailed in our

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[137] Hardy and Page, *A Calendar to the Feet of Fines,* Vol. I, p.8, no.77.
[138] Pitt and Taylor, *Finsbury's Moated Manor,* 5.
[139] See Vanessa Harding, 'space, Property, and Propriety in Urban England" *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 32, 4 (2002), 549-569 for an understanding of urban development typologies in the medieval and early modern period.
[140] William Campbell, ed., *Materials for a History of the Reign of Henry VII: From Original Documents Preserved in the Public Records Office* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012) Vol. I, p.194.

contemporary understanding of the eighteenth century. William Reddy notes that up "until the 1970s, historians confidently celebrated the rise of the modern individual as a secular, scientific, rational and self-interested social actor".[141] However, with the turn towards cultural and social specificity, the previous assumptions of the Enlightenment being a period where reason was championed over emotions came into question.[142] The production of this enlightened individual was first suggested in emotional terms (rather than rational) by the work of Elias. Elias' *The Civilising Process* was an early landmark, if somewhat contested work, that helped establish emotion as a key historiographical category during the early modern period. Elias traced how, in the post-medieval period, norms regarding forms of speech, manners, bodily functions and violence were transformed by increasing thresholds of shame and disgust. These changes began with developments in court etiquette but would later come to influence society at all levels. Thus, he argues, new rules of comportment arose which gradually, by the eighteenth century, became internalised with actions such as aggression or displays of bodily functions in the presence of others resulting in immediate and intense shame.[143] Elias' work has been criticised for its use of what is known as the "hydraulic model" of emotion, what Tracey Adams describes as "the conception of emotions as 'drives', as seething impulses that must be controlled by social practices".[144] Nonetheless, his work

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[141] Reddy, "Historical Research on the Self and Emotions", 302.

[142] See John Mullan, *Sentiment and Sociability: The Language of Feeling in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990); Adele Pinch, *Strange Fits of Passion: Epistemologies of Emotion, Hume to Austen* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996) and Annette Baier, *A Progress of Sentiments: Reflection on Hume's Treatise* (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1991).

[143] Elias, *The Civilising Process.* See also Norbert Elias, *The Court Society,* trans. Edmund Jephcott (New York: Pantheon Books, 1983 [1969]). For a recent refinement and critique to Elias" concept see Jeroen Duindam, *Myths of Power: Norbert Elias and the Early Modern European Court* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 1995) and Robert van Krieken, "Norbert Elias and Emotions in History" in *Emotions and Social Change: Historical and Sociological Perspectives,* eds. David Lemmings and Ann Brooks (New York: Routledge, 2014), 19-42.

[144] Tracy Adams, "Court Culture" in *Early Modern Emotions: An Introduction,* ed. Susan Broomhall (London: Routledge,2017), 226. For more on the hydraulic model of emotions see Barbara Rosenwein "Controlling Paradigms" in *Anger's Past: The Social Uses of an Emotion in the Middle Ages,* ed. Barbara Rosenwein (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998), 233-259.

provided the catalyst for investigating the social expectations of emotional expression during the early modern period.

Another important event for the study of early modern emotions was the translation of Jürgen Habermas' *Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*.[145] In response to Habermas' work historians of emotion began investigating the role played by emotions in the rise of the public sphere. This body of work is characterised by its focus on commercial printing, the rise of the novel and the introduction of coffee houses and salons, with research on the public sphere and emotion often converging on the eighteenth century.[146] Before interest in the public sphere, the study of emotions in this period had focused on the domestic. The private sphere – home life, intimate relationships and religious interactions – still prove to be fruitful areas of study today.[147] This body of work generally focuses on material that articulated emotional standards such as etiquette manuals and didactic literatures, contrasting these standards with records of the expression of emotion recorded in public papers, biographical records, literature and correspondence. These works pay close attention to the place of feeling in household functioning, religious awakening and literary works.

Adele Pinch noticed that a new body of work on the history of emotion has been driven by "commitments to theories of 'social construction' of human experience".[148] Reddy argues

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[145] Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere,* Trans. Thomas Burger and Frederick Lawrence (London: Polity Press, 1989 [1962]).

[146] Reddy, "Historical Research on the Self and Emotions", 307. As example of this body of work see Heather Kerr, David Lemmings and Robert Phiddian, eds., *Passions, Sympathy and Print Culture: Public Opinion and Emotional Authenticity in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016) and David Lemmings, "Moral Panics, Law and the Transformation of the Public Sphere in Early Modern England" in *Moral Panics, the Media and the Law in the Early Modern England,* eds. David Lemmings and Claire Walker (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 245-266.

[147] For example, see Susan Broomhall, ed., *Emotions in the Household, 1200-1800* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008); Susan Karant-Nunn, *The Reformation of Feeling: Shaping the Religious Emotions in Early Modern Germany* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010) and Joanne Bailey, *Parenting in England 1760-1830: Emotion, Identity and Generation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

[148] Adela Pinch, "Emotion and History: A Review Article" *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 37, 1 (1995), 100. See also Nicole Eustance, *Passion is the Gale: Emotion, Power and the coming of the American Revolution* (Chapel Hill:

that the "Enlightenment certainly brought the spread of a disenchanted worldview, scepticism about religion, commitment to critical inquiry and a belief in natural rights". The individual as conceived in the early modern period, however, was "neither rational nor self-interested as later periods would understand these terms"; but rather, Reddy notes, "individuals were believed to possess morally good emotional sensitivities and were urged to take great care in cultivating them".[149] In this way, emotions could play a normative role within early modern society.[150] Jesse Prinz agrees, believing emotions play an important role in motivating moral behaviour, "we want to be good, and we find good behaviour rewarding".[151] The moral emotions have seen steady interest from the early modern scholar often in relation to the duality of emotion and reason in the Enlightenment period.[152] Prinz characterises the moral emotions nicely as "emotions of blame" and "emotions of praise" based on the actions and role they play in constructing moral behaviours.[153] We judge things as either morally good or bad (moral or immoral). As we shall see, this was a fundamental aspect of urban society in early modern London. Emotions of blame, Prinz notes, are those that are associated with negative evaluations, and include fear, disgust and shame.[154] It is these emotions of blame that will be explored in more depth within each chapter of this thesis.

University of North Carolina Press. 2008) and Katie Barclay, "Gossip, Intimacy and the Early Modern Household" in *Fama and Her Sisters: Gossip in Early Modern Europe* eds. Claire Walker and Heather Kerr (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015), 187-207

[149] Reddy, "Historical Research on the Self and Emotions", 307.

[150] Ibid.

[151] Jesse Prinz, "The Moral Emotions" in *The Oxford Handbook of Philosophy of Emotion,* ed. Peter Goldie (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 520.

[152] See Robert Roberts, *Emotions in the Moral Life* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013); Jeremy Schmidt, *Melancholy and the care of the Soul: Religion, Moral Philosophy and Madness in Early Modern England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007); Geoff Cockfield, Ann Firth and John Laurent, *New Perspective on Adam Smith's Theory of Moral Sentiments* (Massachusetts: Edward Elgar Publishing, 2007) and Antonio Damasio, *Descartes" Error: Emotion, Reason and the Human Brain* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1994).

[153] See also Jesse Prinz, *The Emotional Construction of Morals* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007). For an overview of the emotions of praise see Prinz, "The Moral Emotions", 529-531. The emotions of blame will be explored further throughout the rest of this work.

[154] Prinz, "The Moral Emotions", 523-527.

The final areas of scholarship I wish to cover here is the relatively new concepts of emotional geographies, affective atmospheres and emotional arenas. These three concepts broadly focus on the emotional qualities of space in society but differ in subtle ways. Each offer elements that are particularly useful to the investigation of moral emotions in urban history, yet none are a perfect fit. Emotional geography encompasses a growing interdisciplinary exploration that combines the insights of geography, cultural studies, sociology and anthropology to understand how the world is mediated by feelings. Focusing on the intersection of physical space and human emotion, the concept of emotional geographies tends to seek to understand how emotions can vary from place to place, how the environment can shape what people feel, and whether emotions can shape the movement of people through space.[155] Often this type of study fails to take into account the role social and cultural discourses have in shaping these spaces, focusing instead on the emotions felt as a *result* of space.

Affective atmospheres as a concept is often employed to describe how shared feelings occur in social groups. The focus here is on how these feelings and emotional reactions spread through groups and are particularly associated with the concept of emotional contagion.[156] While this concept is helpful for describing group emotion, it has, as of yet, not found a framework for explaining *why* these emotions spread. Emotional arenas, on the other hand, builds on Reddy and Rosenwein's conceptual frameworks of emotional communities and regimes to explain how divergent communities come together in various spaces to contest

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[155] For an overview of the concept see Joyce Davidson, Liz Bondi and Mick Smith, eds., *Emotional Geographies* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005); Kay Anderson and Susan Smith, "Editorial: Emotional Geographies" *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 26, 1 (2001), 7-10.

[156] See Anderson, "Affective Atmospheres", 77-81 and Cameron Duff, "On the Role of Affect and Practice in the Production of Place" *Environment and Planning: Society and Space* 28, 5 (2010), 881-895.

how emotions should understood and assessed.[157] Following Mark Seymour's work, emotional arenas as a concept has proven to be particularly useful in explaining the emotional reactions at play in court rooms and legal documents.

Also building on Rosenwein's concept of emotional communities, Susan Broomhall outlines that "spaces of feeling are understood as communities formed by a shared identity or goal, practised through a specific set of emotional expressions, acts or performances and exercised in a particular site or space".[158] Broomhall argues that these spaces could be physical or conceptual in nature and that these different kinds of space played a role in the sorts of feelings that were suitable, or even possible within them. She adds that "sociabilities and socialities occur in all sorts of spaces" and that as a term "spaces for feeling" offers a conceptual framework that provides a different way to access and analyse the dynamics of associational culture in the early modern period.[159]

These concepts go some way in explaining the relationship between urban space and emotion; however, very little work to date has taken the scale of space to be "the city". The majority of previous work on spatializing emotion has been on interior spaces or focused primarily on the bodies within that space. By taking the scale of space to be "the city", this thesis adds a new element to this body of literature. My work is perhaps most closely aligned with Reddy's interest in power structures by understanding how notions of power could impact on the emotional representations of city space within early modern London. Interestingly, to date, no early modern scholar has investigated the usefulness of Ahmed's

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[157] Mark Seymour, "Emotional Arenas: From Provincial Circus to National Courtroom in Late Nineteenth-Century Italy" *Rethinking History* 16, 2 (2012), 177-197 and Stephen Fineman, *Emotion in Organisations* (California: Sage Publications, 2000), 10-30 for the original concept.

[158] Broomhall, ed., *Spaces for Feeling*.

[159] Ibid., 3-7. See also Katie Barclay, "Mapping the Spaces of Seduction: Morality, Gender and the City in Early Nineteenth-Century Britain" in *The Routledge History Handbook of Gender and the Urban Experience,* eds. Deborah Simonton, Katie Barclay et al. (London: Routledge, 2017), 103-115 and Katie Barclay, "Intimacy and Emotion: Introduction" in *The Routledge History Handbook,* eds. Simonton, Barclay et al*.,* 321-325.

concept of emotional stickiness in a spatial context. By applying the concept of 'sticky emotions" to city space and the notion of place within it, the thesis breaches the divide between the spatial, emotional and cultural understandings of, in particular early modern London, but also more generally "the city" as a broader concept.

AIMS, OBJECTIVES AND SOURCES

The work contained in this thesis aims to: firstly, understand how emotion could interact with and influence representations of early modern London. Secondly, it seeks to explore how these emotional representations could shape the social production of space within the city by conceptualising them as "emotional tools". And thirdly, by applying Ahmed's concept of "emotional stickiness" it asks, "why does emotion stick *there*?"

To do this, the thesis takes a transdisciplinary approach and investigates what sits at the boundary between spatial theory, the history of emotions and cultural urban history when applied to the historical context of Cripplegate Without. Following the cultural turn, each chapter explores a particular case study drawn from different moments across the early modern period in order to illustrate how emotion could become entangled with representations of space. By using source material to create an account that explains the way in which emotion could "stick" to place in particular points in time, the work will argue that these emotional "moments" could be illustrative of a larger process of cultural construction of urban meaning across the early modern period. Certainly, there will be themes that transcend the individual "moment" in history, but the focus in each chapter will remain on the particular.

Lawrence Manley notes that the early modern experience of urban change could be traced in literary representations of the city and these sources formed a cultural response to

the challenges of the unsettling experience of urbanisation.[160] By viewing these sorts of texts as representations of space, the study emphasises the role these texts had in the construction of both the "collective self" within London and the social construction of space. By doing so, the texts are viewed as not simply the result of a particular set of social and spatial practices but rather, also contributing to the construction and dissemination of these practices. It is this area between representations of space and the spaces of representation that this work will investigate. The different ways in which readers of these texts would have approached them, consumed them and integrated their content into their own worldview is important. Text could aid readers in comprehending and navigating their world, yet it could also be used to project ideals held by the author, and these were often customary to the power structure in which they were produced. As such, Mandler notes that "texts gain power not only from the breadth of their circulation but also by the imaginative work they do".[161]

This thesis uses a broad range of textual and visual sources as the basis for each chapter. The textual sources can loosely be grouped into three genres. Firstly, the official representations or proclamations from the monarchy. These were the official statements and orders from the King or Queen to their subjects and fall into two categories, those dictating action required by the monarch's subjects, and those chronicling the city's history. Written by those at the top of the social power structure, the first category of texts, those dictating action, offers an excellent avenue for exploring Reddy's "emotional regimes" and Stearn and Stearn's "emotional standards". The second category of texts can be, and often are, viewed as "glorious narratives" of the City of London, representing an ideological view or representation of what the monarch imagined their city to be.

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[160] Manley, *Literature and Culture in Early Modern London,* 11.
[161] Mandler, "The Problem with Cultural History", 103.

The second genre of sources are chronicles that are independent of (though often endorsed by) the monarchy. These chronicles, such as Stow's *Survey*, record the history of the city, most often being published for profit, and read by a wide range of city inhabitants. Erika Kuijpers says these sources were "instrumental in ordering and interpreting the affective turmoil caused by the events in the lifetimes of their authors and readers".[162] She says they are particularly useful on three levels: firstly, in analysing phrasing, emotional expression and description. Secondly, she says these sources are helpful for "interpreting the selection, omission and structuring of subject matter". Thirdly, she notes, these texts can be considered as "communicative, mnemonic and emotional objects".[163] In this way, the social and cultural context of this genre of source and its production become particularly important.

The third genre is slightly broader in scope, containing quickly published material such as news reports, satirical pamphlets and anecdotal records of urban experiences. These sources offer insight into the ways the city, and the emotions it elicited were deployed, shaped and reproduced through space and time.[164] They also represent a certain collective "feeling" of the city, responding very quickly to changing social and cultural happenings. These quickly published sources might represent a collective feeling among society but they could also be mobilised to attack or misrepresent both people and places within the city. It is this discursive and symbolic nature that makes them important for understanding the messy relationship between representations of space and spaces of representation.

These three genres of primary sources are complemented by various visual representations including maps, views and sketches to create a holistic description of the early modern representation of London. These visual representations can be, just the same

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[162] Erika Kuijpers, "Histories, Chronicles and Memoirs" in *Early Modern Emotions,* ed. Broomhall, 103.
[163] Ibid., 103.
[164] See Charles Zika, "Prints and Illustrated Broadsheets" in *Early Modern Emotions*, ed. Susan Broomhall, 140-146.

as textual representations, ideological in nature.[165] Alicia Marchant notes that maps are "narratives that display relationships between people and places, and as such are imbued with emotion".[166] They often illustrate both spatial and social boundaries and can become important aspects of defining space in relation to power structures within the city. Other visual representations that figure prominently throughout the following chapters are woodcut block images often associated with broadsides and pamphlets. These images would often elicit emotional responses from viewers through creating "discursive links between the subjects depicted and particular visual motifs and codes that carried with them strong emotional attachments or resonances".[167]

As the history of London has been extensively covered by a wealth of disciplines, the aim of this work is not to rewrite or significantly add to the urban history of the city. Rather, the aim is to re-imagine or reconceptualise the history of London's city spaces through an emotional lens. In doing so, the thesis draws extensively on secondary sources pertaining to the city's social, urban and cultural history. By doing so, it attempts to draw links across disciplines in order to understand how emotion could shape the representation of the city in the early modern period.

STRUCTURE

The chapters in this thesis are roughly divided by both historical time frame and a key emotional reaction to what was occurring within Cripplegate Without during that period. Of course, each time period would have seen more than one emotional response attached to

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[165] See John Harley and Paul Laxton, eds., *The New Nature of Maps: Essays in the History of Cartography* (London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001); Andrew Gordon and Bernhard Klein, eds., *Literature, Mapping and the Politics of Space in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001) and Bernhard Klein, *Maps and the Writing of Space in Early Modern England and Ireland* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2001).
[166] Alicia Marchant "Maps" in *Early Modern Emotions*, ed. Susan Broomhall, 127.
[167] Zika, "Prints and Illustrated Broadsheets", 143.

the city; however, the emotion of focus in each chapter was a key theme within the primary source material of each case study. Chapter one explores the idea of a city shamed by its suburbs. Royal Proclamations written by Elizabeth I and James I are interrogated alongside Stow's *Survey of London* and the anonymous "Apologie" to understand the role of the "image of London" in determining who (and what areas of the city) were included in the glorious image of the sixteenth-century city. The chapter offers an exploration of how urban development ideals and norms were often mixed up with moral and emotional expectations of people. This chapter argues that the proclamations and Stow's *Survey* acted as "emotional tools" to shift the blame from a city feeling shamed about its unruly expansion, to those residing in the suburbs who would not (or could not) conform to the ideal social and urban structure.

Chapter two explores how the emotion of fear stuck in the burial fields at Moorfields during the plague epidemic of the seventeenth century. The chapter argues that this occurred through plague pamphlets such as Dekker's *A Rod for Run-Awayes* that metaphorically linked the fields as a place of death and dying. By taking into account the location of profane burials in earlier periods, the chapter argues that this linking of death with the suburbs in the seventeenth century, could have built on earlier associations of the space with immorality and death. Chapter three traces how the writings of Alexander Pope projected his disgust for the "Dunces of Grub Street" onto the suburb as a whole in the eighteenth century. The chapter argues that the Grub Street movement of "hack writers" made their home in the suburb and developed an anonymous emotional community. Following the previous two chapters, it argues that the location of the suburb having once been viewed as shameful and fearful lent itself well to this purpose, and that the Grub Street movement claimed this association willingly.

Ultimately, across the chapters, the thesis explores how emotion could be used as a social tool in "placing" people within the spatial boundaries of early modern London. I argue this was achieved by "sticking" particular negative emotions, or what Prinz calls "the emotions of blame" in particular locations within the city in order to make social claims about those who resided there. In the case studies used, this was facilitated through literary and visual representations of space. Often however, these representations diverged from what was actually experienced within the space, and as such, the representations could be socially divisive within society.

THE IMAGE OF CRIPPLEGATE WITHOUT AS A SOURCE OF MORAL IDENTITY IN

THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

It may appear that common weals, cities, and towns, were at first invented, to

the end that men might lead a civil life amongst themselves… Good behaviour is

yet called urbanitas, because it is rather found in cities than elsewhere. In some,

by often hearing men be better persuaded in religion, and for that *they live in the*

eye of others, they be by example the more easily trained to justice, and by

shamefastness restrained from injury … And to change it were nothing else but

to Metamorphose the world, and to *make wilde beastes of reasonable men* …

and therefore I will come to London.

- Anonymous, 1598[1]

Written anonymously in response to Elizabeth I's 1580 proclamation *Prohibiting New Building*

or Subdividing of Houses, this passage (as part of a much larger text by the anonymous author)

was published in John Stow's 1598 *Survey of London*.[2] The author links civility, good behaviour

and morality with living in cities, suggesting that to turn people away in the fashion proposed

by the proclamation would "make wilde beastes of reasonable men". It would appear then

that, for this author at least, in the sixteenth century civility and morality was closely tied to

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[1] "An Apologie or Defence of the Cittie of London" in John Stow, *A Survey of London and Westminster* (London: Printed for John Wolfe, 1603 [1598]), 200-201 (Emphasis added).

[2] John Stow and Charles Kingsford, *Additional Notes to a Survey of London by John Stow* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927). Even though Stow actively conceals the author's identity, Kingsford believes they were a young scholar of Oxford during the reign of Queen Mary, and potentially a lawyer, familiar with London's constitutional government.

the city. If the origins of society and good behaviour were to be found in cities, and Elizabeth I's proclamation attributed societal blame and by extension, immorality to those flocking to the city, then new inhabitants could be labelled as immoral for aspiring to be moral. To defy the royal proclamation and declare "and therefore I will come to London" was a bold statement. Indeed, it was bold for Stow to publish the passage eighteen years later, when the royal concern about the use of urban spaces in the city was still active. Published in what Rachel Ramsey calls a "discourse of building", this anonymous passage has, as of yet, gone unaddressed in the literature.[3]

This chapter's concern is not with the act of defiance committed by the publication of the passage, but rather the contested context in which it was written. Importantly, this chapter seeks to show how royal proclamations and Stow's *Survey* were used as tools to shift the blame of an ever-expanding city on to those who were felt to be responsible. In showing pride for a grand and glorious city, but also and conversely, shame at its increasingly unruly nature, this chapter explores how emotion could be utilised in this process. This chapter identifies that shame was functioning in two distinct ways through these texts. Firstly, the proclamations were a response to a city "shamed" by its suburbs, an unruly extension of the city's collective self. And secondly, the proclamations and Stow's *Survey* acted as a tool to shift this shame onto those residing within those suburbs. Sara Ahmed argues that "shame as an emotion requires a witness" and through the circulation of these texts, I argue, shame gained its witness in sixteenth-century London.[4] To "live in the eye of others" as the anonymous passage suggests, was to live in the eye of witnesses, and in this way, shame could be used as a controlling passion in the urban fabric of sixteenth-century London.

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[3] This "discourse" will be explored later in the chapter. See Rachel Ramsey, "The Language of Urbanisation in John Stow's *Survey* of London" *Philological Quarterly* 85, 4 (2006), 247-270.

[4] Sara Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics of Emotion* (Edinburgh: University of Edinburgh Press, 2014), 105.

Norbert Elias suggested that shame could be a powerful emotion in changing social behaviours within early modern society.[5] While his argument is highly contested, the importance of shame in changing social behaviours remains prominent in the historiography of emotion during the early modern period. Shame is often thought of as a socially constructed emotion and, as such, is frequently associated with the violation or breach of moral rules or important social standards. It is often linked with judgments about personal morality or defects in moral character.[6] Modern psychology suggests that it is a persistent and intense emotional reaction to the identification of a fundamental flaw of the self, which produces long-lasting damage to social identity.[7] Jacqueline Taylor argues that "moral knowledge is a collective resource", being constructed through social debate and understanding of the "character of individuals and about the value of particular traits".[8] Jesse Prinz" work on the role of emotions in morality is helpful here. He argues that "morality is like a projection of feelings onto the world" and that "moral statements express facts whose existence depends on the response of evaluators".[9] Here he is identifying the subjectivist understanding of morality, where perception and evaluation is crucial to the understanding of

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[5] Norbert Elias, *The Civilising Process,* trans. Edmund Jephcott, (New York: Pantheon Books, 1982 [1939]). On the role of shame in constructing social identity in the early modern period see for example Stephanie Trigg, "'shamed Be": Historicising Shame in Medieval and Early Modern Courtly Ritual" *Exemplaria* 19, 1 (2007), 67-89; Christine Mattley, "The Temporality of Emotion: Constructing Past Emotions" *Symbolic Interaction* 25, 3 (2002), 363-378; Gail Kern Paster, *The Body Embarrassed: Drama and the Disciplines of Shame in Early Modern England* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993) and Christian Bailey, 'social Emotions" in *Emotional Lexicons: Continuity and Change in the Vocabulary of Feeling 1700-2000,* eds. Ute Frevert et al. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 201-229.
[6] See Dacher Keltner, "Evidence for the Distinctness of Embarrassment, Shame and Guilt: A Study of Recalled Antecedents and Facial Expression of Emotion" *Cognition and Emotion* 10, 2 (1996), 155-171; Anna Wierzbicka, *Emotions Across Languages and Cultures: Diversity and Universals* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999) and Daniel Fessler, 'shame in Two Cultures: Implications for Evolutionary Approaches" *Journal of Cognition and Culture* 4, 2 (2004), 207-262.
[7] See Arnold Buss, *Psychological Dimensions of the Self* (London: Sage, 2001); Mary Babcock and John Sabini, "On Differentiating Embarrassment from Shame" *European Journal of Social Psychology* 20, 2 (1990), 151-169; John Heywood, "The Cognitive and Emotional Components of Behavior Norms in Outdoor Recreation" *Leisure Sciences* 24, *3* (2002), 271-281; Michael Lewis, "The Emergence of Human Emotions" in *Handbook of Emotions,* eds. Michael Lewis and Jeannette Haviland-Jones (New York: Guilford Press, 2008), 304-319 and Dan Zahavi, 'shame and the Exposed Self" in *Reading Sartre: On Phenomenology and Existentialism,* ed. Jonathon Webber, (London: Routledge, 2010), 211-226.
[8] Jacqueline Taylor, "Virtue and the Evaluation of Character" in *The Blackwell Guide to Hume's Treatise,* ed. Saul Traiger (Malden: Blackwell Publications, 2006), 263.
[9] Jesse Prinz, "The Moral Emotions" in *The Oxford Handbook of Philosophy of Emotion,* ed. Peter Goldie (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 521-522.

the moral statements themselves. He continues by saying that whether this view can be defended, "there is wide agreement that moral judgements often occur with emotions".[10] I would extend this argument to say that moral judgements also happen, and are expressed, *through* emotions.

The early modern understanding of shame differed somewhat from our modern conception of the emotion. In contrast to our own experience of shame as a private and deeply personal emotion, early moderns understood shame as a communal and social emotion that could have substantial ramifications within society. It was public and discursive in nature.[11] As such, it should be pointed out that the shame this chapter focuses on is not the internal experience of the emotion by individuals, but rather how in the sixteenth century these texts, the proclamations and Stow's *Survey*, could be used *to shame* and thus create moral categories associated with particular groups and spaces.

The chapter begins with an overview of an existing body of work on the representation (or misrepresentation) of the city of London in medieval and renaissance literature. By interrogating how the image of London came to be constructed through literary texts, the chapter offers an understanding of how the image came to define spatial and social hierarchies in the late sixteenth century. Relating this back to the urban history of the suburb of Cripplegate Without can, perhaps, explain why those images might have been constructed, and importantly, how they were selective in their representation. The chapter then explores the changing nature of the London Wall from physical to symbolic boundary in the expansion of the city. Showing that the proclamations and Stow's *Survey* were written in response to the critical changes present in London during the sixteenth century, it argues that both texts

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[10] Prinz, "The Moral Emotions", 521-522.
[11] See Gail Kern Paster, *The Body Embarrassed* and Paul Cefalu, *Moral Identity in Early Modern English Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), particularly 17-46.

attempted to control the expansion of the city. Focusing on the emotion of shame, the chapter demonstrates how these texts could, in this particular historical moment, be used to embed or "stick" emotional responses in space. Stow's *Survey* and the proclamations framed the urban landscape in ideological terms that justified and reinforced the English way of life, but importantly they also defined moral identities for those who threatened this ideological view of the city.[12]

The chapter concludes by interrogating who was seen to be to blame for the problems of the city, illuminating a much larger historical narrative of how the suburbs came to be seen as a threat to the image of London. By asking whose narrative this literature represented, and importantly, whose it did not, the chapter shows how moral identity came to be linked with places within the city. By doing so, the chapter speaks to Timothy Cresswell's argument that the description of cultural practices and people are inherently connected to places within society, and that these places and practices can be understood to hold normative elements.[13] The chapter ultimately argues that the proclamations and Stow's *Survey* acted to shift the emotion of shame from the city *feeling shamed* about its urban expansion, to the suburbs that were *made to feel shame* for not fitting the city ideal. Both of these experiences of shame could occur at the same time, with those in the city feeling a sense of shame about the suburbs being associated with London and those in the suburbs feeling an increasing sense of shame about their own environment. Once these moral identities were located in the suburbs through popular discourse, they appear to have been difficult to dislodge, the emotional response of shamefulness having stuck in place.

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[12] Lawrence Manley, ed., *Literature and Culture in Early Modern London* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 158-164.

[13] Timothy Cresswell, *In Place/Out of Place: Geography, Ideology and Transgression* (Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press. 1996).

To understand how and why the image of London became contested in the sixteenth century, it is first necessary to identify how it was constructed and what it represented in earlier periods. This section aims to show how the sixteenth-century image of London grew from earlier literary images of the city. Raymond Williams says that "when we move back in time, we are consistently directed to an earlier and happier rural England; yet we can find no place, no period, in which we can seriously rest".[14] However, he explains, the image of an uncorrupted earlier age in history persisted. It is this retrospective aspiration of a historical "Golden Age" of order and happiness, set against the perceived disturbances and disorder of the contemporary condition that came to define the image of London. Williams suggests that this Golden Age aspiration is "myth functioning as memory", a Golden Age that was never truly real or an idealisation of an image of the city that never truly existed.[15] The following section explores how this ideal (or perhaps even mythical) image of the city of London entered collective memory.

To understand the importance and construction of the image of London in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, it is first necessary to understand how it was developed in earlier periods. Catherine Clarke suggests that the obvious place to begin discussing England's identity (and the resulting image of London) would be the geographical prologue to Bede's c.731 Latin *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*. She considers this the birthplace of the literary identity of England.[16] Bede's *History* is certainly not the only starting place for the construction of a literary image of London in the early modern period, but it is seen as widely

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[14] Raymond Williams, *The Country and the City* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), 35.
[15] Ibid., 42.
[16] Catherine Clarke, *Literary Landscapes and the Idea of England 700-1400* (Cambridge: S. Brewer, 2006), 7.

influential in the production of a pastoral English identity in literature.[17] Bede constructed a literary *locus amoenus* or "delightful pastoral place" by manipulating textual allusion and rhetoric in order to set the scene and entertain the readers with what Roger Ray calls "mythical stories and marvels of distant places".[18] Bede's text focuses primarily on the "pastoral places" of England, however, it does briefly identify the urban condition, 'stating that the country was once famous for its twenty-eight noble cities as well as innumerable fortified places equally well guarded by the strongest of walls and towers, gates and locks".[19] By placing these "once famous" cities in the past, Bede is championing the rural landscape of England over the city. Both had a place in Bede's representation, but it was the rural image that he favoured, an image of natural and beautiful landscapes.

Bede's image of England was firmly rural, with Clarke believing the text alludes to innocence, fertility and fruitfulness of the land. She sees this as encapsulating English identity stating that the "use of landscape [is] central to the representation and mythologisation of England and English identity … and the establishment of peace and order".[20] As has been demonstrated by an extensive literature, this rural identity produced by Bede was to remain central to later constructions of the literary image of London.[21]

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[17] See Ralph Hanna, "Images of London in Medieval English Literature" in *The Cambridge Companion to the Literature of London*, ed. Lawrence Manley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 19-33 for an overview of other texts that contributed to the construction of the image of London in literature including Gildas" c.546AD urban description in *The Ruin of Britain* and Geoffrey of Monmouth's c.1130s *Historia regum Britanniae* which conceptualised the city as "Troynovaunt" or "New Troy".

[18] Clarke, *Literary Landscapes,* 8 and Roger Ray, *Bede, Rhetoric and the Creation of Christian Latin Culture* (St Pauls: Jarrow Lecture, 1997), 13-14.

[19] See Clarke, *Literary Landscapes,* 21 for an understanding of how this description differed from Gildas" description in *The Ruin of Britain*.

[20] Ibid., 3.

[21] For an overview of the literature on the construction of the English identity see Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (London: Verso Books, 2006); Liah Greenfeld, *Nationalism: Five Roads to Modernity* (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1992); Richard Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1992) and Adrian Hastings, *The Construction of Nationhood: Ethnicity, Religion and Nationalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996).

Despite the collective understanding of England as predominantly rural at this time, by 1200, Frank Stenton notes, the inhabitants of London "having formed a sense of national identity, urban power and international outlook, had reached the understanding that London as the embodiment of the head of England should dominate the … seas by her trade and her ships".[22] This can be seen in William Fitzstephen's c.1174 Latin *Descriptio Nobilissimi Civitatis Londoniae* or *A Description of London*, in which he notes that "among the noble cities of the world that are celebrated by Fame, the City of London, seat of the Monarchy of England, is one that spreads its fame wider, sends its wealth and wares further, and lifts its head higher than all others".[23] Derek Keene highlights "that in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries a shared community of ideas about London and its "physical, cultural, social, historical, mythological and political identity" developed.[24] Similarly, various medieval narrative texts represented "London as the capital and organising principle of the kingdom"; the "queen metropolis of the kingdom" and the "head of the whole kingdom".[25] These texts are examples of the medieval construction of the "image of London" that would later be built on by Stow in the early modern period.

There is a great sense of pride for a grand and glorious city in these statements, and the rural landscape with its large manor houses (such as Finsbury Manor) outside the city walls played its part in this narrative. Fitzstephen portrays the area outside of the wall as "a great fen on the north side of the city". He continues by describing "pastures and a pleasant meadow land, through which flow river streams, where the turning wheels of mills are put in

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[22] William Fitzstephen and Frank Stenton, *Norman London: An Essay* (New York: Italica Press, 1990), 36.

[23] Ibid., 48.

[24] Derek Keene, "Text, Visualisation and Politics: London 1150-1250" *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 18 (2008), 98.

[25] Kenneth Potter and Ralph Davis, eds., *Gesta Stephani* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976),4 and 112; William of Malmsbury and Edmund King, ed., *Historia Novella: The Contemporary History*, trans. Kenneth Potter. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 94-5 and cf. *The Chronicle of Jocelin of Brakelond,* trans. Harold Butler, (London: Nelson, 1949), 75-7. All quoted in Keene, "Text, Visualisation and Politics: London 1150-1250", 80.

motion with a cheerful sound. Very close lies a great forest, with woodland pastures, coverts of wild animals, stags, deer, boars and wild bulls".[26] By the time Fitzstephen was writing, this land had been designated as the prebend of Finsbury Manor, an estate assigned to support the Dean and Chapter of St Paul's. Later, this land would become what this chapter describes as "suburban", that is, not within the traditional walls of the city, yet a significant aspect of the city's development and population.

Fitzstephen's *A Description of London* can be linked to "a style of historical and quasi-historical writing in twelfth-century England that displays a special concern with the geography and landscape of the kingdom".[27] John Scattergood notes that this image of a grand and glorious city in Fitzstephen's text is a very selective view. He identifies that Fitzstephen says nothing of the poor, crime or disease within the city, nor does he mention the prisons, even though the Tower of London was regularly used during the period. He also does not mention any of the hospitals (many of which were leper hospitals in the suburbs outside the wall). John Scattergood argues that Fitzstephen would have been aware of these elements of the city, however, he chose not to describe them as they did not support the image of the city he wanted to write.[28]

Viewing London as a great queen metropolis, the head city of the English spatial order, introduced a parallel rhetoric to the *locus amoenus* or glorious pastoral place that Bede utilised. Both images were selective representations, constructed in a particularly grandiose fashion, that came to shape the collective understanding of the city. Literary representations of the fortification of a city came to represent order, enclosed beauty and safety: "there runs

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[26] Fitzstephen and Stenton, *Norman London: An Essay*, 32.
[27] Keene, "Text, Visualisation and Politics: London 1150-1250", 75.
[28] John Scattergood, *Reading the Past: Essays on Medieval and Renaissance Literature* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1996), 19.

continuously a great wall and high, with seven double gates, and with towers along the north at intervals".[29] Writing at a time of ongoing aggression between France and England, and civil revolts between Henry II and his children, a sense of the city being strong enough to withstand attack either from foreign or civil aggressors was important. Fitzstephen addresses the rural condition beyond the wall, incorporating similar pastoral imagery to Bede, but in contrast to Bede, his focus is on the city within the walls.[30] Fitzstephen's text suggests that outside the walls of the city was the space of pastures, forests and open land. However, as we have seen, there were in fact manor estates and the beginnings of small-scale urban development. The immediate areas surrounding the city wall were still primarily recreational areas, used for hunting, horse riding and leisure walking. However, this was not the only story that could be constructed of the area in this period. Scattergood sums this up nicely: "the object of [Fitzstephen's] text is not truth: it is praise, and persuasion through praise".[31] Just as the moral emotions of praise require evaluation that the action in question is morally good, Fitzstephen invites his reader to judge the city of London to be good and worthy of the highest praise, evoking pride among its residents. It was a constructed representation that suggested the grandness of the city within the walls, and this relied heavily on the pastoral image beyond the walls. This section has endeavoured to show how twelfth-century literary images shaped an ideal vision of the city of London. It has traced how this, at times, ideological image could shape the collective memory of the city, romanticising the city as a focal point in a predominately pastoral image. This ideal image was to remain significant through to the sixteenth century when expansion of the city began to threaten it, and the London Wall played an important role in the understanding of city space at this time.

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[29] Fitzstephen and Stenton, *Norman London: An Essay,* 49.
[30] Ibid.
[31] Scattergood, *Reading the Past,* 32.

<u>THE WALL DEFINING CITY AND SUBURB</u>

The traditional city wall became a key component of the representation of London, particularly in literary and visual depictions of the city. For Fitzstephen, the city was closely aligned with images of a stronghold, defence and enclosure – the representation of strength, power and order. Part of this symbolic rhetoric, Derek Keene notes, was built on the false understanding "that London's wall made a complete and perfect circuit". [32] Early sketches of London reinforce this message. In Matthew Paris's c.1252 sketch (Figure 2), Keene highlights that 'st Paul's is the focal point within a circuit of walls" with six city gates, underlining the fact that the drawing is ideological rather than an exact representation.[33] This is also seen in a c.1300 sketch of London found in "History of the Kings of Britain" (Figure 3). This sketch again depicts the city looking south toward the river, this time with a complete circuit of the wall, even along the riverside.

We know that there was not a full circuit wall around the city at this time; rather the wall formed a horseshoe leading towards the River Thames. There was, however, a wall along the length of the Thames in the Roman period of the city and these representations appear to be creating an ideological link with this period. Keene argues that the consistency in the representation of the wall extending as a complete circuit around the city was widely accepted in the thirteenth century when Fitzstephen was writing.[34] This was both ideological in that it portrayed a definitive boundary of what was city and what was not, but also who was safe and who was not. Fitzstephen acknowledges that this was before "the Thames washed them away", yet he still imagined the wall as a complete circuit.[35] In the sixteenth century, the wall

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[32] Keene, "Text, Visualisation and Politics: London 1150-1250", 79.
[33] Ibid.
[34] Ibid.
[35] Scattergood, *Reading the Past*, 19.

Figure 2: London as depicted by Matthew Paris c.1252. (British Library, Royal MS 14 C.VII, fo.2). Cited in Derek Keene, "'Text, Visualisation and Politics: London 1150-1250'" *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society 18* (2008), 78.

became an important symbolic feature that could be used to define city and suburb, the civilised and the uncivilised, and importantly, the social "Other".

Steven Rappaport identifies clear spatial and social boundaries on Braun and Hogenberg's late 1550's map of London (figure 3). Beyond the city's jurisdiction were predominately rural agrarian lands, while "between the bars" (between the walls and the limit of the city's jurisdiction), the beginnings of low-density suburban sprawl can be seen. The limit of the city's jurisdiction, as a socially constructed boundary (identified in Rappaport's version of Braun and Hogenberg's map, Figure 4) is invisible on the original maps.[36] The wall, however, identifies a stark spatial boundary. This physical distinction between city/suburb/rural is again evident in the Agas Map produced at some point between 1561 and 1570. In this map, we can see the building density within the walls quite clearly, while outside the wall there are small clusters of low-density dwellings beginning to develop in what would become the suburbs. The areas outside the wall (including the developing suburban area) are recorded as having open space, trees, brambles and livestock grazing. In comparison, save for an area just south of Moorgate within the wall, the city within the walls is densely populated, with very few yards or gardens and minimal trees shown. Cripplegate Without (to the north of the wall) appears to be one of the most built-up areas outside the city wall but it is surrounded by pastoral fields and open lands leading to the countryside in the distance.

On both the Agas and Braun and Hogenberg maps, the city wall prominently features as a spatial boundary, a physical and visual indication as to where the traditional limit of the city once stood. The Agas Map also shows much of the early development of the area: the houses running along Chiswell Street and Grub Street are still in place with gardens or yards behind.

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[36] Steven Rappaport, *Worlds Within Worlds: Structures of Life in Sixteenth-Century London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 63.

Figure 3: Drawing of London c.1300, added to Geoffrey of Monmouth's "History of the King's of Britain". (British Library, Royal MS 13 A.iii, fo.28v). Cited in Derek Keene, "Text, Visualisation and Politics: London 1150-1250" *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 18 (2008), 79.

This development model was, by the time of the Agas Map, replicated along all of the major roads in the suburb, Whitecross Street, Redcross Street and the western portions of both Fore Street and Chiswell Street. By the time this map was produced, the area of Cripplegate Without had been acquired by the Corporation of London, and leases were clearly being granted for both houses and garden plots. The majority of building had taken place to the west of Grub Street. East of Grub Street, in Moorfields, is depicted as tenter yards (areas used to dry cloth, see illustration in figure 4) and open space for livestock and archers to utilise. The open space in Moorfields, east of Grub Street was an important location for brick makers and cloth workers of the city. Both needed large open areas for drying their products and this space was fiercely defended when threatened by development.[37] On the whole, however, during this period the fields were left open for recreational purposes and workers, probably due to the marshy nature of Moorfields and its unsuitability urban development. This development structure remained in place until the mid-seventeenth century.

Now encompassing both the fertile innocence of the rural condition represented in Bede's *History* and the powerful, fortified order of the city itself represented in Fitzstephen's *Description*, the sixteenth-century image of London was constructed from the relationship of rural beauty and the power and strength of the walled city. Both images were necessary to define the image of the city. However, in the sixteenth century, and particularly in the lead up to the seventeenth century, this image was challenged by the growth of the city. The "centre" of the city was not simply spreading beyond the walls, but a new spatial and social typology was being created between the walls and the rural lands beyond it – the suburb. As Elizabeth McKellar says: "definitions of centre and periphery, therefore, were neither stable nor

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[37] Rev W. Denton, *Records of St. Giles, Cripplegate* (London: George Bell and Sons, 1883), 16.

Figure 4: Braun and Hogenberg's Map-view of London, late 1550s (inner line represents London's wall; outer line approximates the city's administrative boundaries or "bars").
Steven Rappaport, *Worlds Within Worlds: Structures of Life in Sixteenth-Century London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 63.
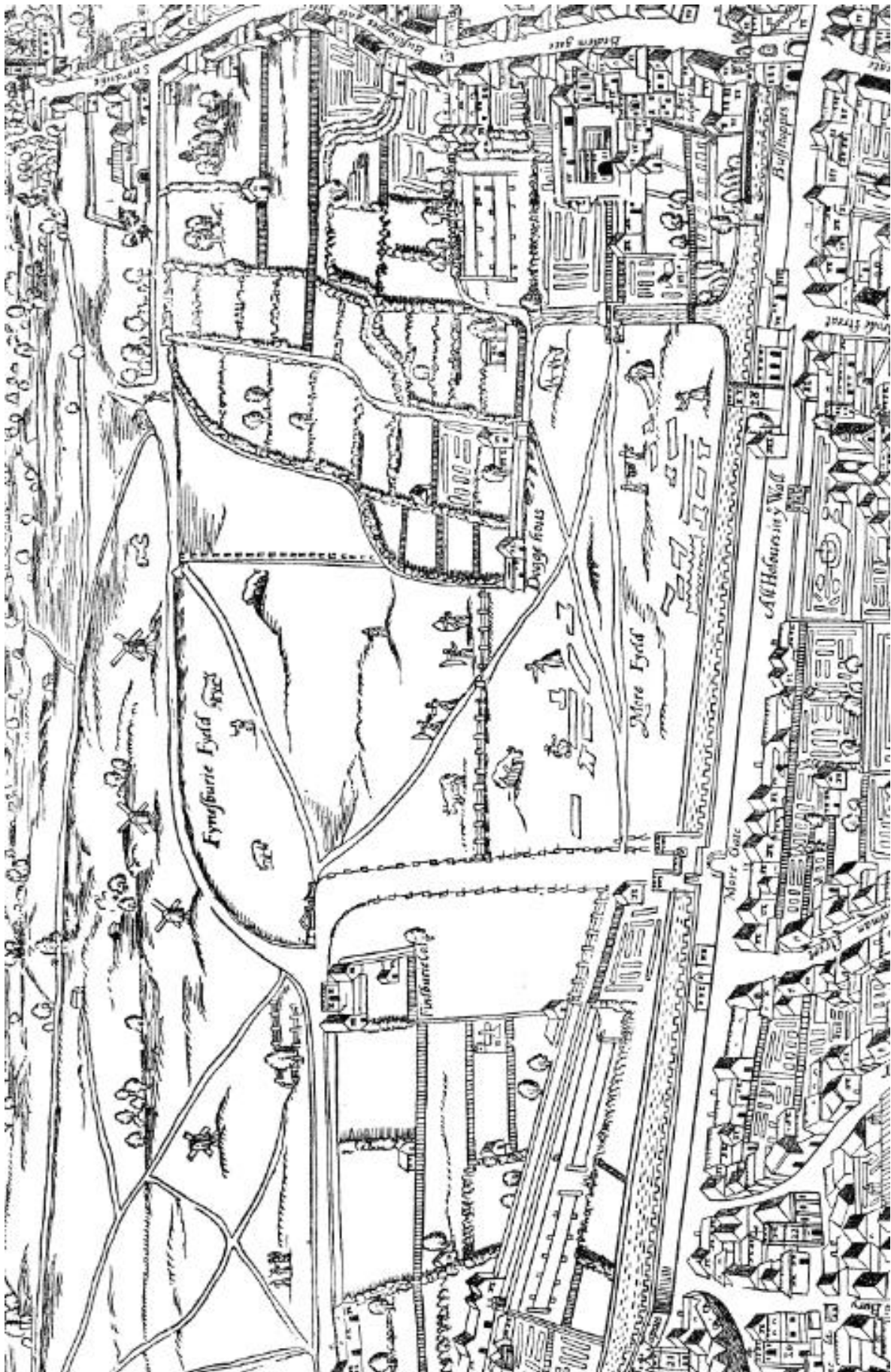
Figure 5: The Agas (or "Woodcut") Map c. 1561. (Held by the City of London, LMA. Wikimedia Commons)

absolute but depended on subtle shifts in the nexus of identity, power, time and place".[38] The

term suburban is derived from the Latin *suburbium,* which denoted the location between

urban and rural, and in the medieval time came to particularly mean *outside* a city's wall and

protection. Mckellar argues that the term was adopted in the Middle Ages to define those

areas "outside the walls, but contiguous with them, and within the jurisdiction of the city of

London".[39] Notable here is the distinction of being outside the wall yet *within* the city's

jurisdiction. By being within the city's jurisdiction and therefore responsibility, these spaces

were neither fully outside of London's social hierarchy, nor were they seen as entirely within

London's identity. To be *sub-urban* was to be placed *below or beneath* the city in the spatial

hierarchy. In the medieval understanding of the term, the space "outside the city was the

preserve of those who tilled the fields and served as the feet of the body politic".[40] If the image

of a grand and glorious city was to be protected in the early modern period, building sprawl

and the unruly masses of inhabitants causing it beyond the wall needed to be stopped. As a

particularly large and expanding suburb beyond the wall, Cripplegate Without was one of the

locations threatening the image of the city. This image began to be contested once it no longer

matched the contemporary reality of the city.

CRITICAL CHANGE AND CONTROLLING THE METROPOLIS

By the beginning of the seventeenth century, the growth of London saw large areas

developing beyond the walls of the city. Unlike other cities in England that suffered from

dwindling populations and decaying economies during the sixteenth century, London's

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[38] Elizabeth McKellar, *Landscapes of London: The City, The Country and The Suburbs, 1660-1840* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 2.
[39] Ibid., 2.
[40] Keene, "Text, Visualisation and Politics: London 1150-1250", 71.

problems were caused by its rapid growth in both population and urbanized area.[41] John Schofield argues that this was due to the centralisation of the nation's political and economic life on the city of London.[42] In 1550, London's population within the wall had grown to 39,000 people, while outside the walls there was another 29,000. Over the next ten years, the overall population grew to 90,000, most of this increase occurring outside the walls.[43] By 1580, the population had grown further to 145,000.[44] This shifted the balance of the city's population from being predominantly located within the tradition walls of the city to being primarily located outside of them. The most marked increase of residents was in the areas immediately beyond the walls. The suburbs and Westminster grew dramatically and by the mid-seventeenth century "only the minority of Londoners fell under city rule".[45] The rise in inhabitants outside the walls was a result of migration of both English and foreigners to the city in search of work and opportunity. Many immigrants chose to settle in the suburbs that lay just outside the city walls as they "felt safer there, the crowded town being very unfriendly towards aliens".[46] A further influx of residents to the suburbs came when those who had previously lived within the walls moved to the suburbs to find cheaper rents as the prices increased in the now congested city.[47]

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[41] Rappaport, *Worlds Within Worlds*, 4. See also Steen Rasmussen, *London: The Unique City* (London: Cape, 1948), 63; John Schofield, "The Topography and Building of London, ca. 1600" in *Material London ca. 1600,* ed. Lena Cowen Orlin (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000), 296-321.

[42] Schofield, "The Topography and Building of London, ca. 1600", 296.

[43] William Baer, "Planning for Growth and Growth Controls in Early Modern Europe Part 2: The Evolution of London's Practices 1580 to 1680" *The Town Planning Review* 78, 3 (2007), 259. See also Vanessa Harding, "The Population of London, 1550-1700: Review of the Published Evidence" *London Journal* 15, 2 (1990), 112 and Caroline Barron, *London in the Later Middle Ages* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 241. cf. Steven Rappaport, *Worlds Within* Worlds, 64.

[44] Baer, "Planning for Growth and Growth Controls in Early Modern Europe Part 2", 259.

[45] Paul Griffiths and Mark Jenner, "Introduction" in *Londinopolis: Essays in the Cultural and Social History of Early Modern London,* eds. Paul Griffiths and Mark Jenner (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 2. See also Paul Griffiths, "Overlapping Circles: Imagining Criminal Communities in London, 1545-1645" in *Communities in Early Modern England: Networks, Place, Rhetoric,* eds. Alexandra Shepard and Phil Withington (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), 129.

[46] Rasmussen, *London: The Unique City,* 64.

[47] See Vanessa Harding "City, Capital and Metropolis: The Changing Shape of Seventeenth-Century London" in *Imagining Early Modern London: Perceptions and Portrayals of the City from Stow to Strype, 1598-1720,* ed. Julia Merritt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 117-143.

The city authorities gained control of the area north of the city wall in the early sixteenth century. After two years, negotiations between the Corporation of London and the Dean and Chapter of St Paul's Cathedral for the land of "Finsbury Manor" resulted in the 1514 lease of the area. A lease renewal was granted in 1555 for another 90 years, after a year of debates and issues of bribery among officials.[48] Twelve years later, in 1567, a further 140 year lease was agreed.[49] These consecutive leases took the Corporation of London's lease of the land to 1773; however, the lease ultimately did not end until 1867.[50] Fifty-one land leases were granted by the Corporation of London between 1518 and 1596, the bulk of which were issued after the extended lease in 1555.[51] Records also show that 220 tenements changed ownership in the fifty years after the extended lease.[52] Once the long lease was secured, Cripplegate was seen as a secure place to construct dwellings.

Before the security of the long leases, Cripplegate Without would have been seen as a risky place to construct properties for most. However, there are some clues as to the social history of the area during the latter part of the medieval period, well before the Corporation of London's leases. During this period, it appears to have be well situated for the residences of the gentry, and even of some nobility. These residences were largely the country estates or small-scale manor houses of an elite required to be within traveling distance to the city, or alternatively of the urban gentry class seeking more open space and "fresher air". In Sweeden's Passage leading from Grub Street to Moor Lane, we can read of a curious shaped timber and plaster house that was reportedly owned by Sir Richard Whittington the highly

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[48] Eleanor Leavy, "Moorfields, Finsbury and the City of London in the Sixteenth Century" in *London Topographical Record vol.XXVI,* ed. Ann Saunders (London: London Topographical Society, 1990), 86.
[49] Leavy, "Moorfields, Finsbury and the City of London in the Sixteenth Century", 86.
[50] Denton, *Records of St. Giles, Cripplegate,* 89.
[51] Ken Pitt and Jeremy Taylor, "Finsbury's Moated Manor, Medieval Land Use and Later Development in the Finsbury Square area, Islington" *Archaeology Studies Series 20* (2009), 6.
[52] Leavy, "Moorfields, Finsbury and the City of London in the Sixteenth Century", 87-90.

successful medieval merchant and London Mayor in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; anecdotally Sir Thomas Gresham resided in this property in the sixteenth century.[53] In Hanover Court, off Grub Street, was a house said to have been occupied by General Monk, a key figure in the dissolution of the Parliament and the restoration of Charles II.[54] This would most likely have been his "country house", rather than a main lodging. At this point, across London, gentrification of the suburbs had yet to take place and as the Corporation of London began granting leases in this area it was common to find grand gentry houses alongside the smaller tenements of the middling sort and lower classes.

Development increased steadily in the period after 1555, and we see a greater interest in recording the condition of the suburb. Fore Street at the beginning of the sixteenth century is recorded as consisting of "a few fragile timber and plaster houses fronting the city wall".[55] A sketch of buildings titled "Old houses in Grub Street" (Figure 5) produced in 1831 depicts a "half-timber" style jettied building with wattle and daub plastering and glass windows on the second and third floors. The building, along with the more modern ones standing alongside it, has shop fronts on the street level; the "half-timber" building having oak panelling rather than the more modern glass windows. The sketch notes that these buildings have "long since [been] taken down", and could be dated from the sixteenth century, possibly the fifteenth century if it was the home of a well-off merchant or gentry family. It is more probably from the sixteenth century when glass became somewhat more affordable for the upper storey windows.[56]

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[53] See Denton, *Records of St. Giles, Cripplegate,* 175.
[54] Ibid., 175.
[55] Ibid., 182.
[56] See John Schofield and Geoffrey Stell, "The Built Environment 1300-1540" in *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain Vol.1 600-1540,* ed. David Palliser (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 385-386 on dating the introduction of glass to wattle and daub dwellings within London.

Vanessa Harding's work in explaining how the expansion of the city occurred is valuable here. She argues that "the chronology and topography of change do not always match, in that sixteenth century growth may have begun in the near suburbs, been followed by inner city intensification, and then in the seventeenth century by outer-suburban sprawl".[57] She highlights that, just as it is today, land value was lower in the suburbs than within the walls and that the density was accommodated in the suburbs not by building up, but rather converting open space to dwellings.[58] Harding identifies that when the original leases began expiring (from the 1590s), land was then leased in much smaller lots and at higher rents. To begin with, "only the street frontage was built up, but soon the yards and gardens behind were colonised and the ditch itself covered over; by the late seventeenth century, the area was thickly covered with houses, a tight complex of leaseholds and sub-tenancies".[59] This development of cheap and crowded timber tenements and cottages predominately in London's outlying areas challenged the predetermined image of what London was and should be. London was no longer able to be physically contained within its traditional boundary, nor could its people depend on the city to provide a sense of social exclusivity that had once come with living within its walls.

It is in this context that Elizabeth I issued the 1580 proclamation *Prohibiting New Building or Subdividing of Houses* that established an anti-building rhetoric within the city of London. While some attribute this proclamation to early town planning principles, Morris argues that it "is a clear recognition of the fact that the government of the realm was

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[57] Harding, "City, Capital and Metropolis: The Changing Shape of Seventeenth-Century London", 123.
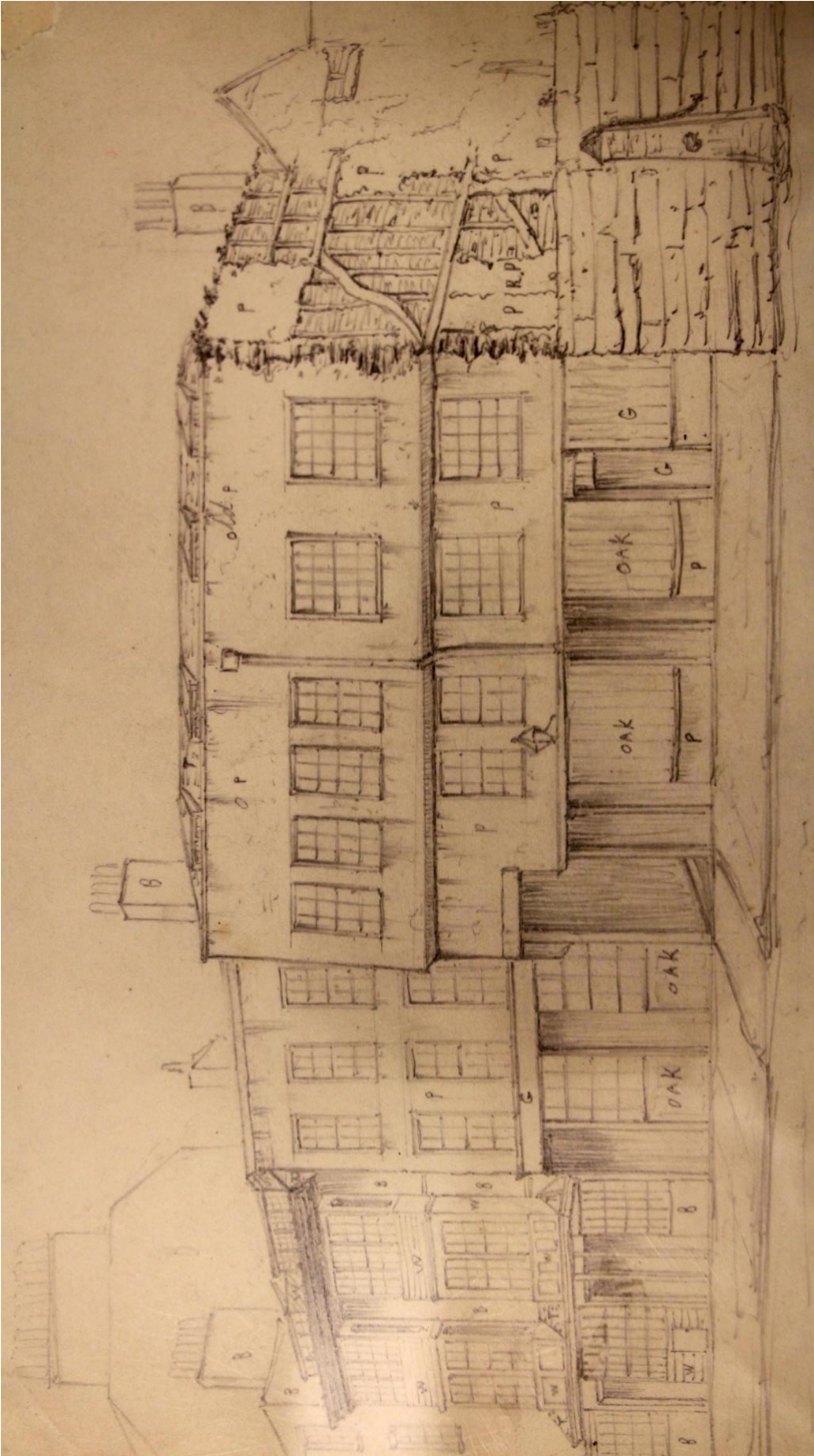[58] Ibid., 124.
[59] Ibid., 125.

Figure 6: Old Houses in Grub Street (Long since taken down) 1831 (London Metropolitan Archives, City R.C 12)

economically dependent on London, and London meant, to Elizabeth, the City".[60] The

proclamation called for a "cessation of further new buildings" to limit the growth of London,

particularly restricting building for a "distance of two miles to be taken from any of the gates

of the said Citie of London".[61] Whether an early town planning exercise or motivated by

economics, the proclamation identified building development and quality as the reason for

many of the problems arising in the city of London. The proclamation cited "inconveniences"

such as "plague and popular sickness" resulting from crowded living as the reason to limit

growth. The proclamation stated that this "would not only spread itself, and invade the whole

city and confines, but that a great mortality would ensure".[62] The Crown and Court believed

that if building could be stopped and the population increase halted, then the threat of fire,

plague and a myriad of social ills could be contained.[63] The rhetoric of the proclamations

condemned the construction of buildings on new foundations and the subdividing of existing

building foundations. Importantly, they also condemned the multi-family occupancy of

existing buildings. Together these measures aimed to reduce population density and restrict

suburban expansion.

Between 1580 and 1624, a further twelve proclamations were issued concerning the

spread of buildings in London; repeating much of the same content as Elizabeth I's 1580

proclamation. Following in the footsteps of Fitzstephen, these proclamations for building

represented London as a grand and glorious city, second only to Rome, and that halting the

expansion of the city and its people would protect this status. James I's 1615 proclamation for

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[60] Anthony Morris, *History of Urban Form: Before the Industrial Revolutions* (New York: Longman, 1994), 250.

[61] Paul Hughes and James Larkin, *Tudor Royal Proclamations: Volume II The Later Tudors (1553-1587)* (London: Yale University Press, 1969), 466.

[62] Ibid. see also Merridee Bailey, 'shaping London Merchant Identities: Emotions, Reputation and Power in the Court of Chancery" in *The Routledge History Handbook of Gender and the Urban Experience,* ed. Deborah Simonton (London: Routledge, 2017), 329-358.

[63] For an overview of these threats see Rosemary Sweet, *The Writing of Urban Histories in Eighteenth-Century England* (New York: Clarendon Press, 1997); Rachel Ramsey, "The Language of Urbanisation in John Stow's Survey of London" and McKellar, *Landscapes of London*.

building stated "it is more than time that there bee an utter cessation of further New-buildings… lest the surcharge and overflow of people doe bring upon Our said Citie infinite inconveniences".[64] The language used in the 1615 proclamation, of "inconveniences", of "overflows" and "of great mortality", is inherently emotional in nature. This emotional language, through conjuring images of fear (mortality), disgust and annoyance (overflows and inconveniences) gives moral meaning to the text. By identifying his subjects within the city as responsible for these inconveniences, James firmly locates the blame with them.

James I's 1608 *A Proclamation for Buildings* is particularly interesting and offers an insight into the ways in which shame became entangled with the development of the city during this period. The proclamation refers to two previous proclamations concerning building with brick and building upon new foundations, and states: "many persons have presumed and adventured to offend against them, both to the continuance and increase of the former evils and inconveniences, and to the manifest ill example of contempt and disobedience in a case so notorious, and in view of the whole kingdome".[65] Here I want to focus on the reference: "in view of the whole kingdome". Returning to Ahmed's "witness" in the process of shame, this statement can be read as an expression of a King embarrassed or shamed by his disobedient subjects within the unruly city. It also expresses a certain level of fear that this contemptuous behaviour, having been viewed by his subjects throughout the kingdom, may spread. Most importantly, however, it allows us to conceptualise the proclamations as expressions of "a King shamed". That is, the visible defiance of the populace acted to heighten the wrong-doing and to undermine the monarch's authority. London had always jealously guarded its

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[64] James Larkin and Paul Hughes, *Stuart Royal Proclamations Volume I* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), 270.
[65] Ibid., 193.

independence and rights from the Crown and in some ways the proclamations also represent the wishes of those in power within the city.

Elizabeth I makes clear that the proclamations were composed in collaboration with her Council, the Lord Mayor of London and aldermen of the city and this was also true for James I. In this way, the proclamations represented not only the royal concern but, perhaps even more importantly, those in power within the City of London, including the Guildhall and livery companies. With the influx of residents came a rise in unlicensed apprentices setting up trade in the suburbs outside the walls of London, where the cost of living and working was lower. Here the seemingly arbitrary measure of "three miles from any of the gates of the said City of London" comes to be important. A distance of three miles from the city would put their business a good distance away from the city centre and discouraging trade connections with London for these unlicensed apprentices. By making it difficult to secure properties in the areas beyond the walls, the proclamation shows the potential desire to control these traders through displacement and social segregation. Indeed, Steen Rasmussen states that regardless of whether or not the proclamations were written to fix the overcrowding and poor building quality in the city, it was "most profitable to the upper classes, especially to the wealthy merchants and master-craftsmen of London".[66] Even if the explanations that accompanied the proclamations were directed at the common Londoner, the actual regulations that resulted were representative of the concerns of the upper classes.[67] The monarch here symbolises power within the city of London, but whose desires the proclamations represented in practice is more complex.

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[66] Rasmussen, *London: The Unique City,* 69.
[67] Ibid., 71.

Whether or not the proclamations represented the wishes of the monarch or those in power within the city, they do allude to a king shamed by his city. Under his watch, the city no longer fitted the traditional representation of a grand and glorious city, as a bounded and orderly space. If the city was grand in other ways, its walls no longer contained the metropolis in the way it had been represented for centuries. The proclamations responded to the unchecked growth of the city, attempting to control its expansion. They also suggest an emotional uneasiness about who was at fault for the drastic changes occurring within the city. In the following section, we will explore how this discourse could be used to shift the blame of an ever-expanding metropolis.

HIDING "OUR SHAME" AND LAYING BLAME

The discourse of building that was created by publications like the *Survey* highlighted the "striking similarities between the nascent urban planning ideas expressed in the *Survey of London* and those promoted in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth-century building regulations".[68] Recently this interest has seen texts such as Stow's *Survey* elevated as key sources in understanding London's urban change during the period. The urban literature sources produced during Stow's time were largely written by (and for) those in the service of the Crown and Court. Most of the early works recorded the condition and history of the city and were focused on recording the city's lands and consequent worth. These works therefore were selective in content, focusing on the most valued monuments and lands in order to produce "glorious representations" of the city. This section identifies how the language Stow used within the *Survey* could both hide particular aspects of the city he saw as shameful, but also importantly, shift the blame for other aspects to those who resided in the suburbs.

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[68] Ramsey, "The Language of Urbanisation in John Stow's Survey of London", 247.

Until recently Stow's text had been viewed as what Louis Wright deemed "a standard work of civic glorification", reducing it to no more than a merchant or royalist "propaganda tool" for celebrating and projecting an image of a great and thriving city.[69] More recently, Bonahue has argued that this dismisses the complexity of the work and is an "oversimplification of the how representations of London signified a range of cultural ideals and social problems at the end of Elizabeth's reign".[70] The recent work that does identify Stow as an important reference point for understanding social change within London's history, recognises the subtle differences between the universal approach taken by the royal proclamations and Stow's more nuanced judgments of construction works.[71] Stow aligned himself with the anti-building sentiment characterised in the proclamations, yet created a more refined argument by recording his views of building within the city based on social connections of those constructing the buildings, the quality of building and whether the construction resulted in the loss of open space. By doing so, Ramsey argues that he complicated the "traditional paradigm governing the Elizabethan debates about building, in which building is discussed almost exclusively in terms of urban containment [or sprawl]", Stow does this "by assigning specific negative or positive consequences to particular types of buildings".[72] As such, Ramsey states that "stow demonstrates the emerging power of a discourse of building, which focuses on issues of style, material and location".[73] Here, I argue that literary representations like Stow's could also be used as "emotional tools" that

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[69] See Edward Bonahue, "Citizen History: Stow's Survey of London" *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900 38, 1* (1998), 61-85 and Louis Wright, *Elizabethan Middle-Class Culture* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1935. Reprinted Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1958), p.52, 34 and 311.

[70] Bonahue, "Citizen History: Stow's Survey of London", 62.

[71] A good starting point on this body of work is Merritt, ed., *Imagining Early Modern London*.

[72] Ramsey, "The Language of Urbanisation in John Stow's Survey of London", 247.

[73] Ibid.

attempted to control the social production of space through the creation of shame and thus the spatial segregation of people within the city.

Despite the efforts to halt growth within the city of London, development began spilling out from London's walls, with communities starting to form.[74] The quality of construction varied significantly across the city. The proclamations written during Elizabeth I's reign did not discriminate by quality of construction nor social affiliations connected to buildings; rather any new development on previously un-built land within three miles of the city was viewed negatively.[75] Stow, on the other hand, frequently commented on the quality of construction and made judgments of buildings based on this, as well as the purpose the building served to the community. In the sixteenth century, the developing idea of suburbs tended to highlight what McKellar calls "markers of marginality and displacement" and were judged according to an emerging set of values with "vice and pollution at one end and the other embracing health and beautiful landscapes".[76] The suburbs stretching to Westminster were found to be beautiful and ordered, reflecting the aspirations of the inhabitants. These areas were incorporated within the symbolic image of London relatively quickly. Cripplegate was often associated with vice and sin and took much longer to be incorporated into the image of the city.

As Ramsey notes, the language used to describe buildings that Stow "considered 'proper', those serving the public good, [stood] in stark contrast to the rhetoric he employed to condemn those built only for private profit".[77] Stow often wrote of "divers fair houses" both

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[74] Harding "City, Capital and Metropolis: The Changing Shape of Seventeenth-Century London", 128.

[75] However, a week after the appearance of the proclamation Elizabeth I permitted an exception for houses for the Justices of Middlesex, and another was made a month later for the completion of a building which footings had already been laid. By James I's reign, it was common to be able to buy permits for building. See Hughes and Larkin, *Tudor Royal Proclamations: Volume II,* 468.

[76] McKellar, *Landscapes of London,* 24 and John Archer, *Architecture and Suburbia: from the English Villa to American Dream House, 1690-2000* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005), 83.

[77] Ramsey, "The Language of Urbanisation in John Stow's Survey of London", 261.

in his description of London and its suburbs. He records that Beech Lane in Cripplegate Without "stretcheth from Red Cross Street to White Cross Street, replenished, not with beech trees, but with beautiful houses of stone, brick and timber". He notes on the east side of Red Cross Street, there is also "divers fair houses" and on the western side "many fair houses built outward".[78] These descriptions are typical of his records of the city. These beautiful and fair buildings emulated the image of London he wished to represent, and his focus remained on them.

Areas surrounding Whitechapel and Cripplegate were represented in his text as on the margins of society and associated with pollution and images of disorder. Outside of the wall, "both the sides of the street be pestered with cottages and alleys, even up to Whitechapel church, and almost half a mile beyond it … all of which ought to be open and free for all men".[79] Commenting on the ditch north of the London Wall in Cripplegate Without, Stow noted: "of olde time was vsed to lie open" but by 1598 it was enclosed and "the banks thereof let out for garden plots, Carpenters yardes, Bowling Allies, and diuerse houses thereon builded".[80] He does not call these houses "fair" as he often did of building within the walls. Harding's work shows that the typical development during this period in most inner suburbs was the "close" or alley.[81] She explains that the alley was "a narrow cul-de-sac leading off from the main street, giving access to several dwellings that may have been formed from the outbuildings of the original street-front house and that at any rate occupied what was once its yard or garden".[82] It was this type of development in the suburbs that both the *Survey* and

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[78] Stow, *A Survey of London and Westminster*, Vol. I, 113.
[79] Ibid., Vol.1, 157.
[80] Ibid., Vol.1, 126.
[81] Harding, "City, Capital and Metropolis: The Changing Shape of Seventeenth-Century London".
[82] Ibid., 125.

Proclamations felt were to blame for the problems of the metropolis. Near Whitechapel Stow describes a field as:

> being sometime the beauty of this city on that part, is so encroached upon by building of filthy cottages ... that in some places it scarce remaineth a sufficient highway for the meeting of carriages and droves of cattle; much less is there any fair, pleasant, or wholesome way for people to walk on foot; which is no small blemish to so famous a city to have so unsavoury and unseemly an entrance or passage thereunto.[83]

For Stow, the encroachment of "filthy cottages" on the highways approaching the city were of the greatest disgrace to the city, and I note the language he uses to describe these areas firmly expresses his judgement of their shameful nature. Similarly, his assessment of Moorfields to the north of the city was negative: "in worse case than euer".[84] Stow identifies the suburbs as an entrance to the city, rather than the rural hinterland. He shows an awareness of the link between city and suburb, yet by describing the developments in them as "filthy", "unsavoury" and "unseemly" he represents them as threatening to the image of London. By recording the expansion of the city and what he perceived to be the effects of urban sprawl, Stow reinforces the problematic image of an expanding city seen in the 1580 proclamation.

Interestingly, if a building did not meet his standards within the walls, then it appears to have been ignored in the text; yet outside the walls, these buildings were documented with descriptions such as "pestering", "filthy" and "mean". Edward Bonahue identifies this as a distinct language of decline in Stow's work.[85] Stow's strongest critique was focused on the

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[83] Ibid., 157.
[84] Stow, *A Survey of London and Westminster*, Vol.2, 76-8.
[85] Bonahue, "Citizen History: Stow's Survey of London", 63.

"ever-widening stain" of buildings in the suburbs, "and other encroachments on the highways, lanes and common grounds in and about this city".[86] As we have seen, during Stow's early years the capital was compact and separate from the surrounding rural landscape: a time in which open space and fields were still common, even within the walls of the city of London; and the cities of London and Westminster were still separate entities. For Stow, the construction of buildings in the areas beyond the city walls meant the destruction of rural beauty.[87]

It could be argued that Stow's "gaze" is representative of the middling sort within London. He did not benefit financially from speculative urban developments, nor was he in a position where he needed cheap, immediate housing to survive. As such he was able to live within the demands created by the proclamations. He was, however, gravely concerned about the city environment, complaining of the disfiguring of London by subdivision of properties and the expansion of building into the surrounding fields.[88] By detailing the economic, cultural and ecological impacts of unchecked building within the city, Stow, as Ramsay notes, collapses the distinction "between London's material and social topography, using alterations in the

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[86] Rappaport, *Worlds Within Worlds,* 17.

[87] It has been suggested that Stow had a copy of the Copperplate Map in his possession while he was writing the *Survey*, and that this visual representation influenced his choices in the topographical structuring of the text. The Agas Map (Figure 4) is believed to be a copy of the earlier Copperplate Map (ca.1553). Both the Copperplate Map and Stow's *Survey* show a strong suburb/city rhetoric making this argument plausible. Today only three of the fifteen Copperplates survive. See M. Holmes, "A Source Book for Stow?" in *Studies in London History Presented to Philip Edmund Jones,* eds. Albert Hollaender and William Kellaway (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1969), 257-85. The difference between the two maps suggest The Agas Map was the later copy due to several dating factors: Firstly, St Paul's spire is not shown which was destroyed in 1561. Secondly, one of the woodblocks has clearly been altered to show the new Royal Exchange, completed in 1570. See John Fisher, "Introduction" in Adrian Prockter and Robert Taylor, *The A to Z of Elizabethan London* (Kent: The Guildhall Library, 1979) p.vi.

[88] He was born in 1525 within the city parish of St Michael, Cornhill, one of the oldest wards of London. He writes about his memories of collecting milk from a nearby farm as a child, which was near Cornhill within the walls. Stow became a Freeman of the Merchant Taylor Company in 1547 at the age of 22 after a period serving as an apprentice; however, around 1560 he started working on his histories of London. It is unclear what prompted him to become interested in history writing, but he does explain that in the early years of his career he "had bene a serchar of antiquities, divinite, sorencys, and poetrye". See Bonahue, "Citizen History: Stow's Survey of London", 62 and Ian Archer, "John Stow: Citizen Historian" in *John Stow (1525-1605) and the Making of the English Past: Studies in Early Modern Culture and the History of the Book,* eds. Ian Gadd and Alexandra Gillespie (London: The British Library, 2005), 16.

former to understand and control the alarming transformations in the latter".[89] Ian Munro argues that the representation of London in Stow's work is far from stable, and it is true that the idea of London in a general sense was rapidly expanding and ever-changing.[90] Stow, however, made judgments of what fell within his image of London and what was threatening to this view. For Stow, the city's greatness could be measured by its difference from the rural surrounds, and for him, the suburbs helped ideologically define what constituted the city of London and what did not.

Both the proclamations and Stow's *Survey* express a distinctly sixteenth-century uneasiness about the expansion of the city into the "wards without". Building on the city/rural rhetoric established by Bede and Fitzstephen's texts in earlier periods, the *Survey* and proclamations identified an emerging third spatial typology, that of the suburb. The area between the London Wall and the rural hinterland beyond was a new space, and London society was unsure how to categorise both the location and the people within this zone. We can see that in this particular moment of the sixteenth century, these texts could be conceptualised as responses to, and *instruments in* the creation of normative urban social practices. Through this process, the texts rhetorically shifted the blame for an unruly city from "a King shamed" who could not control his subjects, to those that resided in the suburbs on the outskirts of the wall. These literary sources expressed the view that the suburbs fit neither the city nor rural image and therefore were regarded as a threat to both the city's narrative of grandness and also to the social hierarchy within the community. The following section seeks to explore how these emotionally charged representations could designate social and moral identities within sixteenth-century London.

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[89] Ramsey, "The Language of Urbanisation in John Stow's Survey of London", 249.
[90] Ian Munro, "The City and its Double: Plague Time in Early Modern London" *English Literary Renaissance* 30, 2 (2000), 245.

SOURCES OF MORAL IDENTITY IN THE CITY

By connecting urban spaces with either vice and pollution or beauty and health, these texts created spatially dependent moral stereotypes or identities, and once established they appear to have been difficult to dislodge. The forces of immorality and disorder could be restricted to the suburbs of the city, relegated to the spatial extremes, and the resulting image was at least as comforting as it was threatening.[91] Peter Lake states that these representations "left untouched the orderly households of ordinary respectable citizens and the structures of government and authority. They might live amongst such people, but they most definitely were not like them; the threat came from outside, it might be close, but it was safely other".[92]

In a real sense, the proclamations had a twofold effect on the lower classes by firstly, forbidding "letting or setting, or suffering any more families than one only to be placed, or to inhabit from henceforth in any house that heretofore hath been inhabited".[93] In other words, they intended for families to have a house of their own. In this ideal urban structure, each family would be the sole occupants of a dwelling and thus reduce social density within the city.[94] However, by also limiting new buildings to those that could be built upon existing foundations ("desist and forbear from any new buildings of any house or tenement… where no former house hath been known to have been"), there was no possibility of accommodating this reduced density.[95] Either this contradiction was overlooked, or more likely it shows a motivation to push those who could not fulfil these requirements to areas beyond London's jurisdiction. By doing so, the proclamations attempted to shift the responsibility for these people to other parts of the country. By restricting new building developments to a distance

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[91] Peter Lake, "From Troynouvant to Heliogabalus's Rome and Back: "Order" and its Others in the London of John Stow" in *Imagining Early Modern London*, ed. Merritt, 237.
[92] Lake, "From Troynouvant to Heliogabalus's Rome and Back",237.
[93] Hughes and Larkin, *Tudor Royal Proclamations: Volume II,* 466.
[94] Ramsey, "The Language of Urbanisation in John Stow's Survey of London", 261.
[95] Larkin and Hughes, *Stuart Royal Proclamations Volume I,* 193.

of three miles *and* requiring families to have a house of their own, it meant that those who could not afford the inflated rental prices (due to increased demand) were displaced. Alternatively, these residents could make the decision to stay in the city (or more likely in the suburbs just outside the walled city) and live outside the social ideal by sharing dwellings with other families in similar circumstances. And many did make this decision.[96] By doing so, both the proclamations of Elizabeth I and James I not only rhetorically linked the social "other" in early modern London with urban location, but perhaps even worsened the concentration of this sort of living condition on the outskirts of the city.

The proclamations reinforced the threat of the social "other" by establishing a narrative of urban "excess" that closely linked the "meaner sorts" of society with building quality. This is explicit in James I's 1608 proclamation which states that: "the continuall new Buildings, and addition and increase of Buildings in and neere about the Citie of London is grown to that excesse, and doeth draw together such an overflow of people, especially of the meaner sort".[97] This can be contrasted with the anonymous passage published in Stow's *Survey* that opened this chapter, which suggested that to turn people away from the city in the fashion proposed by the proclamations would "make wilde beastes of reasonable men".

Patricia Adler and Peter Adler's work on the construction of deviant social status is helpful in explaining this social identity. They suggest there is two ways of constructing deviance in social hierarchies. The first way is linked to people's condition, or socioeconomic status – being poor, or in the case of our early modern context, the "meaner sorts". This status is not linked to personal actions or beliefs and no action (other than changing their

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96 See William Baer, "Housing for the Lesser Sort in Stuart London: Findings from Certificates, and Returns of Divided Houses" *The London Journal* 33, 1 (2008), 61-88 and William Baer, "People Have to Live Somewhere: Housing Stock and London's Population 1640-1660" *Historical Methods* 42, 1 (2009), 3-15 for a later view.
97 Larkin and Hughes, *Stuart Royal Proclamations Volume I*, 193.

socioeconomic status) can rectify this situation for them. Instead people "become deviant through the result of a socially defining process that gives unequal weight to powerful and dominant groups in society".[98] For instance, in the early modern period those involved in writing and enforcing the proclamations held more power than those the proclamations would impact. Certainly, the proclamations were often ignored, suggesting that while the crown held more power than everyone else, it was not as straightforward. However, here I would argue that a lack of housing options and a *need* to ignore the proclamations should not be seen as an act of defiance, rather an act of necessity. Nonetheless, by identifying and portraying this deviant status as having a home in the city outskirts, social and economic ideals became important alongside urban ideals. What was once aesthetic and spatial also became social and economic. The spatial and social hierarchies within the city became muddled or entangled, each influencing the other.

Adler and Adler outline the second type of deviant label as being associated with attitudes and behaviours. Here people can become 'socially deviant" within society for their outward actions or radical or unusual views or beliefs.[99] In our historical context, this could apply to the "wilde beaste" identity, not through deliberate radical actions and beliefs but rather by having little choice. Having not had the opportunity to live in a city like London, this identity is the direct opposite of "reasonable men" and suggests a lack of civility and sociability. It could also apply to those inhabitants of the city who were showing deliberate radical action. In the sixteenth-century context, however, Rappaport argues that London did not see consistent instability, nor organised consistent disorder – "not once did the capital experience a popular rising aimed at overthrowing the government or otherwise overturning

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[98] Patricia Adler and Peter Adler, *Constructions of Deviance: Social Power, Context and Interactions* (California: Wadsworth Publishing, 1999), 9.
[99] Ibid., 9.

the established social order".[100] He is not claiming that Londoners lived in an "absolutely stable society, devoid of tension or untouched by conflict" but he argues that "chronic instability cannot be counted among them".[101]

How stable London was in the sixteenth century is a matter of historical debate. Merridee Bailey notes that this debate has seen London described as "overwhelmed by crisis, lawlessness, poverty and unrest", while others have defended "the stable London thesis".[102] Either way, when social disturbances were reported, they were often located in the suburbs. For example, in February 1578 "assemblies" of young men were banned from the city during Shrovetide to prevent "great disorders, uncomely and dangerous behaviours … in the fields and elsewhere and especially in Moorfields and Finsbury Fields" north of the city beyond Moorgate".[103] This fear of threatening behaviour is echoed in Stow's work, where he was less concerned with recording the political or religious changes present within his lifetime. What mattered for him was current affairs in the city, and he often drew attention to crime, disease, unemployment and poverty.[104] The majority of crime, poverty and general social disruption recorded in Stow's work were again located in the suburbs just beyond the walls.

Between the proclamations and Stow's *Survey*, a rhetoric of the "meaner sorts", those who were either unable to or did not want to live within the norms set by the proclamations, being responsible for threatening both the spatial and social hierarchy, was constructed. When these identities were recorded within the city they were most often placed on the outskirts in the city's unruly and uncontrollable suburbs. In this way, the city leaders rehearsed the legitimacy of their claims through literary texts and visual representations of the city.

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[100] Rappaport, *Worlds Within Worlds,* 18.
[101] Ibid.
[102] Bailey, 'shaping London Merchant Identities", 329.
[103] Rappaport, *Worlds Within Worlds,* 9.
[104] Barrett Beer, *Tudor England Observed: The World of John Stow* (Gloucestershire: Sutton Publishing, 1998), 170.

Boundaries that "depicted separate worlds, moralities and geographies" were constructed in order to distance the higher classes within society from those felt to be immoral.[105] Social identities, as we have seen, were determined based on where one fell in relation to these boundaries. Paul Griffiths states that in this way authorities "imagined outsiders when they set boundaries".[106] By doing so, the city's authorities became effective at shifting the classification of crime and deviance to "others", those they felt were responsible for the uncontrollable nature of expansion within the city. Through this process they became effective at aligning the categories of morality and law-abiding citizen with those socially similar to themselves, "others must be downgraded if [they were] to be upgraded".[107] As long as these ideals existed, any challenge to it was "seen as a threat to social order and, hence, to the very existence of society. A challenge to the absolute morality, then, is seen not only as immoral but as legitimate reason for the greatest anxiety".[108]

In this way morality could be used to control and integrate members of a society and as such people were divided into social groups through boundaries.[109] The obvious boundary here was that produced by the proclamations, particularly the divide between those abiding by their restrictions and those who were not. In turn, this came to reflect the rhetoric of who was believed to be moral and who was immoral. Goffman reminds us that these boundaries are symbolic representations that most often take the form of stigma.[110] It is this stigma that came to stick in place during the sixteenth century. Sara Ahmed agrees that some identities become stigmatised within the social order. The subject, she says, in assuming such identities

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[105] Griffiths, "Overlapping Circles: Imagining Criminal Communities in London", 119.
[106] Ibid.
[107] Jack Douglas, *Deviance and Respectability: The Social Construction of Moral Meanings* (New York: Basic Books, 1970), 6.
[108] Ibid., 21.
[109] For more on this point see Jan Stets and Michael Carter, "A Theory of the Self for the Sociology of Morality" *American Sociological Review* 77, 1 (2012), 120-140 and Emile Durkheim, *Moral Education: A Study in the Theory and Application of Sociology of Education* (New York: Free Press, 1961).
[110] Erving Goffman, *The Presentation of the Self in Everyday life* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1990).

become committed to a life that is read by others as shameful. By inhibiting the "non" normative, "bodies take on identities that are already read as the origin of 'our shame'".[111]

The anonymous passage offers another valuable insight into how shame was functioning in this context. We see Ahmed's witness when the author notes "for that *they live in the eye of others*, they be by example the more easily trained to justice, and by *shamefastness* restrained from injury".[112] The OED describes the term "shamefastness" as dating from c1200 and becoming common in the seventeenth century. It was a feeling of modesty, decency and propriety, while "shame" (dating from c725) can describe "the painful emotion arising from the consciousness of something dishonouring, ridiculous or indecorous in one's own conduct".[113] Mary Flannery notes that shamefastness is a flexible term, that can refer to "both the fear of shame and to the experience of it".[114] *Shamefastness* then, is the act of protecting one's decency and modesty. It is the exposure of one's disgrace in the "eye of others" that provides enables shame as a controlling tool within the metropolis. Ahmed suggests that "in shame, I expose to myself that I am a failure through the gaze of an ideal other".[115] The fear of being labelled as shameful by one's peers could create the desire to live within the social and urban ideals suggested in both the proclamations and *Survey*.

The modern understanding of shame is often associated with certain bodily movements (we turn away, we lower our face, we avert our gaze). These movements offer another framework for understanding how these sixteenth-century literary representations of space could function in the process of shifting blame and directing shame onto particular locations

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[111] Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*, 107.
[112] "An apologie or defence of the Cittie of London", 200-201. (Emphasis added)
[113] 'shamefastness, n." and 'shame n." *Oxford English Dictionary Online*. Oxford University Press, June 2017. Web. http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/177415 and http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/177406 (accessed 22 August 2017).
[114] Mary Flannery, "A Bloody Shame: Chaucer's Honourable Women" *The Review of English Studies* 62, 255 (2011), 338-339.
[115] Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*, 106.

and social groups within the city. Ahmed states that "on the one hand, shame covers that which is exposed, while on the other, shame exposes that which has been covered (it uncovers)".[116] We can see these actions (or movements) in the proclamations and Stow's *Survey*. The proclamations suggest a turning away from the inhabitants that could not fit the city image. By suggesting they move to three miles from the city, the proclamations encourage these people to become residents of another city or town. While Stow's *Survey* offers a more nuanced use of shame, his text demonstrates both actions. He often uncovers the "pestering and filthy" cottages of the suburbs, yet "hides" or avoids recording them within the walls. To explain this, Ahmed cites Darwin who states: "under a keen sense of shame there is a strong desire for concealment. We turn away the whole body, more especially the shame in which we endeavour in some way to hide".[117] Stow simply ignores any properties that do not fit his ideal image of the city. Once the texts had attached the non-normative or socially "other" label on to those residing in the suburbs, the shame shifted from the city and found its home there. Both sources suggest that the blame and resultant shame should lay with the social "other" responsible for these inconveniences. The texts and the act of shaming within them reinstated the boundary once marked by the city wall. Instead of being purely physical this time, however, the boundary was now also moral, social and economic in nature. A symbolic marker of where civility could be found.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has explored how the sixteenth-century discourse of urban space could be used to locate particular places as shameful. The chapter began by showing that the rhetoric found

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[116] Ibid., 104.

[117] Charles Darwin, *The Expression of the Emotions in Man and Animals,* ed. F. Darwin (London: John Murray, 1904) cited in Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*, 103.

within the Proclamations and Stow's *Survey* was founded on earlier ideological images of the city. Once the images of Bede's eighth-century pastoral places and Fitzstephen's twelfth-century stronghold city had merged, both the rural surroundings and the strength of the city were central to defining London. The London Wall was crucial in this ideological image of the city, defining what was city and what was not. The wall gave the city a degree of security but also importantly, fixed the boundaries of settlement. When the city began expanding beyond the wall and this image no longer corresponded to the contemporary reality, Londoners began contesting the meaning and importance of space within the city.

It appears the emotion of shame was utilised in this process and functioned in two ways through these texts. Firstly, the proclamations were an expression of a city "shamed" by its suburbs, an unruly extension of the city's collective self that must be controlled. And secondly, the proclamations and Stow's *Survey* acted as a tool to shift this shame onto the "other". The emotion of shame in this context was linked to moral identities (the other) within the city and could be used as a tool to highlight moral deficiencies within society, or to single out those that did not conform to the ideological representation of the city. As such, Ahmed states that, "emotionality as a claim about a subject or a collective is clearly dependent on relations of power, which endow 'others' with meaning and value".[118] This was characterized by a "turning away" from the "other" in literary representations of the city, firmly locating immorality in the suburbs. In this way, social otherness also began "sticking in place".

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[118] Ibid., 4.

KEEPING CONTAGION AT BAY IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Such persons as shall be infected or visted with the plague may be conveyed [there, and] with all convenient speed measure out a [convenient] plot unto the little lane betwixt Moorgate and Cripplegate Without the walls of the citie.

- Plague committee, 1583.[1]

Death … hath pitcht his tents … in the sinfully-polluted Suburbes: the Plague is Muster-maister and Marshall of the field. Feare and Trembling (the two Catch-polles of Death) arrest euery one.

- Thomas Dekker. *The Wonderfull Yeare*, 1603.[2]

That one parish of St. Giles hath done us all this mischief.

- Sir Thomas Peyton. 1665.[3]

In 1583, a committee was appointed to find a "convenient" location within the city of London in which those infected by the plague could be isolated. Arguing that it was unable to find somewhere and was short of funds, the city authorities did not establish the pesthouse in

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[1] Cited in Eleanor Levy, "Moorfields, Finsbury and the City of London in the Sixteenth Century" *London Topographical Record* 26 (1990), 85.

[2] Frank Wilson, ed., *The Plague Pamphlets of Thomas Dekker* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925), 31-32.

[3] Sir Thomas Peyton to Sir Joseph Williamson, Under-Secretary of State, Knowlton, Kent. Royal Court at Salisbury, August 7, 1665. Quoted by William Durrant Cooper, *Letters of John Allin … to Philip Fryth and Samuel Jeake* (London, 1856) and then A Moote and Dorothy Moote, *The Great Plague: The Story of London's Most Deadly Year* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008), 201.

Cripplegate Without until 1594.[4] The spatial segregation of plague victims was an established concept by the sixteenth century. A regulation circulated in 1374 required every victim "be taken out of the city into the fields, there to die or to recover".[5] Similarly, Lepers in the medieval period were relegated to both the social and spatial extremes of the city; their asylums were built outside the city walls, many in Cripplegate Without, "located downwind wherever possible".[6] It is no small point that Cripplegate Without falls within the parish of St Giles. St Giles was the patron saint of lepers, outcasts and the poor and invalid. Similarly, the etymology of the name "Cripplegate" reflects the association with the poor, as it was thought cripples would linger at the gate to beg in the medieval period.[7]

In 1603, Thomas Dekker wrote that "Death hatht pitched his tent" in the "sinfully-polluted suburbes" of London, rhetorically locating the place of the plague at the spatial extremes of the city. It was not until the 1665 outbreak, however, that a clear spatial segregation of plague victims occurred. In 1603, when Dekker was writing, the city within the walls was just as dangerous as the "sinfully polluted suburbs".[8] Paul Slack notes that earlier in 1593 "half the plague dead were located within the city walls" and that a much more plausible explanation for the distribution of the plague was the social, rather than the spatial, geography of the city.[9]

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[4] See Frank Wilson, *The Plague in Shakespeare's London* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927), 76-80.
[5] Justus Hecker and Benjamin Babington, *Epidemics in the Middle Ages*, trans. Robert Cooke (London: Trubner, 1859), 58-59.
[6] Saul Brody, *The Disease of the Soul: Leprosy in Medieval Literature* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1974), 67.
[7] Rev W. Denton, *Records of St. Giles, Cripplegate* (London: George Bell and Sons, 1883).
[8] Paul Slack, *The Impact of the Plague: In Tudor and Stuart England* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1985), 154-159.
[9] Paul Slack, "Metropolitan Government in Crisis: Response to the Plague in London 1500-1700" in *London 1500-1700: Making of a Metropolis,* eds. Roger Finlay and A. L Beier (London: Longman, 1986), 64. See also Paul Slack, *The Impact of the Plague,* 154-159.
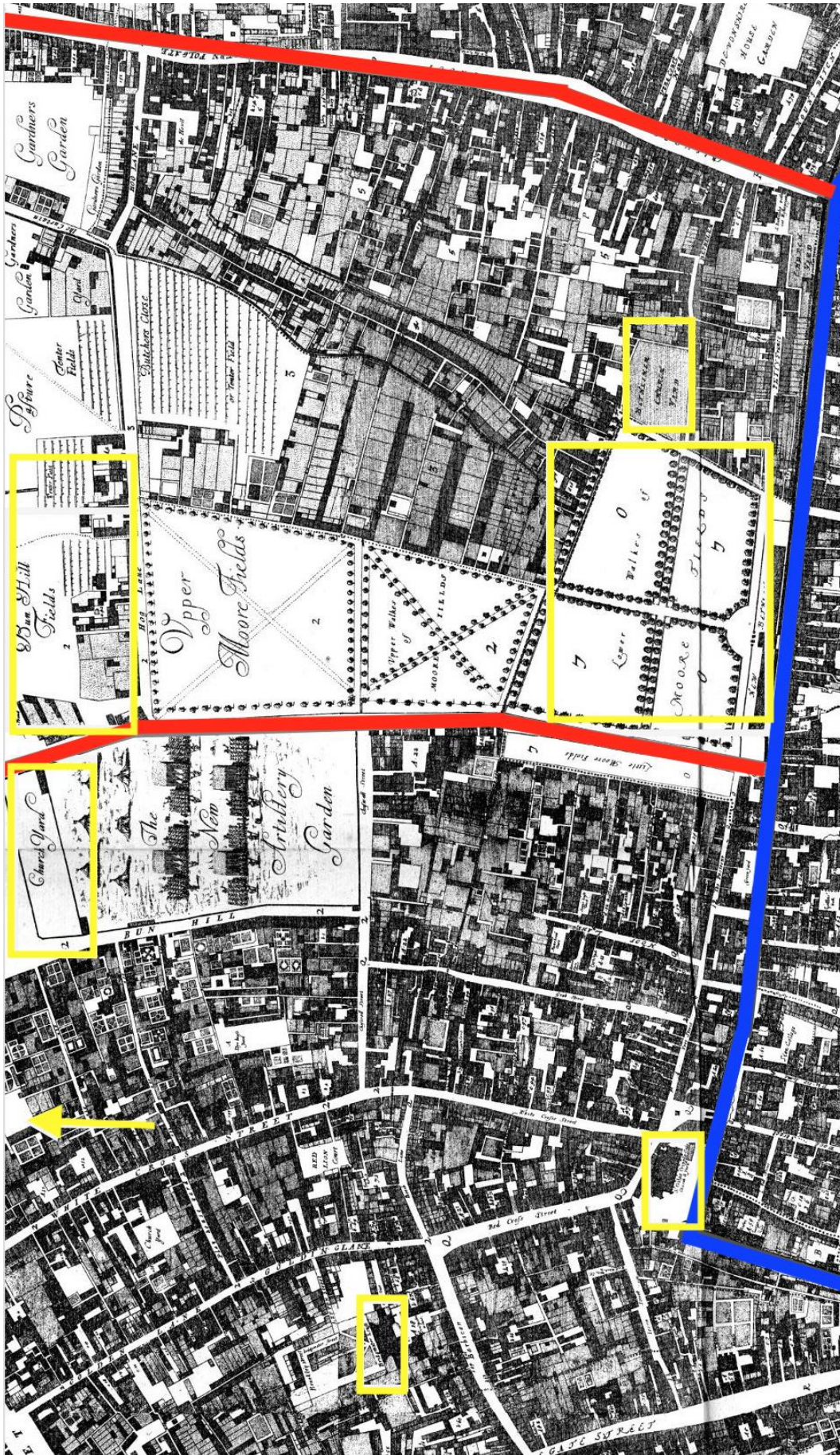
Figure 7: In yellow from left to right: The "Bridgewater" Pesthouse; The City Pesthouse; St Giles Without Parish Graveyard; The "New Churchyard"; Bunhill Burial Ground; Moorfields and the Doghouse; Bedlam Churchyard. In red from left to right: Little Moorfields road; Bishopsgate Street. In blue: London Wall. Mapped onto Ogilby and Morgan's Map of London, 1677. (Held by the British Library, Crace Port 2.61)

By 1665, many of the "places of plague" had been located in the suburbs north of the wall (see Figure 7). The City Pesthouse and the Bridgewater Pesthouse were established in the northwest of Cripplegate, as was the Bunhill Burial Ground. The city's "New Churchyard", sometimes referred to as the Finsbury Field Burial Ground, was to the east. Both of these burial grounds saw plague pits dug during the peak of the disease in July, August and September 1665.[10] The establishment of plague facilities was not exclusive to the northern suburbs; pesthouses and plague burials also occurred in other outlying areas of London. However, it was these locations that captured the fearful imagination of London society each time an epidemic broke out.

Penny Roberts and William Naphy note that some historians have argued that early modern society "witnessed a climate of fear" and that "fear was all-pervasive and omnipresent". Due to this, they note, anxiety and pessimism is often recorded in much of the historiography, particularly in the European context.[11] Whether or not this is the case, the plague indeed produced emotional reactions of fear, terror and panic. Yet, as Gordon Raeburn argues, emotions such as these were not only the result of the plague but often were believed to be the cause of the plague as well. It was often cited that an excess of emotions (both negative and positive) could cause or prolong its outcome.[12] Raeburn argues that emotions related to the plague have been little studied to date.[13] One exception is Andrew

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[10] Vanessa Harding, "Burial of the Plague Dead in Early Modern London" in *Epidemic Disease in London,* ed. Justin Champion (London: Centre for Metropolitan History, 1993), 53-64.

[11] Penny Roberts and William Naphy, "Introduction" in *Fear in Early Modern Society,* eds. William Naphy and Penny Roberts (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), 1. This idea is foreshadowed in Lucien Febvre, *The Problem of Unbelief in the Sixteenth Century: The Religion of Rabelais*, trans. Beatrice Gottlieb (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1982) and Johan Huizinga, *The Waning of the Middle Ages: A Study of the Forms of Life, Thought and Art in France and the Netherlands in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (London: E. Arnold, 1955).

[12] Gordon Raeburn, "Plague" in *Early Modern Emotions: An Introduction,* ed. Susan Broomhall (London: Routledge,2017), 206-7. The idea that an emotion could result in physiological sickness is also addressed in Marjo Kaartinen, "Pray, Dr, Is There Reason to Fear a Cancer? Fear of Breast Cancer in Early Modern Britain" in *A History of Emotions 1200-1800*, ed. Jonas Liliequist (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2012), 153-166.

[13] Gordon Raeburn, "Plague", 205.

Wear's study of fear, anxiety and the plague in early modern England. Wear outlines the differences between religious and medical fears of the plague, noting that irrational fear, that is "the fear that leads to unchristian and antisocial acts was condemned, but Christian fear was recognised" as productive.[14] The conception of fear in the early modern period is somewhat different to our contemporary understanding, yet serves as a "foundation upon which much of our contemporary notions of fear have been based".[15] Fear was not a simple concept in early modern England. It was both an individual emotion but also importantly, social in nature. It was both positive and negative, in that it could help reform immoral behaviour and expressed a sense of religious obedience, but it could also be seen as cowardly and sinful.[16] Alongside the plague, fear could also be induced by, among other things, environmental events, witchcraft and different social groups.[17]

Sara Ahmed's concept of fear is a modern abstraction of embodied experience. Her work is, however, helpful in understanding how fear could be a powerful emotion in the early modern social hierarchy, as well as understanding how emotion could stick in place, the premise of the thesis. Often confused with anxiety, fear can be distinguished by its relationship to the object of fear. Fear has an object. Conversely, Ahmed describes anxiety "as the tense anticipation of a threatening but vague event".[18] Yi Fu Tuan agrees, stating that anxiety "is a diffuse sense of dread and presupposes an ability to anticipate" and "a feeling of

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[14] Andrew Wear, "Fear, Anxiety and the Plague in Early Modern England" in *Religion, Health and Suffering,* eds. John Hinnells and Roy Porter (London: Keegan Paul International, 1999), 347.

[15] Stephen Hessel, *Fear Itself: Reasoning the Unreasonable* (Rodopi: Amsterdam, 2010), x.

[16] Andrew Wear, "Fear, Anxiety and the Plague in Early Modern England", 339-341.

[17] See Madeleine Harwood, ""Witches, Live Witches! The House is Full of Witches!" The Concept of Fear in Early Modern Witchcraft Drama" in *Fear Itself: Reasoning the Unreasonable,* eds. Stephen Hessel and Michèlle Huppert (Rodopi: Amsterdam, 2010), 3-22; Stuart Clark, *Thinking with Demons: The Idea of Witchcraft in Early Modern Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997) and Raingard Eber, "Fear of Water and Floods in the Low Countries" in *Fear in Early Modern Society,* eds. William Naphy and Penny Roberts (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), 62-77. In a more general sense Naphy and Roberts, eds., *Fear in Early Modern Society* offers an excellent overview of the different phenomena that could elicit a fearful response in the early modern period.

[18] Sara Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics of Emotion* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh Press, 2014), 64.

danger when nothing in the immediate surroundings can be pinpointed as dangerous".[19]

Ahmed clarifies the difference between fear and anxiety rests on an important temporal

dimension: "we fear an object that approaches us".[20] Without a distinct and identifiable

object of fear, the world itself becomes a space of potential danger, a space that is anticipated

as dangerous.[21]

If on the other hand, fear has an object, then fear can be contained within, or by, that

object. Penny Roberts and William Naphy suggest that towns and cities would have "provided

an ideal breeding ground for the kind of rumours that lead to the development of collective

fears about the security of the community".[22] In this process, they state, imagination added

to the "kinds and intensity of fear in the human world".[23] In this seventeenth-century case

study, fear was both based on a threatening context, that of the plague, but it was also often

informed by the collective imagination of the city. William Bouswsma states that when an

"object of fear is concrete, [it] may be dealt with by some appropriate action, fear [in this

way] can be reduced or overcome".[24] We may feel "alarm" at the object of fear; often this

dictates our response to the object of fear. Tuan notes the instinctive response to this fearful

alarm is "to combat it or run" – the "flight or fight response".[25]

Ahmed suggests that emotions, particularly fear, involve appraisals of vulnerability. In

the construction of fear, this vulnerability or openness is read by individuals as dangerous.

This chapter extends Ahmed's work on fear by suggesting this understanding can be 'scaled

up" in spatial dimension to the level of "the city". Fear on a collective level involves London

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[19] Yi Fu Tuan, *Landscapes of Fear* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell Publisher, 1980), 5.
[20] Sara Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*, 65.
[21] Ibid., 69.
[22] Roberts and Naphy, "Introduction", 5.
[23] Tuan, *Landscapes of Fear*, 6.
[24] William Bouswsma, "Christian Adulthood" *Daedalus* 105, 2 (1972), 78.
[25] Tuan, *Landscapes of Fear*, 10.

society as a whole reading the vulnerability or openness of the city as dangerous. I argue it is the proximity to contagion that elicited anxiety and fear in the seventeenth century. By locating or placing the object of fear with the sick, dying and dead in the fields, the object of fear could be contained, or as Stephen Hessel says, early moderns could attempt to "rationalise seemingly irrational phenomenon".[26] This, of course, was not the only way early modern Londoners conceptualised and understood contagion, it was rather, I argue, a way of spatially containing the object of fear within the city, alongside the social and physical strategies already widely accepted.[27] By containing contagion in a particular place within the city, it was thought members of London society could reduce their vulnerability by avoiding those places. The literary and visual representations helped to firmly locate the place of contagion in the suburbs.

Literary representations such as Dekker's 1603 plague pamphlets appear to have created a discursive link between the suburb of Cripplegate Without (and the adjacent fields) that predates the actual topographical spread of the plague within the city. Even if the demographic spread of death during the early part of the seventeenth century was (at least in the 1603 outbreak) not as spatially segregated as once thought, the "place" of fear in the early seventeenth century *was* rhetorically linked with the suburbs and the adjacent fields. Throughout the seventeenth century, this became a reoccurring trope in representations of the experience of plague. This chapter argues that locating the fields as a fearful object in the minds of seventeenth-century Londoners, helped make the plague understandable and containable. It seeks to address the spatial aspects of fear connected with the concept of contagion in early modern London. It uses both the plague and the profane burials of suicides

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[26] Hessel, *Fear Itself: Reasoning the Unreasonable*, vii.
[27] See Ian Munro, "The City and its Double: Plague Time in Early Modern London" *English Literary Renaissance* 30, 2 (2000), 241-261.

and criminals to highlight how the fearful representation could be both discursive and literal in its location of these events. The chapter offers examples of how viewing these cultural phenomena through the lens of spatial location within the city can help explain how fear was functioning as a social emotion. Furthermore, the chapter argues that these fearful representations could be used to reinforce responses that focused on proximity and distance in dealing with the dead and dying in the early modern period.

This chapter begins with an overview of how profane burials of suicides and criminals were located on the spatial and social boundary of the city in the years leading up to the seventeenth century. The chapter argues that this laid the groundwork for later representations of the fearful experience of the plague in the seventeenth century to be located in the same locations within the city. It then moves into a discussion of the plague and outlines the experience of living in London during the plague and the common responses to an outbreak. By identifying and locating the external and internal threats of contagion in the city, the chapter illuminates who was responsible for these threats. It then investigates the common responses to the plague: fleeing the city, the plague orders and the burial of the dead. The chapter concludes by identifying how the representation of the "place of the plague" became nuanced and more closely tied to the locations of the fields, and Cripplegate and Moorfields specifically. Often these iconographic images were exaggerated or topographically wrong, and the chapter concludes that the image of these locations could be used to reinforce the place or "object of fear" to contain the experience of fear of the plague within the city.

LONELY BURIALS NEXT TO THE "DOGE- HOWSE"

Before focusing on the seventeenth-century experience of the plague, I want to briefly

illustrate how suicide burials in earlier times may have laid the groundwork for the

representation of Cripplegate Without as "the place of fear". By the seventeenth century, it

was common practice for heretics and those who died by execution to be buried unmarked

in the fields outside the city.[28] Location of burial was not only important as a marker of social

position but could also be used to identify immoral or profane deaths. Profane burials could

be used to punish people for being the source of moral contagion within the city. This is

particularly evident in suicide and execution burials which were often punished by receiving

"lonely burials" at crossroads or on field boundaries.[29] Punishments inflicted upon dead

bodies, such as burial in unconsecrated lands and what was termed "lonely places", were

used to construct fear in the minds of those left living. The punishment of the dead was used

to enact a ritual separation of the holy from the unholy, the saved from the damned.

This punishment of the dead created moral boundaries that were, by being located at

crossroads or "lonely places", reinforced by the liminality of such sites within the spatial

hierarchy of the city. The fear of being buried in a "lonely place" away from one's loved ones

and access to the divine could be a strong motivator to conform to moral and social norms in

the seventeenth century. The fear associated with where one's bodily remains might be

located, both socially and spatially, could act as a significant social and moral "tool" within

early modern London. As such, Rebecca McNamara and Una McIlvenna note that in different

cultural and historical contexts, death and dying could illicit various emotional responses.

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[28] See Róisín Healy, "Historiographical Reviews: Suicide in Early Modern and Modern Europe" *The Historical Journal* 49, 3 (2006), 903-919.

[29] Rab Houston, *Punishing the Dead: Suicide, Lordship and Community in Britain 1500-1830* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 194.

They identify that early modern conceptions of the body and soul differed from our modern understanding in that "certain types of death were criminal or sinful, others 'good' and noteworthy" and as such, some could be feared, others could be celebrated.[30]

The merchant Henry Machyn recorded in his diary that "the ix day October (1555) was a servyngman, the penter's broder, that was bornyd at Staynes, was bered in Morefeld, beside the Doge-howse, becaus he was not resseff [was not to receive] the ryetes of the chyrche and thys lawe".[31] To "not resseff the ryetes of the chyrche" was a strong punishment; the burial "beside the doge-howse" was thus highly suggestive. The Dog House, home to the Lord Mayor's hunting hounds, was located to the north of the London Wall, adjacent to the eastern edge of Moorfields (see Figure 7). Established in 1512, it was situated on the outskirts of London, where it was thought the noise and smell would be less bothersome.[32] It was a frightful place as the dogs were known to be vicious and dangerous. The dissenting minister Jessey Henry linked it to suicide in 1647 when discussing a suicidal woman: "it was put in her minde to goe thence that night to the *Dog-house* (shee had heared of) in *Moorfields*, there to offer her selfe to the Dogs, to eate her up, that her Mother might never heare of her more".[33] Henry was writing almost a hundred years after Machyn's diary entry, suggesting that the association with profane deaths was long established and potentially well-known within the city. In 1632, William Rowley similarly noted the danger of the dog house when he used it as a threat against his enemies: "I could/ Take him by the leg and hurle him into/ The dog-house".[34] The Dog House then provoked both terror and fear (due to its danger) but also

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[30] Rebecca McNamara and Una McIlvenna, "Medieval and Early Modern Emotional Responses to Death and Dying" *Parergon* 31, 2 (2014), 2.

[31] Henry Machyn, *The Diary of Henry Machyn: Citizen and Merchant-Taylor of London, from A.D 1550 to A.D 1563* (London: Printed for the Camden Society by J.B Nichols and Son, 1848), 95.

[32] G Poole, "London, Ancient and Modern, From a Sanitary Point of View" *Public Health* 1 (*1889*), 336. See also Valerie Hope, *My Lord Mayor: Eight Hundred Years of London's Mayoralty* (London: Weidenfield and Nicolson, 1989), 42 for a reference to the Lord Mayor's association with the development of the Dog House.

[33] Jessey Henry, *The Exceeding Riches of Grace* (London: Matthew Simmons, 1647), 130. Emphasis original.

[34] William Rowley, *A New Wonder* (London: G.P for Francis Constable, 1632), 64.

shame due to its location on the outskirts of the city and the association with odour and filth. As such, to be buried next to the dog house would have been disturbing and shameful for both the deceased and their remaining social network.

From a legal perspective, defining and identifying when someone had committed suicide had important social ramifications and determined the type (and as we have seen, location) of burial. In the case of a *felo de se* (felon of himself – suicide) ruling, the goods of the deceased could be seized.[35] Furthermore, from 1510, coroners were financially compensated for homicide findings, which included verdicts of *felo de se*.[36] There was evidently a financial incentive for coroners and those in positions of power within society to define a death as suicide. Once such a ruling was made, the body of the dead could be subjected to various punishments. MacDonald notes that as early as 672 the Council of Hereford denied suicides funerary rights or "rites of honorable sepulture".[37] Janet Clare adds that it was the ritual (or lack of ritual) that was significant in the burial of suicides.[38] In 1662, the 68th Canon legally barred the reading of office of burial over suicides for "they are supposed to die in the commission of mortal sin, and in open contempt of their Saviour and His precepts; to have renounced Christianity; to have unchristianised themselves; that in the view which the law takes of the persons who are self-murders".[39] As the clergy was not allowed to perform the burial rites, the 68th Canon reinforced the spatially-segregated burial of these bodies.

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[35] Janet Clare, "Buried in the Open Fields: Early Modern Suicide and the case of Ofelia" *Journal of Early Modern Studies* 2, 1 (2013), 242.

[36] Michael MacDonald and Terrance Murphy, *Sleepless Souls: Suicide in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), 24.

[37] Michael MacDonald, "Ophelia's Maimed Rites" *Shakespeare Quarterly* 37, 1 (1986), 19.

[38] Clare, "Buried in the Open Fields", 244.

[39] Statute 14 C. II c.4

Before 1662, burying a suicide in unconsecrated ground had no authority at law, but was a "customary" or locally sanctioned by warrant of an English coroner.[40] The denial of a burial with the associated rituals granted to a Christian or "worthy" member of the parish was punishment for the immoral act of taking one's own life. Paul Seaver identifies one such case in the death of Elizabeth Wickham of St Botolph, Aldgate. Elizabeth suffered the punishment of an unconsecrated burial in 1595 when she "hung herself upon a garden pale by her apron strings" and buried in the same alley where she supposedly killed herself. Her death was ruled as *felo de se* as it was believed she had tried to take her own life previously.[41] Whether her death was a suicide or accident, the choice of her burial location was served as a terrifying reminder of what awaited the immoral within the community if they did not repent their sinful ways.

This could be an explicit function of profane burial rituals. John Weever's *Ancient Funerall Monuments* noted "we use to bury such as lay violent hands on themselves, in or neare to high ways, … to terrifie all passangers, by that so infamous and reproachfull a burial; not to make such their final passage out of this present world".[42] A lonely, unconsecrated burial then, could be used not only as a punishment of the dead, but also importantly to construct fear in the living. Highway and crossroad burials are well documented by archaeologists. Michael MacDonald and Terence Murphy believe that the burial of suicides outside consecrated ground was "routinely ordered" before 1823.[43] Contemporary early modern commentary and legal texts reveal disagreement over what was done to the body,

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40 Houston, *Punishing the Dead*, 5.

41 Paul Seaver, "suicide and the Vicar General in London: A mystery Solved" in *From Sin to Insanity: Suicide in Early Modern Europe,* ed. Jeffery Watt (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2004), 26.

42 John Weever, *Ancient Funerall Monuments within the United Monarchie of Great Britaine, Ireland, and the Islands Adjacent* (London, 1631), 22. emphasis added.

43 MacDonald and Murphy, *Sleepless Souls*. See also Houston, *Punishing the Dead,* 200 and Róisín Healy, "Historiographical Reviews: Suicide in Early Modern and Modern Europe", 907.

possibly because they were intended to be rhetorical or argumentative, rather than purely descriptive.[44] One aspect of the commentary is never disputed though, the location of burial. Once a ruling of suicide was made, it appears it was difficult to secure a burial within a consecrated graveyard, instead the dead were relegated to the fields and highways.

Katherine Verdery argues that bodies could act as material objects with a high value as "symbolic vehicles", but the way people think about bodies is "more significant than their materiality because they occupy social space as much as physical".[45] She continues by noting "a dead body is meaningful not in itself but through culturally established relations to death and through the way a specific dead person's importance is (variously) construed".[46] The emphasis on bodies in early modern England shows how inflicting damage on a corpse was more feared by the suicide's survivors than the "restrictions on their freedom to do as they wished with the estate of the dead".[47] At the same time, Houston notes the rituals that "discriminated against suicides at burial were not some generalised gut reaction to a uniquely horrific act", but were rather selectively carried out on certain classes of suicides whose position in the community made them vulnerable.[48] Those in vulnerable positions within the city were less able to argue for a ruling of *non compos mentis* (not sound of mind) for their loved ones. Those with reasonable social power, on the other hand, were able to protect both the dead person's financial and physical property and importantly, reputation and soul. The segregation of suicides was often understood to be ensuring the moral purity of space within the city, but it was also a way of reinforcing social hierarchy. As we can see then, before the seventeenth-century plague outbreaks, there was already a developing understanding of the

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[44] Houston, *Punishing the Dead*, 193.
[45] Ibid., 14.
[46] Katherine Verdery, *Political Lives of Dead Bodies: Reburial and Postsocialist Change* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 28.
[47] Houston, *Punishing the Dead*, 4.
[48] Ibid.

spatial aspects of contagion and protecting the city from moral threats. This often manifested itself in segregating profane and immoral burials away from the city, many of which found their way to Moorfields to the north of the city, a location that would later be represented as the "place of the plague".

BODIES PILED ONE ON TOP OF ANOTHER

Death and its place in the early modern city have been extensively studied, as has the experience and representation of the plague.[49] In the seventeenth century, London witnessed three major plague epidemics (1603, 1625 and 1665) each claiming between a quarter and a third of the population.[50] The plague of 1665 was particularly devastating, killing nearly 5,000 in Cripplegate Without alone.[51] Stephen Greenberg reminds us, however, that it would be a mistake to regard the plague of 1665 as the only significant outbreak in the early modern period.[52] Rather, 1665 was simply the last of a series of epidemics in the seventeenth century. As a whole, these outbreaks helped shape the understanding of contagion in Londoner's minds.[53] One belief was that the city could only rid itself of the plague "by cleansing society from the physical and moral ills associated with it – poverty, popular disturbance,

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[49] On death in the early modern period see McNamara and McIlvenna, "Medieval and Early Modern Emotional Responses to Death and Dying"; Elizabeth Tingle and Jonathan Willis, eds., *Dying, Death, Burial and Commemoration in Reformation Europe* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015); Gordon Raeburn, "Rewriting Death and Burial in Early-Modern Scotland" *Reformation and Renaissance Review* 18, 3 (2016), 254-272; James Kelly and Mary Ann Lyons, eds., *Death and Dying in Ireland, Britain and Europe: Historical Perspectives* (Kildare: Irish Academic Press, 2013) and Richard Wunderli and Gerald Broce, "The Final Moment before Death in Early Modern England" *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 20, 2 (1989), 259-275. On the experience and representation of the plague in the early modern period see Joseph Monteyne, *The Printed Image in Early Modern London* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), particularly the chapter on "Anatomising the Social Body: Visualising the Plague" pp.73-112 and the similar Mark Jenner, "Plague on a Page: Lord Have Mercy Upon Us" *The Seventeenth Century* 27, 3 (2012), 255-286.
[50] Earnest Gilman, "The Subject of the Plague" *The journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies* 10, 2 (2010), 25.
[51] T Birch, A *Collection of the Yearly Bills of Mortality from 1657 to 1758 Inclusive* (London: A. Millar, 1759). Also available in Justin Champion, *London's Dreaded Visitation: The Social Geography of the Great Plague in 1665* (London: Historical Geography Research Series, 1995), 104-107. Cf. J Robertson, "Reckoning with London: Interpreting the Bills of Mortality before John Graunt" *Urban History* 23, 3 (1996), 325-350.
[52] Stephen Greenberg, "Plague, the Printing Press, and Public Health in Seventeenth-Century London" *Huntington Library Quarterly* 67, 4 (2004), 508.
[53] Slack, *The Impact of the Plague,* 144.

drunkenness, filth of all kinds".[54] In this way the plague has even been, at times, described as a somewhat positive outcome, "getting rid of sins and excess people which produced that other scourge – famine".[55]

The predisposition of an individual to the plague was widely understood not only as physical but moral in nature.[56] In the seventeenth century, in particular, it was often viewed as a visitation of God, a direct result of individual and collective sin and disorder within the city. Pamphleteers like Dekker helped shape this understanding and insisted that the plague was the result of human sin.[57] Earnest Gilman contends that because of this, the seventeenth-century conception of the plague included the belief that its infliction was seen as just and deserved at the individual level; Slack notes that "some individuals were, or made themselves, more susceptible to infection that others".[58] Among the ways in which Londoners could find themselves predisposed to plague were indulging in "unnatural activities – gluttony, idleness, anger, lust" or being of a sanguine constitution.[59] Sinful and physically unhealthy qualities were believed to be inseparable in this way. Moreover, as Raeburn suggests the guilt of provoking the "divine scourge" could exceed the individual with the community also called upon to account for the sins of its members.[60]

The belief that society as a whole could be responsible found traction in the coincidental timing of plague in the years of monarch deaths (Elizabeth I in 1603 and James I in 1625 respectively), calling for "remedial action on the part of the sinful community". The plague

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[54] Ibid., 339.

[55] Healy, "Discourses of the Plague in Early Modern London", 30.

[56] See for example Rebecca Totaro, ed., *The Plague Epic in Early Modern England: Heroic Measures 1603-1721* (Burlington: Ashgate, 2012).

[57] Peter Lake, "From Troynouvant to Heliogabalus's Rome and Back: "Order" and its Others in the London of John Stow" in *Imagining Early Modern London: Perceptions and Portrayals of the City from Stow to Strype, 1598-1720,* ed. Julia Merritt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 223.

[58] Gilman, "The Subject of the Plague", 25 and Slack, *The Impact of the Plague,* 27.

[59] Ibid.

[60] Raeburn, "Plague", 206-7. See also Gilman, "The Subject of the Plague", 26-7.

was represented during this period as not only retribution for an individual's immoral actions but also a caution against further immoral actions within society.[61] Jean Delumeau contends that "the concept of sin can itself engender a potentially fruitful fear of one's self. Experienced positively, guilt creates tensions that can redeem the elite. These tensions can actively foster wellbeing, stimulate creative anxiety, help to develop a sense of responsibility".[62] As such, it was common to see the association of sin with disease regularly used to justify orders against disorderly and immoral activities within the city and society more broadly.

Historical work of the last decade on the plague has seen a growing awareness of how disease and contagion could be used to conceptualise wider social and cultural concerns in the early modern period.[63] Rosín Healy notes that at the start of the seventeenth century, "physical and spiritual contagion shared a remarkably similar vocabulary".[64] Graham Hamill identifies that a recent body of work links early modern plague epidemics with politics and dissenting. The plague, he argues, became a way of thinking about political discourse during the early modern period.[65] Locating threats within the city, both the physiological and political could be discussed with the same vocabulary. This he says, can be seen in the household quarantine of the infected, which "formalises into a logic of immunisation, a political logic in which community is constituted by the ongoing expulsion of an infected part".[66] Likewise, Slack notes that early modern Londoners found reassurance in the ability to conceptualise both contagion and death in recognisable and knowable terms.[67] This was often related back

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[61] Phillip Seargeant, "Discursive Diversity in the Textual Articulation of Epidemic Disease in Early Modern England" *Language and Literature* 16, 4 (2007), 334.

[62] Jean Delumeau, *Sin and Fear: The Emergence of a Western Guilt Culture Thirteenth to Eighteenth Centuries*, trans. Eric Nicholson (New York: St Martin's Press, 1990), 555.

[63] Jenner, "Plague on a Page", 258; see also Colin Jones, "Plague and its Metaphors in Early Modern France" *Representations* 53, 1 (1996), 101.

[64] Healy, "Discourses of the Plague in Early Modern London", 24.

[65] Graham Hammill, "Miracles and Plagues: Plague Discourse as Political Thought" *The Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies* 10, 2 (2010), 86

[66] Ibid., 100.

[67] Slack, *The Impact of the Plague,* 22.

to the Plague Orders and notions of divine justice; moral depravity (and proximity to it) was seen as the greatest threat. In short, returning to Ahmed's concept, London society sought to identify the object of fear in relation to the plague and contagion as a broader concept.

The unpredictable movement of the plague from place to place proved divisive for early modern London society. The distribution of disease allowed the fear generated by the epidemic to be directed towards those felt to be morally responsible for the catastrophe: most often the poor, vagrants and foreigners.[68] Phillip Seargeant argues that the identification of moral sources of the plague "often also involved locating physical sources such as public assemblies or slum dwellings, which could then be given a moral interpretation". As an example, he cites playhouses crowds and their immoral reputations as being identified as both a moral and physiological threat. Likewise, slums were often viewed as a result of the greedy, "and thus spiritual chastisement was mixed with social commentary".[69] The contrast became rather simple in early modern minds, with the chaotic, unplanned suburbs that housed the poor and saw the majority of plague deaths and the orderly streets of the middling and upper sorts within the city centre. Just as individuals within society could be singled out for their sin provoking the plague, so too could communities within the city. At a broader spatial and social scale than individual guilt, but smaller than collective London society, the suburban community could be used to explain and lay blame for the outbreak of plague in the early modern city. In this way, a direct link between those areas *felt* to be hardest hit and judgements of sin, immoral behaviour and vice were made.

Alongside the moral understanding of the causes of the plague, there was also a developing knowledge of the physical or physiological nature of contagion. The "odour of

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[68] Ibid., 338-339.
[69] Seargeant, "Discursive Diversity", 334-335.

poorly buried corpses" was seen as a major source of infection within the city, and measures were taken to ensure the segregation of those bodies felt to be contagious to the rest of the population.[70] The belief that the odour or air associated with plague dead was responsible for spreading disease was widespread from the late medieval period onward. During the plague of 1348 and again in 1603 and 1665, many people died so quickly that interment was often haphazard and rushed.[71] Tuan suggests that "bodies were piled one on top of another in church grave yards within the city, and when these could not possibly accommodate more, large trenches were dug on open land [the fields] for mass disposal".[72] Whether bodies were piled one on top of another in church graveyards is debated within the historiography of the early modern London plague, but the identification of the haphazard and rushed internment of many bodies is often noted.[73]

Vanessa Harding suggests that the burial of the dead in cities was likely to be a more contested issue than in rural communities, and hence perhaps may have produced a more "complex and nuanced expression of space and identity".[74] Up until the late seventeenth century, the parish was responsible for the disposal of the dead. Within the parish, there was a "hierarchy of desirability, created partly by distance but also by antiquity of use".[75] The most desirable and sought-after burial locations were housed in the church itself, within the chancel and chapels being the most esteemed, then the nave and the aisles. Once outside of the

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[70] Tuan, *Landscapes of Fear,* 98.
[71] Harding, "Burial of the Plague Dead in Early Modern London", 57.
[72] Tuan, *Landscapes of Fear*, 98.
[73] See for instance the large body of work on the topic by Vanessa Harding. In particular: Vanessa Harding, "Burial on the Margin: Distance and Discrimination in Early Modern London" in *Grave Concerns: Death and Burial in England 1700-1850*, ed. Margaret Cox, (York: Council for British Archaeology, 1998); Vanessa Harding, *The Dead and Living in Paris and London (1500-1670)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Vanessa Harding, ""And One More May Be Laid There": The Location of Burials in Early Modern London" *London Journal* 14, 2 (1989), 112-129 and Vanessa Harding, "Burial Choice and Burial Location in Later Medieval London" in *Death in Towns, Urban Responses to the Dying and Dead, 100-1600,* ed. Steven Bassett (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1992), 119-135.
[74] Vanessa Harding, "Burial on the Margin", 54.
[75] Ibid., 56.

church if there were two burial grounds, the oldest was the more favoured (which was also usually closer to the church). New burial grounds were commonly seen as undesirable, and many records suggest that the parish had to offer incentives to attract burials to these locations.[76] The burial of outsiders and the poor within the parish was seen as a Christian duty, and while they may have been afforded the burial rites as if they were a parishioner, they were buried in the more marginal burial grounds, often the furthest from the church.[77] Slack notes that there is evidence of parishes being reluctant to house the bodies of plague victims within their churchyards, which often resulting in unregistered burials in gardens and notably the fields north of the wall.[78]

To understand the spatial aspects of early modern burials within London, Harding applies the concept of centrality/marginality and argues that the disposal of the dead represented social relations in a spatial dimension. This resulted in the "reservation of favoured, centrally-located burial spaces for those seen as central to society, together with the relegation of socially 'marginal' groups to extramural or distant burial grounds".[79] With the influx of immigration to the city of London, "perceptions of space and social position were sharpened and traditional burial practices had to give way to new practicalities". One result of this was a "greater discrimination between claims on the community's limited resources of desirable burial space".[80]

The seventeenth century saw large numbers of deaths from the plague. The discourse surrounding both the categorisation of death and dying was an important aspect of London life. Often this discourse was mediated through notions of morality and sin but could also be

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[76] Ibid.
[77] Ibid.
[78] Slack, *The Impact of the Plague,* 55.
[79] Harding, "Burial on the Margin", 54.
[80] Ibid.

negotiated through understandings of proximity and location. Once plague deaths reached epidemic levels, it was common to see burial practices begin to break down, and during these times the location of burial became highly contested. This was due to the sheer number of burials but also importantly to the desire to keep the spaces within the city pure and free from contagious threats, both physiological and moral. The way death occurred impacted on the decision of where one found their final resting place. Even before dying, however, there was much discourse on who was a threat to the city's wellbeing, and this shaped the fear provoked towards both the living and the dead.

IDENTIFYING THREATS: EXTERNAL AND INTERNAL CONTAGION IN THE CITY

Locating the source of contagion was of great importance to those living in early modern London. By knowing where, and who was responsible for the threat, in Ahmed's words, fear had an "object". By locating the threat of contagion, the fear associated with it was able to be contained in the minds of the city's inhabitants. Threats, both physiological and moral, within early modern London were located or "placed" within the city in several ways. By 1563, regular bills of mortality were published, which summarised the number of deaths. Within thirty years, these figures were being printed as broadsheets and widely distributed throughout the city.[81] During the seventeenth century particularly, the bills of mortality offered contemporaries a way of tracing the patterns of death and disease. Will Slauter shows that that in the 1665 outbreak of plague, the bills influenced people's understanding of the city. The layout of information on the bills reinforced the contrast between the suburbs and the city, which he

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[81] Seargeant, "Discursive Diversity", 333. See also Edmund Chambers, *The Elizabethan Stage* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1923).

says, "many found comforting".[82] This "placing" of the plague in the bills of 1665 was explicitly noted by the Head of the Company of Parish Clerks who stated the bills "offered a general notice of the plague, and a particular Accompt [account] of the places which are therewith infected, to the end that such places may be shunned and avoided".[83] This view is suggested in earlier popular literature such as the 1630 pamphlet *London Looke Backe*, which states that "the canon of the pestilence does not yet discharge, but the small shot playes night and day vpon the suburbes".[84] The popular spatial discourse surrounding the plague, as we will see, dates back to at least the start of the seventeenth century in popular literature and is mirrored in literature after the plague. Samuel Pepys' diary expresses an understanding of the geography of the plague within the city when he records in June 1665, "but that only four had died in the city itself, which is a great blessing to us".[85] Of course, by 1665 there was, in fact, a spatial divide of the experience of the plague within the city, but we will come back to that shortly.

Part of this spatial discourse was the question of why some and not others were struck down with the plague in the same location, and this became a recurring theme. Much earlier in 1534, Thomas Paynell asked "why that some do die and peryshe of the foresayde sycknesse, and some not?"[86] Paynell was unusually pragmatic for his time, foreshadowing later understandings of contagion. He did not make an obvious moral point in his work. Instead, he made a physiological one: infected people spread disease, therefore it was wise to avoid

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[82] See Will Slauter, "Write Up Your Dead: The Bills of Morality and the London Plague of 1665" *Media History* 17, 1 (2011) and Greenberg, "Plague, the Printing Press, and Public Health".

[83] John Bell, *London's Remembrancer* (London: E. Coates, 1665) n.p cited in Slauter, "Write Up Your Dead", 6.

[84] *London Looke Backe* is an anonymous work that is commonly attributed to Thomas Dekker. Thomas Dekker, "London Looke Backe" in *The Plague Pamphlets of Thomas Dekker,* ed. Frank Wilson, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1925), 187.

[85] Samuel Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, eds. R Latham and W. Matthews, (Berkley: University of California Press, 2000) vol.6, 142.

[86] Thomas Paynell, "Moche Profitable treatise against the pestilence" 1534. quoted in Healy, "Discourses of the Plague in Early Modern London" in *Epidemic Disease in London: A collection of Working Papers given at the Symposium "Epidemic Disease in London: from the Black Death to Cholera" held at the Institute of Historical Research, 19 March 1992,* ed. Justin Champion, (London: Centre for Metropolitan History, 1993), 22.

crowds. Similarly, Thomas Lodge questioned the social aspects of contagion in 1603 when he stated: "contagion, is an evil qualitie in a bodie, communicated unto an other by touch, engendering one and the same disposition in him to whom it communicated".[87] For Lodge, it was proximity or "touch" that was to be most feared. Sixteenth-century discourse more often than not took a social and moral stance towards the plague. However, the idea of "which bodies were especially contagious and where they lived" started to become important during this period.[88] City space began to be associated with the "immoral" nature of those who resided there. Rather than being linked with where one chose to live, like we saw in the previous chapter, in the seventeenth century, morality could be tied to the location of the plague or more specifically, where it was *thought* to be located.

Another important way contagion was conceptualised in the early seventeenth century was whether the threat was thought to be external or internal. Tuan identifies these conceptual categories in relation to disease in ancient civilisations, but the same categories can be identified in early modern London. Firstly, the cause can be perceived as external: "a person suffers because he or she is invaded by an external agent – a malefic object or spirit – in the environment".[89] Secondly, the source of illness could be internal: "a person becomes sick because he or she has broken a taboo and offended the gods".[90] Both of these categories were aligned with sin and morality, however, they were dealt with through differing strategies.

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[87] Thomas Lodge, *A Treatise of the Plague: Containg the nature, signes, and accidents of the same, with the certaine and absolute cure of the Feuers, Botches and Carbuncles that Raigne in these times* (London, 1603) n.p.
[88] Healy, "Discourses of the Plague in Early Modern London", 22.
[89] Tuan, *Landscapes of Fear*, 88.
[90] Ibid.

External agents were blamed for bringing the plague into the city: vagrants, dogs and the foreigner or stranger.[91] These groups were often cited as responsible for spreading disease and were the target of the many orders to remove them from the city during plague outbreaks. Thomas Lodge identifies the outsider as an external threat when, in 1603, he offered advice on protecting the city:

> Not … suffer any of those to enter their Citty that come from such places as are suspected, except they be men of note, or whose prudence and securitie they may be assured. For it is not always a consequent, that all the inhabitants of a Citty are always infected, especially when they are men of respect, who haue the meanes, and obserue the method to presrue themselues: where of it is very necessary that the gouernours, and such as haue the keeping of the gates, should haue respect: but for such as are vangabonds, masterlesse men, and of servile and base condition, for such I say, they ought not to be admitted.[92]

Like suicide burials, the plague was bound up with the way boundaries were defined between different social groups within the community. By suggesting that "masterless men" "ought not be admitted", Lodge was identifying both the spatial boundary of the London Wall, and the social boundary of vagrant society. It strengthened "the divisions already present, with the poor sections of society branded by virtue of their increased vulnerability, and with the moral connotations that the disease has merging with anxieties about social disorder in the lower

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[91] Of these categories, Matthew Dimmock states 'stranger" and "Alien" were used interchangeably to indicate non-English origins, whereas "foreigner" was often (but not always) used to refer to an unfamiliar individual from elsewhere in Britain. See Matthew Dimmock, "Converting and Not Converting 'strangers" in Early Modern London" *Journal of Early Modern History* 17, 5 (2013), 458.

[92] Thomas Lodge, "A Treatise of the Plague" in *The Complete Works of Thomas Lodge* (New York: Russell and Russell, 1963 [1603]), 42.

classes".[93] Lodge again is helpful in identifying this group, stating "where the infection most rageth there pouertie raigneth among the Commons, which hauing no supplies to satisfie the greedie desire of those that should attend them, are for the most part left desolate and die without reliefe".[94] Poverty was often identified as a marker of disease, both social and physical.

Tuan's second category, the internal threat, is also present as an explanation for contagion in the early modern period in the form of sin. On an individual level, this explanation aligns with the medieval and early modern understanding that those with the plague had justly become inflicted due to their sinful ways. The soul was understood as able to influence the wellness of the physical body. The opposite was also understood to be true; the state of the physical body was thought to be a marker of the purity (or not) of the soul. Moving beyond the individual body to society as a whole, this understating of contagion could also suggest that groups of people *within* the city could also threaten the state of the city.[95] If we conceptualise seventeenth-century London society as "the body", then radical views and beliefs can be viewed as a "lack of agreement between parts of the body". As David Hale states, it was civil war played out in the individual.[96] Healy agrees, stating that "words and books were becoming dangerous, spreading moral pollution and potential social discord by the minute. Gatherings of people could spread contagion, and meetings were seen as dangerous".[97] This was true of both political and physiological disease within society.

The fearful response to these threats by Londoners could result in society uniting behind a common interest (and often this meant against the marginal and outsiders). In this

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[93] Seargeant, "Discursive Diversity", 340.
[94] Lodge, "A Treatise of the Plague", 3.
[95] On this distinction see Roberts and Naphy, "Introduction", 2.
[96] David Hale, *The Body Politic: A Political Metaphor in Renaissance English Literature* (Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton, 1971), 64.
[97] Healy, "Discourses of the Plague in Early Modern London", 22.

way, "authorities could feed on people's fears" and by doing so could deflect discontent through naming scapegoats.[98] Roberts and Naphy say this scapegoating or othering indicated the ability of fear to "reinforc[e] solidarities between social groups and encourag[e] cooperation".[99] Scapegoating was another way in which fear could act as a social "tool", delineating who was "safe" and who was a "threat". It could and did lead to practical measures to deal with and control the object of fear.[100] Often these practical measures were concerned with expelling the threat from the city, both the living and the dead. Graham Hammill discusses the internal threat of plague within the early modern city in relation to immunisation. He conceptualises immunisation as an act of rejection in which an individual or community is defined through the expulsion of an internal threat.

An individual or community could be "immunised against a threatening influence that is separated off from the community in order to prevent further contamination".[101] Hammill notes an example in Edward Reynolds" 1640 *Treatise of the Passions and Faculties of the Soule of Man*, which begins by "describing the need to immunise oneself from certain corrupting passions". The treatise "then goes on to argue for a model of Christian redemption in which [the] community comes together through the rejection of the spiritual and physical enemies of Christ, 'giving us immunity from all spiritaull dangers'".[102] It was the act of *keeping out* the external and *forcing out* the internal threat. As Hammill says, "on both an individual and communal level, the interior contagion is actively rejected and kept on the outside in order to maintain the purity of the inside. The 'sick' must be kept from the whole".[103]

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[98] Roberts and Naphy, "Introduction", 3.
[99] Ibid.
[100] Ibid.
[101] Hammill, "Miracles and Plagues", 89.
[102] Edward Reynolds, *A Treatise of Passion and Faculties of The Soule of Man* (London: Bostoke, 1640). Cited in Hammill, "Miracles and Plagues", 89.
[103] Hammill, "Miracles and Plagues", 89.

Contagious threats within the early modern city were often conceptualised as either external or internal. This locating of threats very much depended on notions of proximity and containment and suggested different strategies in dealing with them. By keeping out the external threat and expelling the internal, contagion, both moral and physiological, was thought to be minimised. The spatial ordering of people through expelling or keeping out the sick from the city altered the topography of the plague and reinforced the understanding that the plague was worst in the suburbs outside the walls. This also created associations with the moral understandings of the plague, reinforcing the connection of the suburbs as immoral and the people residing in them as responsible for provoking the plague as divine retribution. By identifying where and who were responsible for provoking the plague, in Ahmed's words, "fear has an object" and as such, Londoners could begin distancing themselves from those spaces and people. This manifested itself in two distinct strategies.

"RUN AWAYES" FLEEING THE CITY THROUGH THE FIELDS

The alarm and fear generated by the outbreak of plague within the city, and orders given to contain it, heightened the panic to survive throughout the city, "characterised by the ability, or not, to finance one's segregation and sustenance outside the metropolis".[104] This response also reinforced social boundaries within society; the loosely-defined rich fled while the poor had no choice but to stay. It was a common understanding that fleeing the city was the surest way to ensure survival or to "set up barriers to exclude anything associated with it from your vicinity".[105] Thomas Lodge's advice in 1603 echoed this belief, stating "the first and cheifest remedy, then, is to fly far and return late".[106] The bills of mortality are well understood to

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[104] Healy, "Discourses of the Plague in Early Modern London", 34.
[105] Ibid., 33.
[106] Lodge, "A Treatise of the Plague", 42.

have impacted the movement of people, "acting as a barometer of the city's relative health" and they often "triggered the flight of the rich" to country estates.[107] This skewed the demography of plague victims in both the 1603 and 1665 outbreak and bolstered representations of the plague that placed the blame for contagion and its associated sin with the poor, often living in the liberties, or suburbs, outside the walls.[108]

The topic of "run awayes" was the focus of Thomas Dekker's 1625 pamphlet *A Rod for Run-Awayes,* which included a provocative woodblock image on the cover (Figure 8).[109] The image reads "Lord, haue mercy on London" above an image of London from the north, across Moorfields, with a skeleton of death in the centre of the field captioned "I follow". Fleeing Londoners face pikemen to the right with the captions "We fly" and "keep out" respectively, while unfinished graves and those who have died where they fell inhabiting the left of the field with the caption "wee dye". The text itself starts with:

Gods Tokens, Of his feareful judgements, sundry ways pronounced vpon this City, and on seuerall persons, both flying from it, and staying in it. Expressed in many dreadfull examples of sudden Death, falne vpon both young and old, within this City, and the Suburbes, in the Fields, and open Streets, to the terrour of all those who live, and to the warning of those who are to dye, to be ready when God Almighty shall bee pleased to call them.[110]

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[107] Slauter, "Write Up Your Dead", 6.
[108] Slack, *The Impact of the Plague,* 151-170.
[109] The pamphlet is commonly attributed to Dekker however, it was published anonymously.
[110] Wilson, ed., *The Plague Pamphlets of Thomas Dekker*, 148.

Dekker was vocal in his criticism of the flight of the wealthy from the city, but also condemned the harshness with which refugees from the capital were treated in outlying areas.[111] Mark Jenner notes that the numerous other plague pamphlets of 1636 and 1665 did not condemn the urban flight of the wealthy, however, their pictorial content alluded to a similar message to Dekker's *A Rod for Run-Awayes*.[112] The latter outlines how the rich fleeing the city with their money sealed the fate of the masses of poor people within the city. The mass migration from the city during times of crisis effectively brought the economy of the city to a standstill, worsening the plight of those who did not have the resources to flee.[113]

Dekker writes of the fear induced in the streets: "foure thousand Red-Crosses haue frightened the inhabitants in a very little time: but greater is their number who have beene frightened, and fled out of the city at the setting vp of those crosses".[114] Dekker paints a vivid picture of the experience of plague: thousands of shut up houses and thousands more fleeing the city. Referencing the number of dead being carried to the grave and the bills of mortality giving the weekly number of dead in each parish, he says: "shall I tell you how many thousands haue beene borne on mens shoulders in the compasse of fiue or six weekes? Bills sent vp and downe both Towne and Countrie, haue giuen you already too fearfull informations".[115]

Dekker does not specifically make a connection with the fields in his text, yet the woodblock image creates an explicit link between death and dying in the fields north of the city (presumably Moorfields). The woodblock clearly references the fields; even if the scene taking place in them is a fictionalised representation of Dekker's view, the location is real. The fields to the north of the city had two of the major roads from the city running near it.

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[111] Jenner, "Plague on a Page", 270.
[112] Ibid.
[113] Slack, *The Impact of the Plague,* 47-49.
[114] Wilson, ed., *The Plague Pamphlets of Thomas Dekker,* 157.
[115] Ibid., 158.

Bishopsgate Street ran somewhat to the east of Moorfields and was a major artery road leading to and from the city, while through the fields themselves was "Little Moorfields" a less populated street that also skirted Bunhill Burial Grounds and the New Churchyard. Anybody fleeing the city to villages or towns to the north of London would have likely passed through these streets, and it is likely the woodblock image is representative of these spaces.

The woodblock image would later be reused, unedited except for the text being removed, in 1636 by John Taylor's *The Fearful Summer: Or, London's Calamitie, The Counteries Discoustesie and Hath their Miseries*, a poem about the terror provoked by the plague in London. The continued use of the image over many years reinforced the association of the plague with the fields north of the city. Taylor's poem identifies the experience of fear in London during the plague much more explicitly than Dekker: "The name London now both far and near/ Strikes all the Towns and Villages with fear ... Let him but say that he "from London" came/ So full of Fear and Terror is that name".[116] Taylor is quite clear, London was associated with fear and terror during a plague epidemic. His text, however, does not focus on the fields north of the city, and the woodblock image seems somewhat at odds with the focus of the poem. It does, however, visually reinforce the literary image given in Dekker's *Rod for Run Awayes*.

In the same year, a pamphlet entitled *The Run Awayes Answer* was anonymously published in response to Dekker's *Rod for Runawayes*. Alluding to the pikemen in the field, the pamphlet begins "when the pestilence beate at our Citty Gates, and the Arrowes of Infection flew into our howses, when in the heate of the day the Mayne-battayle gaue ground, and that many (or most) of our Commanders left the Field; what should wee doe but flye?".[117] The pamphlet

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[116] John Taylor, *The Feareful Summer or London's Calamity, the Country's Courtesy and Both Their Misery* (Oxford: John Litchfield and William Turner, 1636).
[117] Thomas Dekker, *Run Awayes Answer* (London: 1625) n.p.

states that "the more that run away when a Field is lost, the fewer fall", suggesting that to flee the city was the best chance of survival. Speaking of whether it was fear that drove them to flee, it continues "It was not out of a desire to safety only, but feare, least so many dropping downe euery hower before our faces, there would be found not Officers nor Ministers enow to fetch off the wounded, or bury the Dead: Had we not reason to flye?".[118] Fearing they would die and no one would be left living to bury them, they fled. Those with the ability to flee used this as a defence for their actions, suggesting that they were doing it for the good of society in order to facilitate the burial of the dead at a later date. To Dekker directly, the pamphlet says "spare your Rodde a little, and whippe vs not for going to see our Freinds in the Countrey, we doe not thinke but You yoursefe (could you haue gotte a Horse) would haue bin one".[119] Dekker was of course a notorious debt defaulter and presumably could not afford to flee the city when there was a plague outbreak. Giving an example of what they were fleeing from, the pamphlet paints a gruesome picture: "a poore man dying in the fields, none would come neere the body, none giue it Christian (nay any) burial: so that it lay so long above ground, that Hounds or Hoggs had eaten out his bowels, and so was left that beasts might end as they had begun, to make their bellies serve for his graue".[120] *The Run Awayes Answer* attempts to justify the fleeing of the city during plague time, and in doing so, it highlights the fear and terror provoked by the city and fields during plague outbreaks.

We can see from these visual and literary depictions that the fields functioned in two ways to contain the plague in the seventeenth century. Firstly, the fields represented the spaces that Londoners would have passed through fleeing the city, with Little Moorfields

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[118] Ibid.
[119] Ibid.
[120] Ibid.

Figure 8: *Rod for Runawayes*, Thomas Dekker, 1603

and Bishopsgate Street being two of the main exits from the city. Secondly, they acted as a boundary for containing the threat, with the pikemen attempting to keep city inhabitants within its bounds, and the adjacent city wall keeping external threats out. In this way Cripplegate Without was a liminal space or transitional zone during a plague outbreak and the ordering of people in space was an important aspect of controlling contagion. The fields were fearful for their ambiguous qualities at this time. The uncertainty of whether the passage was clear to the countryside beyond, or if people were being turned back to the city would have been quite terrifying. Those who could not flee the city (or were turned back) were subjected to comparable, but slightly different, ordering measures within the city.

'sHUTTING UP" AND "CARRYING AWAY": PLAGUE ORDERS

People who had no means of leaving and remained within the city were subject to the numerous plague orders aimed at containing the threat of contagion. These responses were also highly spatial in nature and played a role in ordering space during a plague outbreak, particularly in terms of segregation and containment. Rebecca Totaro argues that through the plague orders, those in power in the early modern city left clear records of their fear in attempting to control the plague.[121] In 1578, the Privy Council asserted that plague was not "of the air, as in other times hath been seen, but only carried and increased from place to place through want of good order and severing the sick from the whole".[122] To control contagion, the movement of people needed to be controlled. Here we again see the threat of proximity and the desire to spatially segregate the sick. A year later in 1579, plague orders

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[121] Rebecca Totaro, *Suffering in Paradise: The Bubonic Plague in English Literature from More to Milton* (Pittsburgh: Duquesne University Press, 2005).
[122] British Library, Cotton MS. Vesp.F.xii,ff.207-8 (n.d. but content indicates 1578) cited in Slack, *The Impact of the Plague,* 208.

were issued which instructed officials to seal or "shut up" households that were suspected of being infected for six weeks. These households included both the sick and healthy. This practice gained statutory support in 1604 and was reissued by royal proclamation under James I and Charles I and by the long parliament, with little to no change until 1666.[123] The Plague Act of 1604 reinforced the household quarantine response and gave watchmen legal authority to use physical force to ensure household members remained shut up within the infected house.

A response to the shutting up of houses was published as a pamphlet in 1665. Noting that "this shutting up would breed a Plague if there were none: infection may have killed its thousands, but shutting up hath killed its ten thousands", the pamphlet suggested that shutting up houses with both the sick and healthy would worsen the epidemic. *The Shutting Up Infected Houses* pamphlet also details the fears of those within the house, including that the nurses tending to the infected houses were just as likely to ransack or rob the inhabitants as tend to their comfort or health, and that out of fear, many of those who had been shut up would escape and run through the streets until they fell dead in "the alley, field or neighbour Village" only worsening the spread of disease.[124] Simply being associated with someone who was infected was of the greatest danger and would have proved divisive within the community. The fear and terror at being locked in a house with the dead and dying is also clear in the seventeenth century. Daniel Defoe's fictional *Journal of the Plague Year* suggests the response to shutting up of houses in 1665: "This shutting up of houses was at first counted

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[123] *An Act for the Charitable Relief and ordering of persons infected with the Plague*. See *The Statutes of the Realm (1225-1713): Printed by Command of His Majesty King George the Third, in Pursuance of an Address of the House of Commons of Great Britain. From Original Records and Authentic Manuscripts, Great Britain* (London: G. Eyre and A. Strahan, 1819) Vol. V. 1 Jac. I. c.31.

[124] *The Shutting Up Infected Houses as it is Practised in England Soberly Debated: By Way of Address from the Poor Souls that are Visited, to their Brethren that are Free. With Observations on the Wayes Whereby the Present Infection hath Spread. As Also a Certain Method of Diet, Attendance, Lodging and Physick, Experimented in the Recovery of Many Sick Persons* (London: 1665)

a very cruel and unchristian method, and the poor people so confined made bitter lamentations … many people perished in these miserable confinements which, "tis reasonable to believe, would not have been distempered if they had had liberty".[125] In addition to using force to shut up houses, legal authority was given to hang anyone with the plague on the street in the vicinity of others. Similarly, authority was given to whip anyone else who escaped household quarantine.[126] An account of this punishment is recorded in the Bridewell Hospital records:

> [a man who] came from an infected house, and, notwithstanding the mayor's orders, he had appeared on the streets along with his companions. Accordingly, the alderman sentenced him to be taken to Bridewell, stripped from the girdle upwards, and whipped at the carts tail from Bridewell to his own door in Wood Street.[127]

In this way, the plague became a "matter associated closely with the dirty, unruly poor", particularly, the "unemployed living outside the city walls".[128] "The place of the plague", Healy says, "was the sinfully polluted suburbs".[129] The path from Bridewell to Wood Street would have passed through Cripplegate Without, Wood Street being just south of the suburb.

These harsh measures were often depicted as acts of charity. The Plague Act of 1604 justified these punishments by stating that it would provide "the charitable relief and ordering of persons infected with the plague".[130] Hammill notes that "although the parallel phrases

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[125] Daniel Defoe, *A Journal of the Plague Year* (London: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1908 [1722]), 54. There is much debate about the nature of Defoe's *Journal* because of Defoe's age at the time of the plague and its publication date. However, some also note the original publication held the initials "H.F", likely to be Defoe's uncle, and suggest that it was based on a dairy written during 1665.

[126] Slack, *The Impact of the Plague,* 211.

[127] Edward O"Donohue, *Bridewell Hospital; Palace, Prison, Schools: From the Earliest Times to the End of the Reign of Elizabeth* (London: Bodley Head, 1923), 78. Wood Street was just south of Cripplegate in the London Wall.

[128] Healy, "Discourses of the Plague in Early Modern London", 27.

[129] Ibid.

[130] *An Act for the Charitable Relief and ordering of persons infected with the Plague*.

"charitable relief" and "ordering of persons" suggest that ordering is a kind of charity, one effect of the act is that ordering takes precedence over charitable relief so that charity no longer simply indicates care *for* the sick. It also indicated protection *against* the sick".[131] As such, being (or perceived to be) connected with contagion in this period was particularly dangerous, and could prove divisive amongst the community.[132] Tuan notes that the fear of contagion "could so derange reason that to those sound in body, the sick seemed not only the victims of evil but also its perpetrators".[133] Fear of the plague was so great that many who needed to be in the streets would cross from side to side, dodging others in the hope of avoiding infection.[134] The plague made everyone both suspect and suspicious.

In 1665, Jenner notes, "Pepys mused in his diary that the epidemic was 'making us more cruel to one another than we are [to] dogs'".[135] The response to contagious threats was undoubtedly harsh. Jenner notes that when the plague was feared (or a rise in plague deaths were recorded in the bills of mortality), the first orders to be given were often cats and (particularly) dogs to be killed.[136] In the summer of 1563, for example, a command was given that "no dog be allowed out of any house without a lead on pain of a 3s 4d fine for the owner and death of the dog".[137] Any stray dog in the street was to be killed, and the dead animals were to be buried in the fields outside the city walls.[138] Again we see the importance of the fields. Jenner notes that the language in which the concern for dogs roaming the streets was expressed "echoed the frequent precepts against beggars and vagrants that were said to

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[131] Hammill, "Miracles and Plagues", 87-88. Emphasis added. See *Statues of the Realm* (London: Dawsons of Pall Mall, 1963) Vol 4, 1060-61.
[132] Hammill, "Miracles and Plagues", 87-88.
[133] Tuan, *Landscapes of Fear,* 104.
[134] Slack, *Impacts of the Plague*, 152.
[135] Samuel Pepys, *Diary*, vol. 4, 201. Cited in Mark Jenner, "The Great Dog Massacre" in *Fear in Early Modern Society,* eds. William Naphy and Penny Roberts (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), 56.
[136] Jenner, "The Great Dog Massacre", 48.
[137] Ibid.
[138] Ibid.

'wander up and downe the streets' and whose expulsion from the city was a regular theme of plague regulations".[139] The object of fear could be attached to people and animals within the city. Who they were and where they were located became an important issue, and the orders sought to create distance between these groups by expelling them from the city.

Alongside the plague orders that required shutting up of infected houses was the placing of the infected in pesthouses. If searchers were to discover an infected individual in the street, they would take them to one of the city pesthouses, two of which were located in Cripplegate Without. These pesthouses had locked gates and watchmen to ensure the sick did not escape, and once they began filling to capacity, many later included "pestfields", a walled yard attached to the house.[140] The "carrying off" of sick people in the street within the city is seen in records of churchwardens paying men "to carry away a sick man for fear he should die in the streets within this parish" or to carry off a woman who "fell down in the night".[141] While the records do not say where they were carried to, we could presume at the very least they would have been moved to outside of the city, or to the pesthouses themselves. Once outside the parish, if they were to die, it was another parish's responsibility to bury them.

Kira Newman notes that "quarantine was promoted as a measure for the preservation of the city as a whole" and those caught breaking the orders were seen as threats to the public health.[142] Many in London society had mixed views about the pesthouses and shutting up of houses. They were seen as both a necessary "charity" to the community as a whole and an individual punishment. They were seen as particularly harsh for those who were a member of

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[139] Ibid., 56.

[140] Kira Newman, "shutt Up: Bubonic Plague and Quarantine in Early Modern England" Journal *of Social History* 45, 3 (2012), 813.

[141] Slack, *The Impact of the Plague,* 152.

[142] Newman, 'shutt Up: Bubonic Plague and Quarantine in Early Modern England", 826.

the household but were healthy when they were shut in with the sick. The prospect of being shut up with a household of the sick created a pervasive fear within the community, one that today we would see as quite rational. In the seventeenth century, however, this fear was seen as irrational and negative as it led many to abandon care duties of their households. As soon as infection within the house was suspected, many fled in fear of being shut up. Taylor's *The Fearful Summer* notes the fear associated with caring for the sick and the common response of fleeing: "Thus fear made nature most unnatural/ Duty undutiful, or very small/ No friendship, or else cold and miserable/ And generally all uncharitable".[143] Both irrational fear and abandoning your household would have been seen as highly immoral, but in this case at least, it appears the ability of fear to provoke morally good behaviour seems to have been overpowered by the fear of contagion and death.

The plague orders during the seventeenth century acted to spatially order and segregate people within the city. As we saw with profane burials, this ordering was an attempt to control a threat within the city, yet it held important social ramifications for those associated with those seen to be a threat. This was disproportionally felt by those who did not have the means to leave the city during an outbreak of the plague. If a household was suspected of being infected, it was expected to be shut up with all inside, the sick and the healthy. Often the terror or fear of this outcome was enough to provoke residents to abandon their household at the first sign of infection. Once the infected had perished, they could expect to be taken to one of the numerous plague pits in the fields.

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[143] Taylor, *The Feareful Summer or London's Calamity,* lines 339-342.

PLAGUE PITS IN CRIPPLEGATE

Cripplegate Without and the adjoining Moorfields were associated with plague burials as early as the fourteenth century, yet the visual representation strengthens only in the seventeenth century. Along with the association with the city pesthouse, Cripplegate began to elicit strong connotations with death and dying. During the epidemic of 1665, the visual representations of the plague began to be dominated by images of Cripplegate Without. Much of this representation was associated with the frightful plague pits. Denton notes that "the churchyards of London were unable to receive the bodies of those who had died in these visitations. Trenches were dug in the fields, and the dead thrown into vast holes, with no mourning attendants and no religious services".[144] Similarly, discussing the plague orders of 1665 Defoe suggests that "no corpse dying of infection shall be buried, or remain in any church in time of common prayer, sermon, or lecture" and makes explicit note of the burial grounds surrounding Cripplegate as their eventual location.[145] To the north of the London Wall, plague pits were recorded in Finsbury Fields, and Goswell Street, and at Moorfields (see Figure 1 at the beginning of this chapter).[146]

In the 1665 outbreak, the parish of St Giles Cripplegate took the usual plague precautions of putting a wall around the churchyard, impounding wandering animals and shutting up infected houses. They also implemented specific rules in the parish: "residents near the churchyard were warned not to use Crowder's Well. All taverns closed down except Castle Tavern", which was reserved "for the use of the parish".[147] By 1665, Cripplegate specifically, rather than the fields in general, began to capture the imagination of those

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[144] Denton, *Records of St. Giles, Cripplegate*.

[145] Defoe, *A Journal of the Plague Year*, 48.

[146] Harding, "Burial of the Plague Dead in Early Modern London".

[147] A Moote and Dorothy Moote, *The Great Plague: The Story of London's Most Deadly Year* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008), 134.

recording the plague, and it was common to see the parish used in comparisons of the number of dead: "The total of ye Burials this week according to ye Bills is 3014", "In St Giles Cripplegate alone dyed 554".[148] In June 1665, two months before the peak in plague deaths, twenty-three bodies of the plague dead were interred in burial grounds within the walls of London. Another 438 plague victims were buried in suburban churchyards outside the walls in the same week (not necessarily all in Cripplegate Without, however, we could presume a large portion may have been).[149] At the peak of the outbreak, in the week ending 16 August 1665, 668 plague dead were buried in St Giles Cripplegate parish outside of the walls alone, while for the month as a whole, the parish clerk recorded a staggering two thousand-three hundred individuals as dying *ex peste* (from pestilence) within Cripplegate.[150]

Harding finds that in suburbs such as St Bride's, the vestry "decided to bury no more plague victims within the church" from mid-July 1665.[151] Instead, having acquired a new site for burials in 1610 (becoming the lower churchyard), St Brides dug communal pits. It would be reasonable to suggest this also occurred in the Parish of St Giles Cripplegate Without, which saw a higher number of plague deaths. However, with the city's New Churchyard and Bunhill Burial Grounds so close, it is more likely the overflow of corpses was sent there.[152] The terror and fear these spaces could provoke was anecdotally reinforced many years later by Defoe where he notes "a great pit in Finsbury [New Churchyard], in the Parish of Cripplegate, it lying open then to the fields, for it was not then walled about, many came and threw themselves in, and expired there, before they threw any earth upon them; and that when they came to bury others and found them there, they were quite dead, though not cold".[153]

[148] British Library, Additional MS 4182, fol.29r.
[149] Moote and Moote, *The Great Plague,* 88.
[150] Ibid., 134.
[151] Harding, "Burial of the Plague Dead in Early Modern London", 56.
[152] Ibid., 59.
[153] Defoe, *A Journal of the Plague Year*, 140.

The image of dying people "throwing themselves" into plague pits while still alive might be a stretch of the imagination and is representative of the work's fictional nature, but does well to illustrate the space's connection to death and terror, and the hopelessness felt by those in London during a plague outbreak. For Defoe to record the location as Cripplegate almost sixty years later, highlights the area's notoriety during plague periods. In this context, the desperation of those trying to flee the city becomes quite clear.

The plague pits are identified within the fields in a woodcut block that found its way into *Crums of Comfort.*[154] This woodcut print (Figure 9) depicts a similar image of the spatial experience of the plague to Dekker's *Run Awaye* image. In the top third, we see and read of the inhabitants fleeing the city through the fields, "flying some dye in ye fields". Once out of the city, those fleeing are met with pikemen not allowing passage to the safety beyond. In the second panel of *Crums for Comfort*, we can see "infected persons sent to the Pest-house" and the searchers and act of collecting the dead from the city streets. The third panel returns to the fields, "carts filled with Dead, and Hundreds put into Larg pits in Severall fields". Once again this woodblock image acts as an emotional tool to instil fear in though seeking to flee the city through the fields. Compared to Dekker's image, this certainly goes further in attempting to record the various spaces of the city and the experiences of the plague that could be expected within them, but the fields to the north of the city once again figure prominently. The repetition of visually representing the fields in Cripplegate Without as a frightful space of the plague without a written explanation suggests that the collective understanding of that space was well understood within the city. This collective

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[154] London Metropolitan Archives, 42.39/142 and M. Sparke, *Crums of Comfort* (London, 1671), bound at the end of British Library 3455 aa.3. Both cited in Jenner, "Plague on a Page", 272.

understanding was built through many years of literary and visual representations of the pesthouses and burial fields in the area.

Another, potentially exaggerated, representation of the plague in Cripplegate can be seen in a panel of John Seller's December 1665 broadsheet. The panel (Figure 10) illustrates the plague pits supposedly in the churchyard of St Giles, in Cripplegate. Interestingly, two things stand out as inaccurate in this image. Firstly, the orientation of the church to the city in the background is wrong. The tower of the church is in fact on the western end of the church while the city wall (and the city behind it) runs parallel to the southern wall of the church. Secondly, the area of the churchyard is grossly exaggerated. A hundred years earlier, in the Agas Map, we can see that the angle depicted in John Seller's image would have included the road and buildings that fronted Fore Street rather than burial land as depicted (see Figure 11). Even if we allow for the possibility that the woodblock has been mirrored in production, the image still remains ideological in nature, as we would expect to see the streets and buildings of Cripplegate Without in the background rather than the City behind the London Wall. Pepys" diary also includes a similar image of the St Gile's churchyard (Figure 12), again with the wrong orientation and exaggerated field of burials. There has been no archaeological evidence to date that suggests the St Giles parish churchyard dug communal burial pits, and during the 1665 outbreak in particular this would have been unlikely given the close proximity to the fields where this was an established practice. It would seem likely then, that the churchyard of St Giles, Cripplegate Without was used in these representations to capture the imagination of London society during plague outbreaks. By doing so, the images gave a particular space, that Londoners would recognise, in order to identify the place of the plague and as such St Giles, Cripplegate Without acted as an iconographic symbol of the terror of contagion.
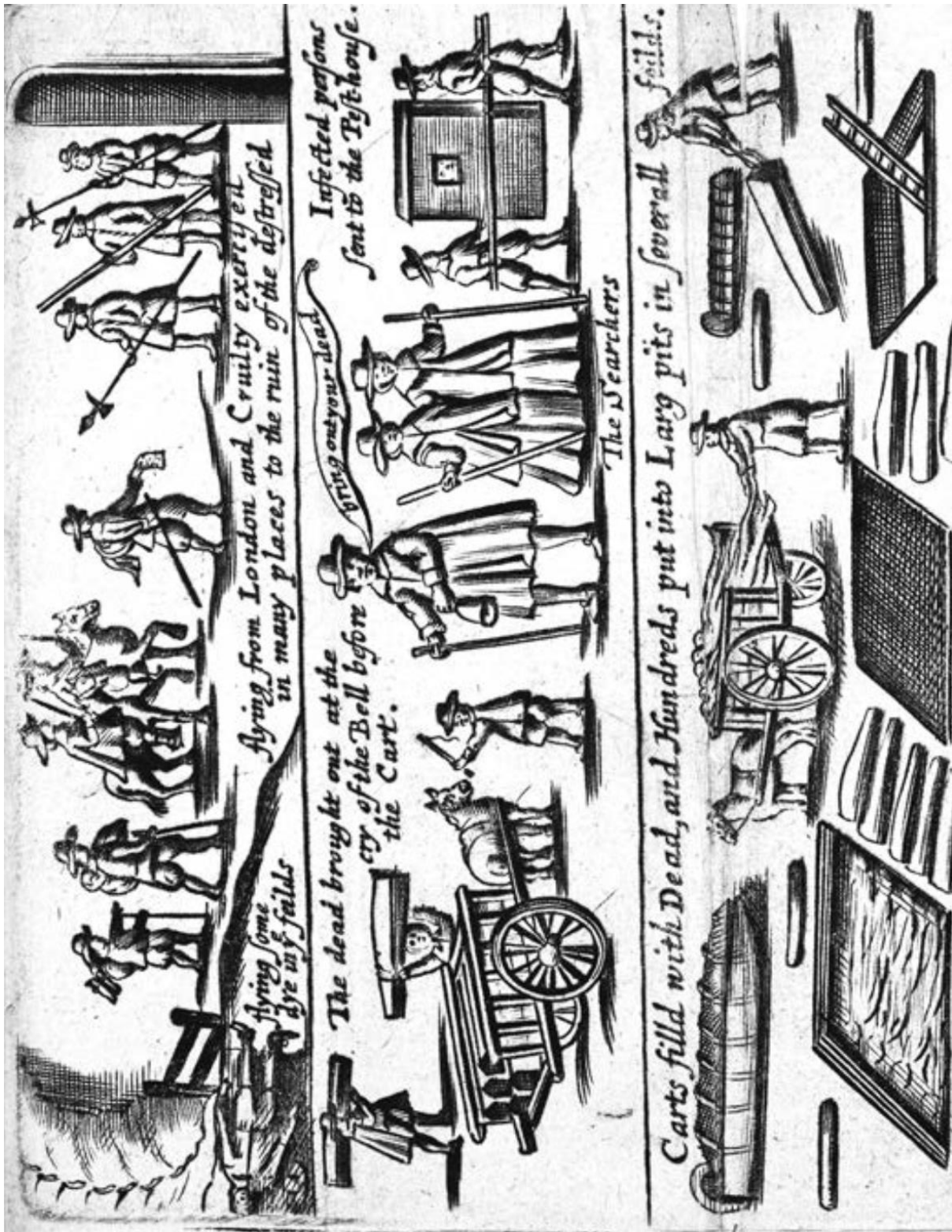
Figure 9: *Crums of Comfort* (London, 1671), British Library 3455 aa.3.

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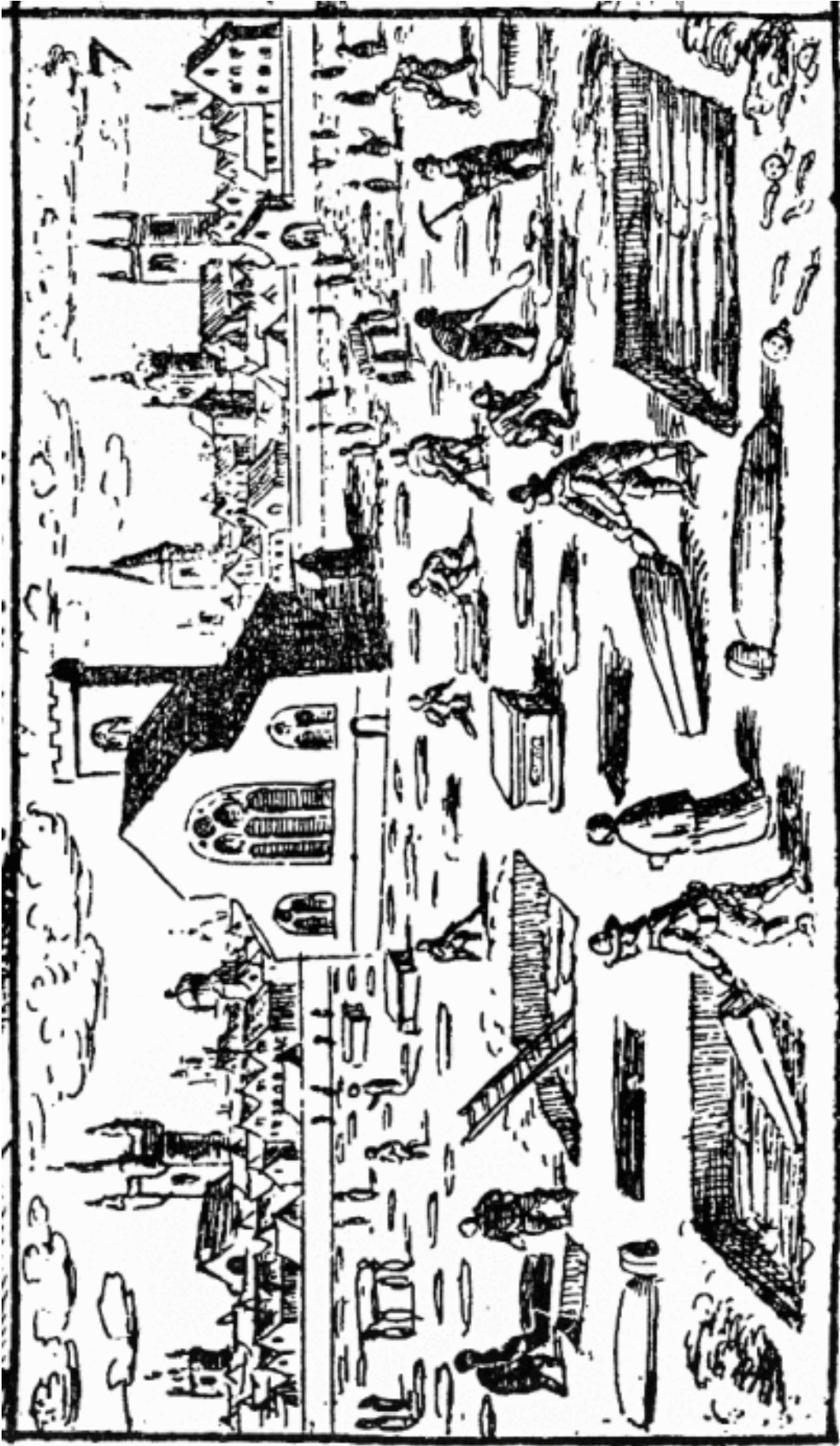
Figure 10: Cripplegate Churchyard. Panel in Broadsheet of John Seller December 1665. (Wellcome Images M0010582)
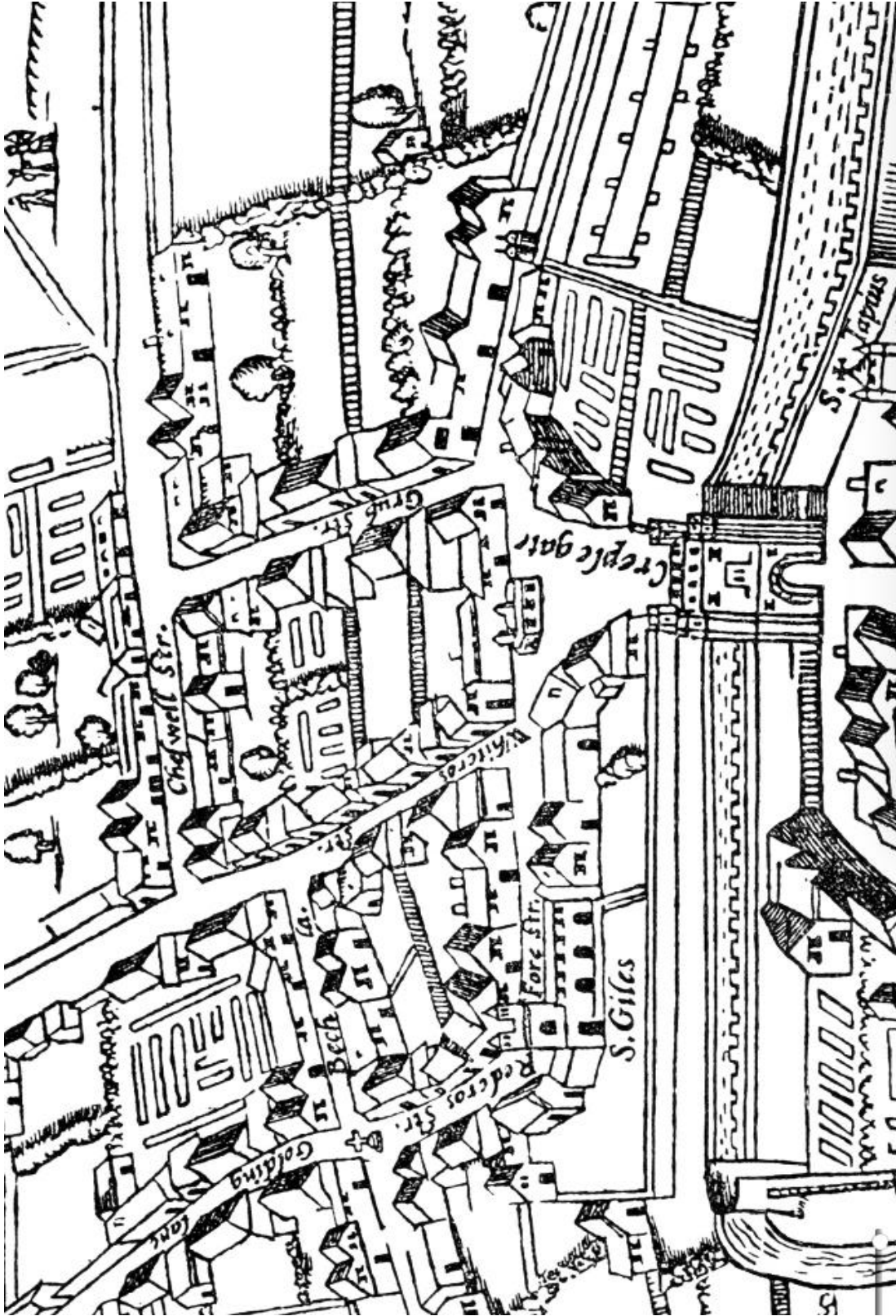
Figure 11: Section of the Agas Map depicting St Giles Parish Church and walled churchyard with the London Wall to the south.

Figure 12: "The Pestelence 1665" The View of St Giles Without Cripplegate with Figures Burying Bodies in the Aftermath of the Plague. (Illustration from Pepys Diary 1665. London Metropolitan Archives SC/GL/PR/258/GIL/q4768287)

These representations speak to the general whereabouts of burial pits within the city; they were true locations, however, they often exaggerated the scale and precise site of them. By exaggerating the scale of burial pits, imagery such as the woodcut blocks reinforced Cripplegate Without as an object of fear. Coupled with the city pesthouses' location in the suburb, Cripplegate became the place of death and dying. Moreover, we can see that during the 1665 epidemic the visual markers of fear shifted to Cripplegate Without in particular. As such, we can now understand why Sir Thomas Peyton would have believed that "the one parish of St. Giles hath done us all this mischief".[155]

CONCLUSION

This chapter has sought to address the way in which fear could become entangled with the representation of the fields and suburbs north of the city wall in the seventeenth-century plague outbreaks. It explored the role that fearful representations of the plague and profane burials played in placing the object of fear there, and offered examples of how viewing these cultural phenomena through the lens of spatial location within the city can help explain how fear could function as a social emotion. The fields, particularly the ones north of the wall, captured the imagination of the city in plague times, and were depicted as a liminal zone between the infected, plague-ridden city and fresh, healthy air for those seeking to flee the city. Interestingly it was also simultaneously depicted as a place of death and dying, very much separate to the space of the living within the city walls. The open space of the fields acted to solve the problem of the growing number of dead that could not (or would not) be accommodated in parish graveyards. Cripplegate Without and the adjoining fields then were

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[155] Sir Thomas Peyton to Sir Joseph Williamson, Under-Secretary of State, Knowlton, Kent. Royal Court at Salisbury, August 7, 1665.

necessary for ensuring the health and moral purity of the city within the walls. Between the 1603 and 1665 outbreaks, we can see a shift from the Moorfields in general to Cripplegate Without and the parish churchyard of St Giles in particular as the place of the plague. These representations could be manipulated and exaggerated in order to provoke emotions of terror and fear. Importantly though, text and visual representations not only *reflected* the fear felt among the London community, but also could be used to *produce* it.

Fear could also be a powerful social emotion used to elicit responses to those people felt to be responsible for the contagion. It often prompted the "keeping out" of external threats or "sending away" those who became an internal threat to the health of the city, both morally and physiologically. Just as we saw in the first chapter, the city wall played a vital role in this process. Those that threatened the morality of the city through sin could be denied burial rights, and those that threatened contagion through plague and sickness could expect to be taken to the outlying suburbs beyond the walls to await their fate.

The representation of both people and places within the city were not always factually accurate (as can be seen in the burial scene at St Giles Cripplegate) and could be used to shape and elicit fear as needed. In this way, as Ahmed states, "fear works to align bodily and social space" and it is "the regulation of bodies in space through the uneven distribution of fear, which allows spaces to become territories, claimed as rights by some bodies and not others".[156] "Placing" fear in the fields and suburbs north of the city wall, quite literally aligned social and bodily space. The metaphorical image was clear; the dead inhabited the fields, the living occupied the city within the walls. The plague itself was the object of fear, but importantly, through metaphorical association, the fields and suburbs also became an object of fear. Through this process, by placing the object of fear outside of the city, the city itself

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[156] Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics of Emotion,* 70.

became less fearful (even if this did not align with the demographic distribution of the epidemic). By doing so, London society attempted to rationalise the irrational experience of widespread, at times seemingly random, deaths associated with contagion. Importantly though, this process also impacted on the collective identity of those living within the suburb, who came to be defined by associations of death and the plague.

DISGUST FOR THE DUNCES OF GRUB STREET

ANONYMOUS EMOTIONAL COMMUNITIES IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Grub Street: a street in London, off Chiswell Street by Finsbury Square, which was occupied in the eighteenth century by impoverished writers reduced to turning out third-rate poems, reference books and histories to make a living. The term now covers any such underworld of literary penury and its products.

- "Grub Street" *The Oxford Dictionary of Literary Terms,* 2008.[1]

When the [gaze] was directed by a disappointed or frustrated man, [satire] was not likely to yield a vision of disinterested rationality producing an ideal civilisation. And if the man who looked was also a master of irony, a political pamphleteer of genius, a wounded moralist who never forgave the world for not being what its optimistic philosophers said it was, possessor of an imagination both brilliant and bitter and of narrative and expository style characterised by clarity, cogency, and an eloquent plainness, then something new and terrible in the way of satire could be expected.

- David Daiches, *A Critical History of English Literature* Vol.II.[2]

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[1] Chris Baldick, ed., "Grub Street" in *The Oxford Dictionary of Literary Terms,* 3rd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).
[2] David Daiches, *A Critical History of English Literature* (California: Ronald Press Company, 1960), Vol.II, 602.

"Grub Street" as an ideological metaphor entered the English language in the seventeenth century and became a household name in England by the eighteenth century. Located in Cripplegate Without, Grub Street was one of the oldest streets in the suburb. While the physical Grub Street was replaced with Milton Street in 1830, the metaphorical sense has lived on well into the modern era (as evidenced by *The Oxford Dictionary of Literary Terms*).[3] By the middle of the eighteenth century, the area was firmly associated with dissenting political and non-conformist religious literature that was circulated throughout the city.[4] "Hack writers", "pen for hire" authors and low-end booksellers and publisher flocking to it, seventeenth and, particularly, eighteenth-century Grub Street was renowned for its connection with political pamphleteering and secretive publishing houses. This literary community established itself in a period of significant change within the city of London.

The hundred years between 1650 and 1750 saw substantial social, political and economic change in the city of London. The aftermath of the English Civil War, the Great Fire, the Glorious Revolution and the establishment of Hanoverian rule all produced immense change in the social and urban topography of the city.[5] As we have seen, city authorities in the sixteenth and early seventeenth century had previously tried to limit the growth of London. However, the period after the fire saw the expansion of the city quietly accepted. The need to rebuild the city was greater than the earlier desire to control who resided where

[3] Pat Rogers, *Hacks and Dunces: Pope, Swift and Grub Street* (London: Methuen, 1980), 1.

[4] Paula McDowell, *The Women of Grub Street: Press, Politics and Gender in the London Literary Marketplace 1678-1730* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 5. See also Elizabeth Furdell, "Grub Street Commerce: Advertisements and Politics in the Early Modern British Press" *The Historian* 63, 1 (2000), 35-52 and Eric Howard, "The Grub Street Journal and the Changing Culture of Information in the Early 1730s" *Library and Information History* 28, 3 (2012), 171-185.

[5] Vanessa Harding, "Controlling a Complex Metropolis, 1650-1750: Politics, Parishes and Powers" *The London Journal* 26, 1 (2001), 29. On the English Civil War see David Como, "Print Censorship, and Ideological Escalation in the English Civil War" *Journal of British Studies* 51, 4 (2012), 820-858 and Diane Purkiss, *Literature, Gender and Politics During the English Civil War* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005). On the Great Fire see Hazel Forsyth, *Butcher, Baker, Candlestick Maker: Surviving the Great Fire of London* (London: Tauris, 2016) and Jack Gilpin, "God's Terrible Voice: Liturgical Response to the Great Fire of London" *Anglican and Episcopal History* 82, 3 (2013), 318-334. On the revolution and Hanoverian rule see Eveline Cruickshanks, *The Glorious Revolution* (Bassingstoke: Macmillan, 2000) and Scott Sowerby, *Making Toleration: The Repealers and the Glorious Revolution* (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2013).

within it. Moorfields for example, associated with death and dying in the seventeenth century, became the refuge for many of those who were displaced by the fire.[6] During the process of rebuilding the city, many people fashioned temporary (and not so temporary) homes on and around the fields, with much of this development becoming long-lasting elements of the suburbs urban history.[7] Not only did the fire cause demographic and topographical change within the city, but it also ushered in different modes of understanding the city.

The urban literature published before the fire became mostly obsolete in its depictions of the spatial qualities of a city that had changed so dramatically.[8] This saw a flood of new descriptive works published that sought to map the scope of the restructured city. These new texts attempted to define the city's new spatial and social boundaries, and were published in a much freer print culture.[9] After the Civil War, in the context of significant political upheaval and the collapse of press and publication control, there was an explosion in the number of printers and writers.[10] The further collapse of the licensing act in 1695, combined with continuing political turmoil, contributed to another major growth period in the eighteenth-century book trade.[11] While these events allowed a much freer print culture, Paula McDowell also identifies a change in the "dominant mode of textual production in England" during the same period. This change in textual production hastened the shift from the traditional

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[6] See Elaine Tierney, ""Dirty Rotten Sheds": Exploring the Ephemeral City in Early Modern London" *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 50, 2 (2017), 231-252.

[7] Ibid.

[8] See Cynthia Wall, "Novel Streets: The Rebuilding of London and Defoe's "A Journal of the Plague Year"" *Studies in the Novel* 30, 2 (1998), 164-177 and Elizabeth McKellar, *The Birth of Modern London: The Development and Design of the City 1660-1720* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1999).

[9] Cynthia Wall, "Grammars of Space: The Language of London form Stow's Survey to Defoe's Tour" *Philological Quarterly* 76, 4 (1997), 398.

[10] See Cyndia Clegg, *Press Censorship in Elizabethan England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Como, "Print, Censorship, and Ideological Escalation in the English Civil War" and Cyndia Clegg, *Press Censorship in Jacobean England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

[11] McDowell, *The Women of Grub Street,* 4.

"courtly manuscript literary culture" that had dominated, "to the print-based, market-centred system we know today".[12] Michael Harris states that London's "fluidity and increasing scale of population" created the "demand for reliable information which could enable individuals to make sense of a highly confusing post-fire environment".[13] This provided the context for politically-driven pamphlets to interact with urban literature in the market place.

This chapter's focus is not urban history texts in particular, but rather, satire that used topographic metaphor within it to make their arguments. These topographical metaphors were often entangled with the process of redefining the city in the post-fire period. As such, an understanding of the differences between the real Grub Street and the community that formed around it is incomplete without an examination of why (and how) authors came to be associated with the space and metaphor it represented. The chapter does not recount individual authors' associations with the space; rather, it explores the collective identity of the whole as "nameless somethings".[14] I contend that much of this collective identity was mediated through emotional representations of the space by other authors. I argue that by doing so, topographical metaphor in satire could be used to disarm the power of the authors who became associated with the Grub Street metaphor.

In an ideal public sphere, Robert Phiddian argues, "rational civility is the universal desideratum of discussion in public and in print. In such a place, the exercise of such passions would obviously be bad".[15] Whether emotion should have a place in the print culture of the eighteenth century was debatable, but there is a consensus that for satire, at least, emotions

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[12] Ibid., 5.

[13] Michael Harris, "London Guidebooks before 1800" in *Maps and Prints: Aspects of the English Booktrade,* eds. Robin Myers and Michael Harris (Oxford: Oxford Press, 1984), 34.

[14] Pope, *The Dunciad* (1743) Book I, line 55-62.

[15] Robert Phiddian, "The Emotional Contents of Swift's S*aeva Indignatio"* in *Passions, Sympathy and Print Culture: Public Opinion and Emotional Authenticity in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, eds. Heather Kerr, David Lemmings, Robert Phiddian, (Basingstoke: MacMillan Palgrave), 64.

were present. During the period, "political slander", Michael Davis states, "was a way of venting one's sentiments, a form of public expression that served as both tonic and therapy for vocal conservatives".[16] He states that "conservative print culture also aimed at mapping a new and stable society, a moral world that would have its foundations in fresh definitions and notions of respectability and unrespectability".[17] Building on this, the chapter asks how emotion, disgust in particular, could shape the representations of Grub Street and its people and further still, how moral and spatial metaphors could be merged to locate or "place" people within the broader social and spatial hierarchy of the city.

Disgust often had political implications.[18] It could be mobilised in reinforcing or defining the political and social hierarchy through "righteously presented claims for superiority", yet in other contexts "they are themselves elicited as an indication of one's proper placement in the social order".[19] Disgust is not just "unattached feeling", rather, it "is a feeling *about* something".[20] Or if we return to Ahmed, it *does* something. Anna Wierzbicka argues for the distinctiveness of the notions of revulsion, repulsiveness and disgust. Disgust she argues, refers to the act of "ingesting", revulsion to "contact with" and repulsiveness to "proximity to" the offensive entity.[21] William Miller argues, however, that she underestimates the generality and easy interchangeability of these concepts; he argues that, "disgust *melds* notions of ingestion, contact and proximity".[22] Here Sara Ahmed agrees, "disgust *does something*, certainly: through disgust bodies "recoil" from their proximity, as a proximity that

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[16] Michael Davis, "The Mob Club? The London Corresponding Society and the Politics of Civility in the 1790s" In *Unrespectable Radicals? Popular Politics in the Age of Reform*, eds. Michael T Davis and Paul Pickering (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 23.

[17] Ibid.

[18] William Miller, *The Anatomy of Disgust* (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2009), 8.

[19] Ibid., 9.

[20] Ibid., 8. Emphasis original.

[21] Anna Wierzbicka, "Human Emotions: Universal or Culture-Specific?" *American Anthropologist* 88, 3 (1986), 588-591.

[22] Miller, *The Anatomy of Disgust*, 32. Emphasis added.

is felt as nakedness or as an exposure on the skin surface".[23] In Ahmed's understanding, disgust includes both proximity *and* contact – "exposure on the skins surface", or as she clarifies "it involves a relationship of touch and proximity between the surfaces of bodies and objects".[24] When comparing contempt and disgust, Miller states that "contempt … often informs benevolent and polite treatment of the inferior. Disgust does not. Pity and contempt go hand in hand, whereas disgust overwhelms pity".[25] Disgust, he says, "does not have a pleasant warm side like contempt. Disgust is what revolts, what repels".[26] How these notions of disgust could be used within satire to "place" individuals within the social and spatial hierarchy of the city is the focus of this chapter.

This chapter aims to build on Pat Rogers' work in understanding the topographical metaphor used in Alexander Pope's *The Dunciad*.[27] Rogers has already shown how these metaphors were often moral in nature. However, this chapter seeks to add a further understanding of how the satirical representation of Grub Street was mediated through emotion. Often, I argue, this was expressed through notions of disgust. Rather than focusing primarily on the urban history of the place, this chapter instead aims to interrogate how the negative representation of Grub Street was established and maintained through satire. Firstly, the chapter explores the context in which Pope's representation of the street and its people was constructed, identifying the political, social and topographical conditions. The chapter then outlines how Alexander Pope's disgust functioned in his publication *The Dunciad* and how it was directed specifically at the Grub Street authors. Next, the chapter examines how satire was linked with the establishment of polite society, and its role in defining the division

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[23] Sara Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics of Emotion* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2014)*,* 83.
[24] Ibid., 85.
[25] Miller, *The Anatomy of Disgust*, 32.
[26] Ibid., 33.
[27] Pat Rogers, *Hacks and Dunces: Pope, Swift and Grub Street* (London: Methuen, 1980).

of the respectable and the unrespectable. And finally, the chapter identifies how moral and urban metaphors could be combined in eighteenth-century satire to embed the unrespectable identity in the space of Grub Street. The chapter concludes that the Grub Street authors formed an emotional community based on its defining feature, anonymity. Here, the key argument is that these authors did not just deny their identity, but rather claimed the pseudonym of "from Grub street" gladly and suggests the formation of an emotional community through resistance of shared persecution. Conversely, Pope and his peers formed a separate emotional community based on their disgust for those associated with Grub Street. This was very much fuelled by past, negative histories of the suburb.

GRUB STREET AND THE SCRIBLERUS CLUB

A handful of studies have been conducted on Grub Street and its literary legacy, from histories of the writers and their literary outputs, the street's connection to the ideas of the French Revolution, and more recently a history of the female writers in the eighteenth century.[28] The work receiving the greatest acclaim, however, is Pat Rogers' *Hacks and Dunces: Pope, Swift and Grub Street*.[29] Rogers identifies that the first person to use the term "Grub Street" in a disparaging sense was Andrew Marvell, who in his 1671 pamphlet *The Rehearsal Transpros'd* speaks of a writer as "deep gone in Grub Street and polemical divinity".[30] In the same volume he says, "these are your impertinent tricks, you have learnt this of the Puritans of Grub

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[28] For an overview of the histories of particular writers see John Adcock, *Glory that was Grub Street: Impressions of Contemporary Authors* (New York: Stokes, 1928). On the connection between Grub Street and the French Revolution see Simon Burrows, "Grub Street Revolutionaries: Marginal Writers at the Enlightenment's Periphery?" in *Peripheries of the Enlightenment,* eds. Richard Butterwick, Simon Davies & Gabriel Espinosa (Oxford: Voltaire Foundation, 2008), 145-161 and Robert Darnton, "The Grub Street Style of Revolution: J.P. Brissot, Police Spy" *The Journal of Modern History* 40, 3 (1968), 301-327. On the female hacks of Grub Street see McDowell, *The Women of Grub Street*.

[29] Rogers, *Hacks and Dunces*.

[30] Andrew Marvell, "The Rehearsal Transpros'd" in *The Prose Work of Andrew Marvell: Volume I, 1672-1673* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 41.

Street".[31] Not only was this, as far as we know, the first mention of Grub Street as a negative collective identity, but Matthew Augustine also notes that *The Rehearsal Transpros'd* would come to influence the eighteenth-century works of both the Grub Street writers themselves and the more well-known writings of Alexander Pope's *The Dunciad* and Jonathan Swift's *Tale of a Tub*.[32]

When he singled out "the Puritans of Grub Street", Marvell was referring to Cripplegate Without's concentration of nonconformists and its lively political dissenting community. Jewin Street in the suburb, Sharon Achinstein says, was famous for its dissenting meeting houses, and more generally, by the 1640s, she shows that the area had already developed an association with political pamphleteering and radical divinity.[33] From 1685, the area was a haven for Huguenots, the persecuted French Protestant dissenters, who had been historically affiliated with radical Protestantism.[34] Until the 1790s, non-conformists had limited political rights; however throughout the eighteenth century, there was a growing toleration for dissenting activity.[35] Both Pope (a Catholic) and the Grub Street dissenters were at odds with the Church of England.

The area of Cripplegate Without was no stranger to the book printing and pamphlet selling trade. The first record of the industry's presence was in 1563 when John Awdeley was registered as a printer in the parish burial records.[36] These trades may have been present in the suburb much earlier than this date; however, parish records before 1545 were destroyed

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[31] Rogers, *Hacks and Dunces.* See also Rev W. Denton, *Records of St. Giles, Cripplegate* (London: George Bell and Sons, 1883), 173.

[32] Matthew Augustine, "'A Mastery in Fooling': Marvell, the Mock-Book, and the Surprising Life of 'Mr. Bayes'" *Studies in Philology* 112, 2 (2015), 354-378.

[33] Sharon Achinstein, *Literature and Dissent in Milton's England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 116

[34] Dominus Providebit, "Huguenot Commitment to Poor Relief in Late-Seventeenth and Eighteenth-Century England" in *The Religious Culture of the Huguenots, 1660-1750*, ed., Anne Dunan-Page (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2013), 81.

[35] By the late eighteenth century, we see the introduction of the Roman Catholic Toleration act 1793.

[36] Denton", *Records of St. Giles, Cripplegate, 190.*

when a fire damaged most of the parish church.[37] A literary and printing culture seems to have been established by at least the mid-1500s and attracted many well-known writers and historians. John Speed, the cartographer; John Foxe, the historian; and Robert Crowley, the printer and Protestant clergyman, are among the earliest names associated with the parish. The Antiquarians Henry Superman and Sir Roger Twysden were both recorded as living in Redcross Street, and John Milton would write *Paradise Lost* from his house in Bunhill Row overlooking Moorfields (at that time not a street but a row of houses backing onto the field). He would later be buried in the Church of St Giles within the parish.[38] John Dunton, the eccentric bookseller, is recorded as living at the corner of Bullhead Court in Jewin Street, while Daniel Defoe would be born in the suburb, though whether in Redcross Street, Grub Street or Fore Street cannot be determined.[39]

Also important in the literary, political and religious history of the area is the association with Dr Daniel Williams, a renowned Presbyterian minister. Early in the eighteenth century, he left his books "rich in Puritan divinity" to "form a public library to be accessible to such persons as the trustees shall admit".[40] He also left money that provided the financial means to purchase a site in Redcross Street and the construction of a building to house the books. The money also allowed an income for a librarian who had charge of the books and oversaw admission to the collection. The library was eventually opened in 1729. Thus, by the 1730s the suburb was well associated with dissenting religious and political thought. These dissenting views was felt by many, such as Pope, to encourage a "wealth of cultural amusements of confused and debased value".[41] For Pope, these debased and confused values

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[37] Ibid. 84.

[38] Ibid., 160.

[39] Ibid., 190.

[40] Ibid.

[41] Arthur Weitzman, "Eighteenth-Century London: Urban Paradise or Fallen City?" *The Journal of the History of Ideas* 36, 3 (1975), 477.

were strongly linked with religion and politics. For him, the pamphlets coming from Grub Street were of the greatest threat to society, and importantly, to the ideals of a classical and Christian worldview.[42] Pope was a Catholic and supported the Tories, and this stood in stark contrast to the pamphlets that were said to be associated with Grub Street. Rogers notes here that part of Pope's issue was a fear of these "factions" within the city, and as such he saw the dissenting groups as "destroyers by profession", their main objective being to divide society.[43]

Samuel Johnson described the writers of Grub Street as "a race of beings equally obscure and equally indigent, who because their usefulness is less obvious to vulgar apprehensions, live unrewarded and die unpitied, and who have been long exposed to insult without a defender".[44] Edward Hart notes that "obscurity itself is part of the definition of a Grub" and that "it is an anomaly" to be able to identify any of them.[45] As dissenters, these writers could face persecution for their views and as such, more often than not, published them anonymously.[46] It was this group of writers that authors such as Alexander Pope often took aim at, and the expression "Grub Street hack" as they came to be known, became a common term of reproach.

In an attempt to preserve the nature of traditional literary production, Pope notably worked with Johnathan Swift, John Gay and John Arbuthnot in what became known as The Scriblerus Club. The Scriblerus Club was a collaborative group of authors that created the literary persona of "Martin Scriblerus", through whom they published their satirical attacks. The literary creation of Martin Scriblerus was based on John Dryden's Sir Martin Mar-all, who

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[42] Ibid.

[43] Rogers, *Hacks and Dunces,* 114-115.

[44] Samuel Johnson, "Petty Writers not to be Despised" *The Rambler*, no.145. (1751).

[45] Edward Hart, "Portrait of a Grub: Samuel Boyse" *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* 7, 3 (1967), 415.

[46] See Tim Harris, *London Crowds in the Reign of Charles II: Propaganda and Politics from the Restoration Until the Exclusion Crisis* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Jennifer Farooq, *Preaching in Eighteenth-Century London* (Suffolk: Boydell and Brewer, 2013); Robert Cornwall, ed., *Religion, Politics and Dissent, 1660-1832: Essays in Honour of James E. Bradley* (New York: Routledge, 2016) and John Seed, *Dissenting Histories: Religious Division and Politics of Memory in Eighteenth-Century England* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2008).

by then, had become linked with ideas of silliness and inaccuracy, while Scriblerus was a clear

nod to the term for a talentless writer at the time, *scribler*.[47] The members of the Scriblerus

Club were associated with publications such as *The Grub Street Journal* (a journal advertised

as published from Grub Street, when in fact it wasn't); *The Memoirs of Martin Scriblerus* and

The Dunciad.[48]

The Scriblerus Club grew from two failed attempts by Swift to form a congenial society

of friends with common and preferably literary interests. It was here that Pope suggested the

project of a parody of the monthly *Works of the Learned*.[49] It is believed the group met as

early as 1711, they were certainly collaborating by March or April 1714.[50] Much of their

writing would not be published until the 1740s when many of the original members had died.

This group of publications sought to mock many of the views that came from Grub Street

pamphlets. They felt that attacking these pamphlets satirically held the best avenue of

lessening their impact within London society.[51] Correspondence between the authors of The

Scriberlus Club was not restricted to group projects, and the discussions have often been

noted to influence their individual works as well.[52] Of the group, Pope and Swift were the

most successful both in their own life time and in the literary legacy they left.

Swift, unlike Pope, followed the faith of the Church of England and began as a Whig

political supporter but eventually became disillusioned and switched his alliance to the Tory

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[47] See Patricia Carr Brückmann, *A Manner of Correspondence: A Study of The Scriblerus Club* (Montreal: McGills-Queen's University Press, 1997).

[48] On the club's link with The Grub Street Journal see Bertrand Goldgar, "Pope and the 'Grub Street Journal'" *Modern Philology* 74, 4 (1977), 366-380. A satirical journal publication said to have been published from Grub Street, it was in fact written by a variety of authors under pseudonyms including Pope.

[49] Brückmann, *A Manner of Correspondence,* 3.

[50] Valerie Rumbold, 'scriblerus Club (Act. 1714)" in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

[51] Paul Baines, *The Complete Critical Guide to Alexander Pope* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 16-17 and 31. See also D. Vander Muelen, *Pope's Dunciad of 1728: A History and Facsimile* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1991), 11.

[52] Rumbold, 'scriblerus Club (Act. 1714)".

political party.[53] The divide between Whig and Tory views was fundamentally a division over concepts of sovereignty and political power. Whigs believed power should ultimately reside with "the people", whilst Tories believed power should reside with the monarch and it was the place of the people to obey the will of the monarch.[54] The terms Whig and Tory also often held religious connotations – Tories often associated with High Church sentiments and Whigs, at times, connected with presbyterian ideas.[55] By the mid-eighteenth century, the rise of Puritanism during Oliver Cromwell's time was fading, and shifting religious beliefs saw a more tolerant environment for multiple Christian sects within England.[56] The Church of England was still the favoured branch of Christianity and was seen as the legitimate form of worship, however, non-conformists still remained within London society. In the early years of the eighteenth century, Tories wanted to retain the link between the state and the Church of England, in the belief that if people were left to choose their own religion there would be a dramatic increase of Dissenters. The dissenting population remained highest within cities, particularly London.[57]

Many members of The Scriblerus Club had not lived in Grub Street or indeed even Cripplegate.[58] Their experience and interaction with the space of Grub Street was through its literary sphere, rather than its physical location and relied heavily on past representations (or misrepresentations) and the city's collective memory of the space. A popular image of Grub Street is represented in the well-known 1741 illustration by William Hogarth entitled *The*

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[53] See Leo Damrosch, *Johnathan Swift: His Life and His World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013).
[54] See Craig Smith, "Forms of Government" in *The Oxford Handbook of British Philosophy in the Eighteenth Century*, ed. James Harris (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 530-554.
[55] See John Brewer, Party Ideology and Popular Politics at the Accession of George III (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), particularly 39-54. Interestingly, Elizabeth Furdell mentions a "Tory end" of Grub Street, however no other evidence was found to support this. See Elizabeth Furdell, "Grub Street Commerce", 36.
[56] Ursula Henriques, *Religious Toleration in England 1787-1855* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1961).
[57] See James Bradley, *Religion, Revolution and English Radicalism: Non-conformity in Eighteenth-Century Politics and Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 115.
[58] Adcock, *Glory that was Grub Street.*

Distrest Poet (see Figure 13). *The Distrest Poet* was based on an earlier oil painting of the same name by Hogarth completed in 1736. It reached a much wider audience when it was reproduced as an engraving in 1741. Often thought to have been inspired by *The Dunciad*, it depicts an attic or garret with a poet sitting in the dark at his desk scratching his head as he attempts to finish a piece of writing. To the left of the scene sits the poet's wife who is surprised by the entrance of a milk maid demanding payment of debts. An earlier print of *The Distrest Poet* contained a caption that included four lines from Pope's *Dunicad*: "studious he sate with all his books around/ Sinking from thought to thought, a vast profound!/ Plung"d for his sense, but found no bottom there;/ Then writ, and flounder"d on in mere despair".[59] That the garret was located in Grub Street was highlighted through the *Grub Street Journal* at the feet of the poet. This depiction explicitly reinforced the association between the garret space and Grub Street, but also importantly identified the space as distinctly outside the spaces of polite culture. Instead, the garret represented loneliness, idleness and importantly, poverty, thus extending the association to the suburb's past history as a place for the unruly and poor.

Contrasting with the popular image of the garret, there were also more respectable and substantial spaces within the street, seen in both Hanover Court, and Haberdashers Square. Haberdashers Square, in particular, was known as "notably more substantial than the run of the precinct" and commanded some of the highest rents in the parish (Figure 14).[60] A "paved court surrounded by old houses, situated between number 3 and 4 Grub Street", Haberdashers' Square was associated with the Haberdashers Company, a Livery Company

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[59] See Ronald Paulson, "Culture High and Low" in *Consumption of Culture*, eds., Ann Bermingham and John Brewer (London: Routledge, 2013), 392.
[60] Pat Rogers, *Grub Street: Studies in a Subculture* (New York: Routledge, 2014), 413.

within London dating back to 1448.[61] John Strype records the square in 1720 as "very genteel, with new well-built houses. The court is square, and inclosed in with Palisade Pales, except a handsome passage to the Houses round about".[62] Grub Street was not only the space of hacks and low-end publishers, but also home to some substantial dwellings and the people associated with them. As such, the street was not as dominated by the lower class as the popular representations would suggest.

Pope launched his attack in the aftermath of topographical change and political turmoil within the city. Coupled with drastic changes to print censorship, these events created favourable conditions for urban literature and political satire to cross literary boundaries. Importantly, Pope's attack was also based on religious and ideological differences that often overlapped with political discourse. The anonymous "pens for hire" in Grub Street concealed their names in order to avoid social and political repercussions from their work, making it difficult for Pope to single them out in his attacks. He did, however, identify Grub Street as "the place" of these authors, and it came to form an important part of his work. Pope's representation of Grub Street became so influential on the collective understanding of the street that in 1830, the street was renamed in an attempt to end the negative connotations with the space. Perhaps the most pronounced and well-known critique of Grub Street was Pope's *The Dunciad* which expresses his disgust for the Grub Street hacks and came to shape the representation of the street and its people for many years to come.

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[61]Henry Benjamin Wheatley and Peter Cunningham, *London Past and Present: Its History, Associations, and Traditions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 177.
[62] John Strype, *A Survey of London and Westminster* (London: 1720), 82.

Figure 13 The Distrest Poet, William Hogarth. 1741.

Figure 14 Haberdasher Square plans. 1761. British Library, Crace Port. 9.147

POPE's DISGUST FOR THE "GRUB STREET RACE" IN *THE DUNCIAD*

A mock-heroic narrative poem, *The Dunciad* was published in four volumes between 1728 and 1743, and sarcastically celebrates the "Goddess Dulness" and the path of her group of followers (various writers within London) as they bring tastelessness and decline to Great Britain. The poem is structured into a series of "books", each a complete story highlighting various aspects of "literary dullness" and "pedantry" and particular people guilty of these vices.[63] Book I tells the story of the reign of "Dulness" and the character of "Bayes" deciding whether he shall gravitate towards the church, gaming or political writing and is consequently carried off by the "Goddess Dulness" to be anointed as the new king of the "Dunces". Book II explores the competitive games that poets, critics and book sellers play. Book III illustrates the visions of dullness and chaos and how this will spread to the theatres, the court and education institutes. Book IV concludes the poem with the realisation of dullness' spread across society and the subjugation of the arts and sciences to folly and pedantry. The poem closes with eternal night and chaos reigning across society.

In Pope view, satire "was ranged with the law and the church as one of the three guardians of the moral order", and he saw it as a "sacred weapon" with great importance within society.[64] The "Goddess Dulness" in *The Dunciad* is an inversion of God the Father. "Dullness views chaos just as God viewed the world, but the creatures of her creation are misformed monsters – 'the Grub Street race' that populates her world of Dullness – rather than the perfect creatures of God's creation" argues Charles Peavey.[65] Martin Price,

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[63] Daiches, *A Critical History of English Literature*, Vol II, 641.
[64] Alexander Pope, "Epilogue to the Satires: Dialogues I and II" in Leo Damrosch, ed., *Alexander Pope: The Rape of the Lock and Other Major Writings* (London: Penguin, 2011), 212.
[65] Charles Peavy, "Pope, Cibber, and the Crown of Dulness" *The South Central Bulletin* 26, 4 (1966), 23-24.

conversely, defines Dullness as "a projection into the form of divinity of those forces of sluggish inertia, relaxation of effort and thought".[66] Pope's *Dunciad* describes her as:

> Dullness o'er all possessed her ancient right,
>
> Daughter of Chaos and eternal night:
>
> Fate in their dotage this fair idiot grave,
>
> Laborious, heavy, busy, bold and blind,
>
> She ruled, in native anarchy, the mind.[67]

Pope's principle aim in *The Dunciad* was to illustrate the destruction of society and the abdication of the mind from the spread of Dullness.[68] The result he depicts in *The Dunciad* is "an apocalypse of cosmic proportions".[69] "Dullness" represents irrationality: folly in its lighter guise and madness in its final darkest shape. In this way, he sets irrationality up as being especially dangerous and celebrates the goddess Dullness and her march of decay and irrationality from her "throne of folly" near "the cave of poverty and poetry".

There is a wealth of literature on the volumes of *The Dunciad*, particularly from the fields of literary studies, social history and eighteenth-century studies. Considerably less has been written on the work's emotional lens and its connection with the literal and metaphorical meaning of Grub Street within the city. The poem was designed initially as a contribution to the war against what Pope and the other writers of the Scriblerus Club identified as dullness and pedantry. Dullness on a literal level is "vulgarity" and the "march of

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[66] Martin Price, ed., *The Restoration and Eighteenth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), 394.

[67] Pope, *The Dunciad*, Book I, line 11-15.

[68] Fredrich Bogel, "Dulness Unbound: Rhetoric and Pope's Dunciad" *Publications of the Modern Language Association* 97, 5 (1982), 846.

[69] Weitzman, "Eighteenth-Century London: Urban Paradise or Fallen City?", 477.

dullness" is the vulgarisation of society, space and its people.[70] Pedantry, like dogmatism, was associated with a lack of intellectual rigor and excessive fact checking, and this effect of the work of the Grub Street writers on society is a recurring theme in *The Dunciad*.[71]

An important concept within the poem is that of the "Dunce". Pope uses the label of the Dunce to describe the writers whom he takes aim at:

> Not with less glory mighty Dullness crowned
>
> Shall take through Grub Street her triumphant round,
>
> And her Parnassus glancing o"er at once,
>
> Behold an hundred sons, and each a Dunce.[72]

Rogers explains that a dunce is "a sort of hereditary and quasi-syphilitic condition" or "a pariah who has been driven outside of the city walls".[73] Two things are notable here, the connotations of syphilis, and illness more broadly, which potentially references the suburb's association with the plague (see the previous chapter). Secondly, the connection with being driven from the city to "outside the city walls" (see chapter one). Both of these metaphors, it appears, are built on previous rhetoric associated with the suburb. Grub Street as metaphor then served both as a topographical symbol and suggested those who resided there were outcasts and those that threaten the city. It is here that we can understand Pope's use of disgust. It is not through the use of the word "disgust" or "disgusting" but by making links with previous associations of those things which had been kept at a safe proximity from the

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[70] G.S Rousseau, "To Thee, Whose Temple is All Space: Varieties of Space in The Dunciad" *Modern Language Studies* 9, 3 (1979).

[71] Daiches, *A Critical History of English literature*, Vol II, 641.

[72] Pope, *The Dunciad,* Book III, Line 135-138.

[73] Pat Rogers, *Hacks and Dunces,* 25.

city in the past. Just as Miller notes Shakespeare's use of the notion of disgust without ever using the word disgust, so too can we see this in Pope's work.[74]

This is further highlighted when Pope draws direct links with Bedlam hospital, adjacent to Moorfields. The 1743 edition of *The Dunciad* uses Colley Cibber, the playwright and newly appointed poet laurate, as his duncely hero and references his "stone brothers", which refers to the two stone statues carved by his father that flank the gates of Bedlam:

> Where o'er the gates, by his famed father's hand,
>
> Great Cibber's brazen, brainless brothers stand;
>
> One cell there is, concealed from vulgar eye,
>
> The cave of Poverty and Poetry.[75]

Pope here is making a direct link between the dunces of Grub Street and madness and melancholy (the statues' names), suggesting that the dunces of Grub Street and those residing within the Bedlam asylum shared a kinship of irrationality and folly. The early eighteenth-century view of madness is different from our own. Madness to Pope and his contemporaries was not seen as a form of mental illness like it is today, nor was it attributed to the medieval period's divine sense of "Christ's fools".[76] The eighteenth-century belief was that madness and irrationality implied and resulted from moral failure. It was not the polar opposite to reason either, but a condition produced by the over-abundance of the imagination or image-making faculty.[77] During Pope's age, the madman was at once a natural curiosity and a moral exemplum.[78] Madness was a spectacle, and the image of it could be

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[74] On Shakespeare's use of notions of disgust without the explicit use of the actual term see Miller, *The Anatomy of Disgust*, 163.

[75] Pope, *The Dunciad,* Book I, Line 31-34.

[76] See Roy Porter, "Bethlem/Bedlam: Methods of Madness?" *History Today* 47, 10 (1997), 41-48.

[77] David Morris, "The Kinship of Madness in Pope's Dunciad" *Philological Quarterly* 51, 4 (1972), 818-819.

[78] Ibid., 814.

used to entertain, but Pope also used it to make topographical links with the area north of the wall, and Cripplegate Without in particular.

Much of Pope's writing is characterised by elements of despair and annoyance with society. Arthur Weitzman explains that despair, disgust and fear towards London can be seen in the writings of not only Pope but also Jonathan Swift, Henry Fielding and Samuel Johnson.[79] Swift famously wrote to Pope that he "hate[d] and detest[ed] that animal called Man" and that "all [his] love is towards individuals".[80] Yet, if both Pope and Swift's work show displeasure with London society, Pope's frustration was most often directed at those he felt were responsible for threatening it. Pope's work is more targeted than many of his peers, and it was targeted at those associated with Grub Street, who, for Pope, signified everything that was wrong with London.

For Pope, the representation of Grub Street came to operate as a major part of his satirical attack.[81] Rogers notes that "his satiric cosmology is based on the geography of the London of his day and he makes topography serve as moral symbolism" in order to strengthen his identification of individual people within it.[82] As a result, he often attached this despair and, I argue, disgust with particular places and people within the city, but never the city as a whole. Furthermore, he rarely suggested that human society was corrupt as a whole, to put it in the same terms as Swift's quote, he became disgusted with men, not Man.[83] Pope would later write to Swift of satire:

> You call your satires libels; I would rather call my satires epistles. They will
>
> consist more of morality than wit, and grow graver, which you will call duller.

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[79] Weitzman, "Eighteenth-Century London: Urban Paradise or Fallen City?", 469.

[80] 'september 29th, 1725 to Alexander Pope" in *The Correspondence of Jonathan Swift*, ed. Frances Elrington Ball (G. Bell and Sons, 1912), Vol. III, 276.

[81] Pat Rogers, *The Alexander Pope Encyclopedia* (Santa Barbara: Greenwood, 2004), 143.

[82] Pat Rogers, *Hacks and Dunces,* 2.

[83] Daiches, *A Critical History of English Literature,* Vol II, 623.

I shall leave it to my antagonists to be witty (if they can) and content myself

to be useful, and in the right.[84]

For Pope, his work was about judging the morality of those he attacked. He did this by creating

links and associations with past histories of proximity and boundaries in order to illicit a

response of disgust for those associated with Grub Street.

William Miller argues that the visceral emotion of disgust is entangled with the creation

of moral, political and social orderings and is "one of our most aggressive culture-creating

passions".[85] Lawrence Manley states that, "satirists sought to identify and discriminate

among the world's ills in more immanent terms, by means of improvised comparisons".[86] The

use of discrimination as a literary tool in satire allowed "the satirists to prosecute the world

extemporaneously, without reliance on traditional moral frameworks".[87] Rather than

debating whether society was in fact morally-doomed, satirists instead worked to identify

"greater and lesser, tolerable and intolerable evils", which involved locating both people and

places on this spectrum.[88] Miller reminds us that in the early modern period disgust was

"about virtues and vices, narratives both fictional and historical, about how one stood with

others as much as how one stood with oneself".[89] Disgust was bound up with the politics of

pollution and purity and was particularly tied to understandings of the other.[90] Disgust

functions in support of shame in public settings, in that it calls out people and places *as*

disgusting. As such, the performative action of naming a disgusting object reinforces, or

creates, a representation of something that is other or threatening to society. The

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84 "Letter to Jonathan Swift, 2nd April 1733" in *Alexander Pope: The Rape of the Lock and Other Major Writings*, ed. Leo Damrosch (London: Penguin Books, 2011), 333.
85 Miller, *The Anatomy of Disgust*, xii.
86 Lawrence Manley, *Literature and Culture in Early Modern London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 379.
87 Ibid.
88 Ibid.
89 Miller, *The Anatomy of Disgust*, xii.
90 Ibid.

performativity of disgust "is hence about power of discourse to produce effects through reiteration", and "can only succeed if it repeats a coded or iterable utterance: it works precisely by citing norms and conventions that already exist".[91] By referring to a "plague of Dunces" and the "outcast", Pope was reiterating previous associated histories of the suburb to delineate his targets from the rest of London society, and used them to create a metaphor for disgust.

USING "PLACE" TO CONSTRUCT MORAL METAPHOR

Before Pope began using Grub Street as a moral metaphor in his work, there were numerous associations made between the street and bad writing. After Marvell's 1671 *The Rehearsal Transpros"d*, we see another reference in William Walsh's 1692 *Letters and Poems, Amorous and Gallant,* where he says "in an Age so inquisitive as ours, wou'd take it much better to have a relation of the thing from the first hand, than be put to the trouble of stopping to enquire of it in the Street, or trusting to the fidelity of a *Grub-Street* Historian".[92] In Walsh's passage to learn of something from Grub Street was no better than idle gossip on the street. Pope takes this association and strengthens it further by judging the Grub Street authors by moral attributes, for Pope it was about more than just their work. In the process of doing so, he illuminates his morally-exaggerated vision of the Grub Street world.

Robert Park states that the existence of "little worlds" in cities "makes it possible for individuals to pass quickly from one moral milieu to another, and encourages the fascinating but dangerous experiment of living at the same time in several different contiguous but

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[91] Judith Butler, *Bodies that Matter: On the Discursive Limits of 'sex"* (New York: Routledge, 1993), 13 and 20.
[92] William Walsh, *Letters and Poems, Amorous and Gallant* (1692) Huntington Library (Wing/W647/522:15) Emphasis original.

otherwise widely separated, worlds".[93] Park was, of course, referring to the literal movement through the city, but here I want to explore this idea in terms of what Lord Henry Kames referred to in 1762 as "ideal presence" through the act of reading. Literary representations, Kames argues, had the ability to transport a reader into a different moral world "as if they were really there".[94] Kames states that "ideal presence supplies the want of real presence" as "the reader is thrown into a kind of reverie, in which state forgetting that he is reading, he conceives every incident as passing in his presence, precisely as if he were an eye witness".[95] Reading, in this way, allows the reader a certain level of closeness, transporting them into the author's imagined realm. Pope was interested throughout his career in analogies of the moral and natural world.[96] Pope's work invites his reader to enter the chaotic world of the Dunce, a world very much separate from the polite society that many of his readers either aspired to, or were members of. He does this through a, perhaps exaggerated, representation of the moral bankruptcy and vulgarity of the Grub Street authors and suggests it as a chaotic and hellish warning to London society of what could come to pass if the ideas and work of the Dunces are not checked.

Pope does this by actively revealing his vision of the spaces of the Dunces. The people within the space may be "nameless Somethings", but the space itself is very much highlighted. In an early draft of *The Dunciad*, the opening line read, "Books and the man, who first from Grub Street brings/ The Smithfield Muses to the ears of kings".[97] He changed this before

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[93] Robert Park, *The City: Suggestions for Investigation of Human Behaviour in the Urban Environment* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967), 77.

[94] Henry Kames, *Elements of Criticism: in Three Volumes,* ed. Abraham Mills (New York: Printed for Conner & Cooke, 1833 [1762]), 53.

[95] Ibid.

[96] Rousseau, "To Thee, Whose Temple is All Space: Varieties of Space in The Dunciad".

[97] Rogers, *The Alexander Pope Encyclopedia*, 194

publication but still actively uses the spaces of dullness and its "cave of poverty and poetry" by describing its qualities often:

> Hence the fool's paradise, the statesman's scheme,
>
> The air-built castle, and the golden dream,
>
> And poet's vision of eternal fame.[98]
>
> … Not with less glory mighty Dullness crowned
>
> Shall take through Grub Street her triumphant round;[99]
>
> … Like the vile straw that's blown about the streets,
>
> The needy poet sticks to all he meets.[100]

It is this use of disgust, I argue, Pope was mobilising in his satirical attacks when he states that "like the vile straw that's blown about the streets/ The needy poet sticks to all he meets". The feeling of disgust could also function as an element within political and religious discourses seeking to "challenge 'what is'". Disgust then, Ahmed would say, is not only an imperative to expel, "but to make that expulsion stick to some things and not others".[101] While he does not use the word "disgust" explicitly in his attack on the writers associated with Grub Street, his work provokes it in order to "put them in their place" within both the spatial and social hierarchy of the city.[102] In a real sense, Grub Street may not have looked any different from other streets within the city. However, representations such as Pope's entered the collective understanding within the city and firmly delineated a moral boundary between what was vulgar, disgusting and threatening to social cohesion within society. Often this was represented as darkness and chaos spreading throughout the city:

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[98] Pope, *The Dunciad,* Book III, line 9-11.
[99] Ibid., Book III, line 135-136.
[100] Ibid., Book III, line 289-290.
[101] Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics of Emotions*, 99.
[102] Miller, *The Anatomy of Disgust*, 163.

Religion blushing veils her sacred fires,

And unawares Morality expires.

Not public flame, nor private, dares to shine;

Nor human spark is left, nor glimpse divine!

Lo! Thy dread Empire, CHAOS! Is restored;

Light dies before thy uncreating word:

Thy hand, Great Anarch! Let's the curtain fall,

And universal darkness buries all.[103]

Arthur Weitzman argues that the city's influence on literature is detectable during the eighteenth century, as the focus of literature shifted from an "aristocratic ambience to the middle class" where the traditional genres of literature began subtly, and not so subtly, absorbing the experiences of the modern city.[104]

Jürgen Habermas noted that men like Pope and Swift, and indeed the rest of the Scriblerus Club combined literature and politics in a "peculiar fashion, comparable to the way Addison and Steele combined literature and journalism".[105] On criticism, Joseph Addison noted:

It is impossible for us … to make observations in criticism, morality, or in any

art of science, which have not been touched upon by others. We have little

else left us, but to represent the common sense of mankind in more strong,

more beautiful, or more uncommon lights.[106]

Similarly, Swift noted: "criticks have no partial Views/ Except they know whom they abuse".[107]

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[103] Pope, *The Dunciad,* Book IV, line 649-656.
[104] Weitzman, "Eighteenth-Century London: Urban Paradise or Fallen City", 478.
[105] Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere,* Trans. Thomas Burger and Frederick Lawrence (London: Polity Press, 1989 [1962]), 59.
[106] Joseph Addison, *The Spectator,* Thursday December 20, 1711.
[107] Johnathan Swift, *On Poetry: A Rhapsody*, (London) 1733.

Through his revisions of *The Dunciad*, Pope shifts the "plague of dullness" and "the cave of poverty and poetry" from a spot near Rag-Fair in the original 1728 anonymous publication to Grub Street in the final edition of 1743.[108] By doing so, he attempts a stronger connection between the authors of Grub Street and vulgarity and immorality. In the original, more general description of dullness, almost any writer could fall into the "Dunce" category if their work was of a low enough quality. In the more nuanced attack on Grub Street, the target was clear; the Dunces came from the spaces associated with the street. Pope's body of work as a whole reflects the shift to making "stronger claims" too. His early works *Essay on Man*, *Windsor Forest* and *Essay on Criticism* all suggest the self-confidence of an age pleased with its own civilisation, and a certain level of optimism for society.[109] On the other hand, his later works *The Rape of the Lock* and particularly *The Dunciad*, reveal an attitude far removed from the optimistic self-congratulation on having reached the pinnacle of civilisation, which is often regarded as a mark of the Augustan writer. Instead, his disgust and contempt for certain members of London society figure prominently.[110]

Another important aspect of the notion of "little worlds" and "ideal presence" is the ability of Pope and other authors to, figuratively speaking, enter the immoral world of the Dunces they envisioned to wage war against those they saw as inferior, and then retreat to their "morally superior" polite world of the middle and upper class of society. Again, this becomes entangled with ideas of boundaries. Returning to Kames, he notes that "it is remarkable in human nature that though we always sympathise with our relations and with those under our eye, the distress of persons remote and unknown affects us very little".[111]

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[108] Rogers, *Hacks and Dunces*, 56.
[109] Daiches, *A Critical History of English Literature*, Vol II, 622.
[110] Ibid.
[111] Henry Kames, *Principles of Equity* (Edinburgh: Printed for A. Millar, A. Kincaid and J. Bell, 1767), 17.

This was seen as a spatial problem, or a problem of proximity. Pope was socially and physically distant from the Dunces of Grub Street, yet he saw in their work threatening ideas that, should they be allowed to get "too close" to London society, could cause chaos and immorality. Here we can return to how disgust functions through proximity and contact. Unlike contempt that "often informs benevolent and polite treatment of the inferior", "disgust overwhelms pity".[112]

The Grub Street metaphor began as a link to bad writing, and Pope elaborated on this extensively to make it about moral judgements of the writer's quality. When Pope wrote "like the vile straw that's blown about the streets/ The needy poet sticks to all he meets", he was using the street as a negative spatial metaphor to illuminate his moral judgements. This metaphor was also dominated by darkness and chaos, likened to the garrets of Grub Street that offered little light and were the place of the poverty stricken.

There is one more important element of how disgust functions that deserves flagging briefly here. Disgust functions not only as an aversive response, but it also, and rather importantly here, captures our attention and imagination for the object of disgust. Miller states "it is a commonplace that the disgusting can attract as well as repel".[113] The object of disgust "imposes itself upon us, we find it hard not to sneak a second look, or, less voluntarily, we find our eyes doing 'double takes' at the very things that disgust us".[114] We are often fascinated by that with which we are disgusted. In our eighteenth-century case study then, by representing the Grub Street authors as contemptuous and disgusting, Pope also perhaps gave the writers he was singling out for attack a larger audience. It is to this unintended result we now turn.

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[112] Miller, *The Anatomy of Disgust*, 32.
[113] Miller, *The Anatomy of Disgust*, x
[114] Ibid.

RESPECTABILITY, POLITENESS AND THE IMITATION OF THE VULGAR TONGUE

Much of Pope's attack on the Grub Street writers was associated with the definitions and instability of class within the period. Significantly, this builds on and perhaps continues the earlier discourse surrounding the suburb's place within the collective identity of the city. Rosemary Sweet recognises that the "urban world was the prime location for polite society" and connects the expansion of it with the developing print culture as the means of dissemination and distribution.[115] Politeness and civility held distinct differences. Sweet distinguishes civility from politeness by noting that "earlier notions of civility were primarily associated with courtly culture or developed within the context of the gentry household". Politeness, she says on the other hand, "had always been located within the urban environment". Indeed, "the very concept could not have been developed without the concomitant growth of urban society".[116] Polite norms and behaviour standards came to define those who were seen as a genteel member of the upper class of society. This saw the middle class aspire to adopt polite standards of conduct and etiquette. Often this process was mediated and encouraged through literary publications.

Early in the eighteenth century, "polite" modes of literary practice were being utilised to provide a respectable form of identity and community for the members of urban society. In 1711, the word politeness evoked a "scene of refined sociability" and Lawrence Klein explains that this scene was "peopled by gentlemen and ladies, situated in the drawing room or coffeehouse, engaged in intelligent and stylish conversation about urban things, presided

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[115] Rosemary Sweet, "Topographies of Politeness" *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 12, 1 (2002), 356.
[116] Ibid., 355. See also Anna Bryson, *From Courtesy to Civility: Changing Codes of Conduct in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 149-150. See also Stephen Copley, "Commerce, Conversation and Politeness in the Early-Eighteenth-Century Politeness" *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 18, 1 (1995), 63-77.

over by the spirit of good taste".[117] The representation of alehouses and the garrets of the Grub Street hacks jarred with the ideal vision of a polite urban society that Pope and his contemporaries were members. It was in stark contrast to the representation of the populated and respectable spaces of the coffeehouse or drawing rooms that cultivated good taste and sociability. The representation of cramped and dirty spaces of not just Grub Street, but also the majority of Cripplegate Without did not align with the polite urban sphere. Indeed, Sweet notes, discussing Newcastle's level of politeness, that "confined spaces, irregularity, gloom and dirt were the physical manifestations of all that was contrary to the polite ethos: they were the equivalent to pedantry, superstition and the narrowness of mind which betrayed ignorance of the ideals of improvement and a complete lack of taste, the aesthetic expression of true politeness".[118] Not only was politeness about defining social markers within society, it too could be informed by spatial markers of where one located themselves within the city and this formed a significant facet of Pope's representation of the Grub Street writers.

Through his work, Pope often attempted to define the perimeter of respectable conduct and convention within London society, and it could be argued, he often sought to marginalise those he thought were unworthy of access to polite society.[119] Davis explains that this was achieved in a broader sense by "constructing identities of [the] respectable and unrespectable" and by doing so, "conservatives [such as Pope] were patrolling the gate to social inclusion, where the members of society were judged as worthy or unworthy to pass

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[117] Lawrence Klein, *Shaftsbury and the Culture of Politeness: Moral Discourse and Cultural Politics in Early Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 8. See also Michele Cohen, ""Manners" Make the Man: Politeness, Chivalry, and the Construction of Masculinity, 1750–1830" *Journal of British Studies* 44, 2 (2005), 312–329.
[118] Sweet, "Topographies of Politeness", 361. See also John Stobart, 'selling (Through) Politeness: Advertising Provincial Shops in Eighteenth Century England" *Cultural and Social History* 5, 3 (2008), 309-328.
[119] Davis, "The Mob Club?", 23.

by virtue of their political leanings".[120] When Pope stated: "when Dullness, smiling – 'thus revive the Wits!'/ But murder first, and mince them all to bits", he was constructing an unrespectable and uneducated identity for the writers associated with Grub Street.[121] By doing so (and in conjunction with the larger *Dunciad* project), he called out this identity as unworthy of access to polite society. In this way, satire such as that produced by Pope could stigmatise the "spaces and people that were to be denied access to the polite public sphere", depending on where one was "placed" on his scale of worthiness.[122]

Satire during the eighteenth century harnessed novel ideas about urbanisation, embracing the interests and moral ideals of a much wider audience. In the process of effecting change, these "fictions of settlement" also encountered and uncovered discontinuities and contradictions between the traditional order and the new.[123] These manifested themselves in the emerging challenges to traditional descriptive techniques. Satire's relationship to the institutions, values and materials of polite and civil society was a dialectical one.[124] On the one hand, satire's depiction of excess and deviant aspects of urban politics and society offered a perspective on London life that contradicts the characteristic form of politeness. By identifying social practices that fell outside the social norms, satire showed that the claims of society as a whole being a "polite society" were incorrect. As Hallett says, satire made a "spectacle of difference". On the other hand, its exposure of vice and immoral behaviour can also be seen as working in tandem with politeness, in its ability to call out the shameful and profane within society as a means of correcting the social condition.[125]

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[120] Ibid., 24.

[121] Pope, *The Dunciad,* Book IV, line 119-120.

[122] Mark Hallett, *The Spectacle of Difference: Graphic Satire in the Age of Hogarth* (London: Yale University Press, 1999).

[123] Manley, *Literature and Culture in Early Modern London.*

[124] Hallett, *The Spectacle of Difference*, 9.

[125] Ibid., 10. See also Manushag Powell, 'see No Evil, Hear No Evil, Speak No Evil: Spectation and the Eighteenth-Century Public Sphere" *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 45, 2 (2012), 255-276.

During the eighteenth century, what could be defined as "polite" saw a shift in boundary and came to encompass a broad range of values. Sweet states that, "by the end of the century, the term had lost some of its exclusivity and rhetorical power and was being used less frequently".[126] This shift, Hallett argues, can be identified in Johnathan Swift's work. His use of the word "politeness" highlights how it changed from the understanding of "cultivated, civilised and refined or well bred" to one of "fashionable or modishness."[127] Instead, concepts such as respectability and "good taste" were beginning to replace it – the opposite of disgusting. One aspect of this shift, particularly in literary representations of politeness and respectability, was the language of vulgarity and how it could be appropriated by writers on both sides of the political and religious divide.[128]

"Vulgar" language was defined by Samuel Johnson in 1755 as "suiting to the common people" and qualified with the statement "men who have passed all their time in low and vulgar life, cannot have a suitable idea of the several beauties and blemishes in the actions of great men".[129] Judgements of vulgarity were closely tied to definitions of morality. When citizens made judgements about who should be included in polite society and who should not, they were also making decisions "about who is a friend and who is an enemy", drawing on a "systematic, highly elaborate symbolic code".[130] Worthy members used the positive side of the symbolic set to define themselves and conversely, they used the negative code to define the unworthy.

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[126] Sweet, "Topographies of Politeness", 358.

[127] Hallett, *The Spectacle of Difference,* 10. See also Susan Fitzmaurice, "The Commerce of Language in the Pursuit of Politeness in Eighteenth-Century England" *English Studies* 79, 4 (2000), 311.

[128] Of course, this wasn"t the only reason for the shift in the definition of politeness. On this shift see Paul Langford, "The Uses of Eighteenth-Century Politeness" *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 12, 1 (2002), 311-31 and Jenny Davidson, *Hypocrisy and the Politics of Politeness: Manners and Morals from Locke to Austen* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2004).

[129] "Vulgar" in Samuel Johnson, *A Dictionary of the English Language* (London: W.G Jones 1768 [1755]), 2233.

[130] Jeffery Alexander*,* "Citizen and Enemy as Symbolic Classification: On the Polarising Discourse of Civil Society" in *Cultivating Differences: Symbolic Boundaries and the Making of Inequality,* eds. Michèle Lamont and Marcel Fournier (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 291.

Peter Burke notes that the separation of "the vulgar from the upper strata of society produced an interest in the culture of the people" across early modern Europe.[131] In the earliest part of the century, to speak in a vulgar tongue was to associate yourself with the criminal and the "mean or low" of society. By 1773, Johnson's dictionary, suggested that it "might be more useful to the English reader, who was to be his immediate care, to write in our vulgar language".[132] Learning vulgar language was important to understand much of the printed material of the eighteenth century; however, people like Pope also saw this as the doom of education and consequently society, a motif in *The Dunciad.*

Education was an important facet of "good taste" and as such a distinction is made between the taste of reflection and the taste of sense, "the former being rare, a talent, a cultivation; the latter being easy and tending to excess and surfeit".[133] Good taste reveals itself by turning away in disgust, by refusing or recoiling at that which bears the marks of the vulgar. More precisely, "the disgust of the refined, their good taste, is a revulsion at other people's lack of taste; it is revulsion, in other words, toward the unrefined who are able to indulge and not experience disgust".[134] Pope often represented the rise of the vulgar at the expense of education:

> Beneath her footstool Science groans in chains,
>
> And Wit dreads exile, penalties and pains.
>
> There foamed rebellious Logic, gagged and bound,
>
> There, stripped, fair Rhet'ric languished on the ground.[135]

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[131] Peter Burke, *Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* (London: Temple Smith, 2009 [1978]), 26-30.
[132] "Vulgar" in Samuel Johnson, *A Dictionary of the English Language* (London: W. Strahan, 1773). See also Janet Sorensen, "Vulgar Tongues: Canting Dictionaries and the Language of the People in Eighteenth-Century Britain" *Eighteenth Century Studies* 37, 3 (2004), 437.
[133] Miller, *The Anatomy of Disgust*, 169.
[134] Ibid., 169.
[135] Pope, *The Dunciad,* Book IV, line 21-24.

The vulgar, Miller suggests, are those "given to the excessive, the cloying, the fulsome and the facile". While the refined are those, who can "discern vulgarity, and reject it in advance by the mechanism of good taste", which is expressed as disgust.[136]

Vulgarity was functioning in two ways in the works of Pope and the Grub Street hacks. Firstly, Pope used it as a means to identify social boundaries associated with polite culture. A key theme of Pope's attack is the "vulgar" crowd or the "nameless Somethings":

> Here she beholds the Chaos dark and deep
>
> Where nameless Somethings in their causes sleep,
>
> Til genial Jacob, or a warm third day,
>
> Call forth each mass, a poem, or a play;
>
> How hints, like spawn, scarce quick in embryo lie,
>
> How new-born nonsense first is taught to cry,
>
> Maggots half-formed in rhyme exactly meet,
>
> And learn to crawl upon poetic feet.[137]

By identifying the writers of Grub Street as "nameless Somethings" and "Maggots half-formed", he was designating them as vulgar and unworthy of access to London's polite society. In this way, language and linguistic practices played a role in defining the polite public sphere that arose in London society during the eighteenth century.

Political relationships and how they are constructed can also be understood through the lens of language. Often, during this period, these relationships were linked with the notion of respectable and unrespectable identities within the community. Jeffery Alexander explains that the "code" reveals the structures on which social communities built their "familiar

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[136] Miller, *The Anatomy of Disgust*, 169.

[137] Pope, *The Dunciad,* Book III, line 55-62.

stories, the rich narrative forms that guide their every day, taken for granted life". He says the distinction between groups is not real. People were not naturally moral or immoral, but rather "they [were] determined to be so by being placed in certain positions on the grid of civil culture".[138] Literature, of course, played a role in defining the distinction between groups in the eighteenth century; and much of this depended on past and present associations, either defined by authors such as Pope or claimed by the anonymous authors of Grub Street. Davis states that conservative attacks were "discursive devices to gain control of language in the so-called 'war of ideas', and in so doing to restrain opposition and to maintain the status quo".[139]

In this way, it was necessary to delineate the existing community as unsustainable and fraught with danger. In sociological terms, "a moral panic was being raised and sustained, as the crusade against reformers constructed and validated radicalism as a social problem and form of deviance".[140] Pope helped designate the Grub Street hacks as "the enemy of respectable, law-abiding society; their behaviour is seen as harmful or threatening to the values, interests, way of life, possibly the very existence, of the society, or a sizeable segment of that society".[141] The Grub Street hacks were often portrayed as instigating these threats and an understanding of "us" and "them" began. Often the negative and positive images created in the course of these transactions were so intertwined, linked at so many emotional and discursive levels, that it might be difficult to see where one ended and the other began.

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[138] Jeffery Alexander, "Citizen and Enemy as Symbolic Classification", 294.
[139] Michael Davis, "The Mob Club? The London Corresponding Society and the Politics of Civility in the 1790s" In *Unrespectable Radicals? Popular Politics in the Age of Reform*, eds. Michael T Davis and Paul Pickering (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 26.
[140] Ibid., 23.
[141] E Goode and Ben-Yehudi, "Moral Panics: Culture, Politics and Social Construction" *Annual Review of Sociology* 20, 1 (1994), 156.

This understanding of how Pope was using notions of disgust relies on concepts of boundaries. Ahmed states that "borders need to be threatened in order to be maintained, or even to appear *as* borders, and part of the process of 'maintenance-through-transgression' is the appearance of border objects".[142] Disgust relies on proximity and contact zones, and in Pope's disgust for the dunces we can sense his uneasiness about the threat they pose to his ideal world view. Ahmed notes that we "may experience hate towards the object [of disgust, in this context, the Grub Street hacks], as well as fear of the object, precisely as an affect of how the [disgusting thing] 'has got in'".[143] She concludes that it is about how things come into contact with other things.[144] Importantly though, disgust in this setting does not include pity for the Grub Street authors.

FINDING ANONYMITY IN THE METROPOLIS

In this final section, I want to set out how both The Scriblerus Club and the Anonymous authors of Grub Street can be understood through Barbara Rosenwein's concept of *emotional communities* that resulted from a desire to seek relief from what William Reddy terms an *emotional regime*.[145] Rosenwein states that "emotional regimes led men and women to seek emotional relief in refuges which, while imposing their own norms and restraints, allowed for alternative forms of emotional expression".[146] Rosenwein argues that for Reddy, "all emotional regimes are constraining, and people must search for a regime that is most open to alternatives, experiment, failure and deviance".[147] Conversely, Rosenwein's emotional communities are not rigid and definitive. They are more "a group in which people have a

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[142] Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics of Emotions*, 87.
[143] Ibid., 88.
[144] Ibid., 87.
[145] William Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).
[146] Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities*, 20.
[147] Ibid.

common stake, interest, values and goals". Thus, Rosenwein says, "it is often a social community, but it is also possibly a 'textual community', created and reinforced by ideologies, teachings and common presuppositions".[148] It is here that we can see elements of both the group of Grub Street authors and The Scriblerus Club. Pope and The Scriblerus Club's community was based on shared negative emotions for those they saw as threating the moral purity of the city. Their values were very much linked with the ideals suggested in polite and respectable behaviour standards and abhorred the vulgarity portrayed by "low and mean" authors such as those associated with Grub Street. The community surrounding the Grub Street authors is a little harder to define, precisely because of its key feature, anonymity. Rogers notes that "every manifestation of dullness is characterised by a tropism towards such aggressive units – Dunces find safety in numbers".[149] I would nuance this slightly to say the Dunces found safety in *anonymous* numbers. The only concrete link between these authors and the community surrounding Grub Street is the signature of "from Grub Street" on the frontispiece of their works. Indeed, on revealing a connection to Grub Street, Jonathan Swift notes:

> You lose your Credit all at once;
>
> The Town will mark you for a Dunce:
>
> The vilest Doggrel *Grubstreet* sends,
>
> Will pass for yours with Foes and Friends.[150]

Anonymity was important for retaining social position for the Grub Street authors and as such "few names connected with the bookselling trade can be found" in the Cripplegate Without

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[148] Ibid., 24-25.
[149] Rogers, *Grub Street: Studies in a Subculture,* 101.
[150] Swift, *On Poetry: A Rhapsody*.

parish records of the eighteenth century.[151] It is clear those authors associated with the metaphorical street that revealed their connection were likely to be singled out by other authors such as Pope as satirical targets. However, by signing "from Grub Street", it is clear the connection to the community was still important to them.

The threat of being identified could also come from within the community. As early as 1701 we read of William Davis informing Thomas Hopkins, that "The City of London to the great grief of its inhabitants is Daily Anoy"d, with Numerous and odiously Scandalous Pamphlets, against the late House of Commons, thereby rendering some of its worthy Members ridiculous and hateful to the People and Monstrous to the world".[152] As such, an increasingly popular way of tracing seditious and libellous publications in the eighteenth century was to offer financial rewards to informants, and often the most useful information came from those within the trade themselves or their servants and relatives.[153] For example, McDowell notes that the Secretary of State Charles Townshend was "paying the wives of several printers a regular salary of 28 shillings a week" for information to help in "detecting the Printers and Publishers of Libells against the Government".[154] Anonymity was a key attribute to being a successful author associated with Grub Street, and ironically Pope himself uses anonymity through pseudonyms to attack those he despised.

Pope identifies moral traits and links them with the Grub Street authors, but there is a certain ambiguity to the character of the Dunce (except the ones he is able to identify specifically). On Pope's use of madness and irrationality in defining the character of the Dunce, David Morris says, "if identity is the function of consciousness and reason then irrationality

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[151] Rogers, *Grub Street: Studies in a Subculture*, 413.
[152] State Papers 29 November 1701. Cited in McDowell, *Women of Grub Street*, 91.
[153] McDowell, *Women of Grub Street*, 91.
[154] Townshend to A Cracherode, 4 August and 1 November 1716. Cited in McDowell, *Women of Grub Street*, 91-92.

and madness is to be 'no body's son at all' or less than human, a non-being".[155] Pope taps into

ambiguity as a tool in defining the Grub Street hacks, but their ambiguity is their defence from

his attack. Following Reddy's conception, anonymity in this sense can be seen as a literal and

literary refuge for the authors. The inability to identify them, protected them from

persecution, stigma and individual attack.

These communities were also defined along political lines, although once again, the

ambiguity associated with Grub Street also applies to political associations as they were often

"hired pens" on both sides of the political divide. Mark Knights notes, however, that "bad

grammar and poor style … implied bad or impolite politics". These political associations and

their criticisms, he says then, "often involved a process of extensive literary criticism, in which

style and language were carefully scrutinized".[156] This is one of Pope's main tactics in

disarming the influence of the works arising from Grub Street. Knights notes this process was

felt to be essential in order to uncover the motives of writers. Daniel Defoe famously noted

that "men habitually wore masks that needed deconstructing", and as such Knights continues,

"textual analysis was one way of trying to uncover their true design".[157]

Both the Scriblerus Club and the Grub Street authors can be understood in terms of

Rosenwein's emotional communities. They do, however, differ in their motives and defining

features. The Grub Street authors were defined primarily by their anonymity and vulgarity.

Ambiguity and anonymity were both necessary for the Grub Street authors but also used as

an attack against them. In Pope's work, we can see Ahmed's understanding of disgust *doing

something*.[158] By provoking disgust for the dunces of Grub Street, Pope was attempting to

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[155] David Morris, "The Kinship of Madness in Pope's *The Dunciad*" *Philological Quarterly* 51, 4 (1972), 830.
[156] Mark Knights, "History and Literature in the Age of Defoe and Swift" *History Compass* 3, 1 (2005), 12.
[157] Daniel Defoe, *A letter to Mr Bisset Eldest Brother of the Collegiate Church* (1710), 9-10 and Knights, "History and Literature in the Age of Defoe and Swift", 12.
[158] Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics of Emotion,* 83.

define "greater and lesser, tolerable and intolerable evils", and this required locating both people and places as threatening and other to his ideal view of society. Much of this was tied to the reiteration of class structure within London.[159] In this way, Pope's disgust was entangled with the social construction of moral, political and religious orderings within eighteenth-century London.[160] An important part of this "use" of disgust, however, was the shaming of people in public settings, in the calling out specific people and places *as disgusting*. As such, the performative action of naming a disgusting object reinforces, or creates, a representation of something that is other or threatening to society. The emotional community built on anonymity can thus be understood as a defence mechanism. Pope's inability to single out individual persons responsible for his chaotic visions resulted in his use of the whole "Grub Street race" as the identity to "call out". This saw the suburb as a whole being defined by his representation of impending doom.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has explored how Alexander Pope's publication, *The Dunciad*, expressed his disgust for the community of authors associated with Grub Street in the eighteenth century. For Pope, disgust was a tool he could mobilise to strengthen his socially, politically and religiously-based attacks on some people associated with print culture that he did not view as proper or respectable. Often his inability to identify the anonymous authors saw him represent the "Grub Street race" as a whole as unrespectable, vulgar and disgusting. His work then became suggestive tools themselves in spreading this ideological discourse through London society more broadly. It was the narrative within these works that "stuck" and came

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[159] Manley, *Literature and Culture in Early Modern London,* 379.
[160] Miller, *The Anatomy of Disgust,* xii.

to define the historical understanding of Cripplegate Without, regardless of it being representative of only a short period of the suburb's history.

It was in social boundary-making that Pope's disgust was often used as a tool. By expressing his distaste for the Grub Street hacks, he was attempting to exclude them from the polite public sphere. In this way, his attack was certainly about politics and religion, but also entangled with defining class structure and polite society within the city and who was allowed to label themselves as polite, who was worthy, and who was not. As a result, a key aspect of the community that formed around Grub Street was anonymity. This "emotional refuge" was a result of both the political and religious context in which these authors were publishing; it was a defence mechanism. But importantly it could also be used against them, as a way of disarming their influence within society by authors such as Pope. This duality offers an explanation of Pope's description of Grub Street as "where nameless Somethings in their causes sleep".[161] This had much larger implications for the suburb outside of satirical literature, once coupled with previous negative associations of disease and the "sub-urban". Pope's work became a defining representation of the street, so much so, that in 1830 it was decided to rename Grub Street in order to remove its "vulgar association".[162]

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[161] Pope, *The Dunciad,* Book I, line 55-62.
[162] Denton, *St Giles, Cripplegate*, 191.

Emotion can have a profound effect on the way we view the world. It can shape our understanding of people and also the places in which they live. This is true in both our contemporary society and that experienced by our early modern counterparts. The thesis has attempted to show how emotion interacted with, and influenced, early modern representations of London. Importantly, it has not sought to be another urban history of London. Instead, it has re-imagined the vast body of work already established on the city in the early modern period to understand ways in which emotion could be entangled with the city and its people. The work focused primarily on the suburb of Cripplegate Without, an area just north of the London Wall, placing it within the broader cultural and social contexts of the city during the period under study to understand how these might impact on the parts of the whole.

Emotion in Place was based on three theoretical assumptions drawn from diverse disciplines: firstly, that spaces (and places) are socially produced; secondly, emotional responses are culturally specific (both temporally and geographically); and thirdly, text (both visual and linguistic) played a fundamental role in understanding these phenomena. To understand how these assumptions interacted in the early modern city, the thesis built on Sara Ahmed's concept of "emotional stickiness", a way of explaining how emotion and their related social values become "stuck" to objects and subjects.[1] In doing so, it asked "why did emotion stick *there*?" – how did emotion shape and influence visual and literary representations of London in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries? How did

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[1] Sara Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics of Emotion* (New York: Routledge, 2004).

the emotional reactions of the author to city space shape these sources? And what impact did these representations have on the understanding of city space and, perhaps most importantly, people within it?

In asking these questions, the thesis focused on three "moments" in Cripplegate Without and the city's history and the emotional reactions to them: the expansion of the city beyond its traditional boundaries and the shame this provoked in the sixteenth century; the fear of the plague and how this could be contained by the suburbs in the seventeenth century; and how disgust for Grub Street was used as a moral metaphor in the political and religious satirical attacks of the eighteenth century. While each of these moments had specific social, spatial and cultural contexts in which they were explored, several themes were consistent across the broader period covered by the thesis. Firstly, that emotion could function as a "tool" in shaping the social and spatial understanding of the city; secondly and relatedly, that representations of the city could both record the urban condition within London but also importantly, signify ideological views of the space. Thirdly, together these processes could be used to "place" people within the city and determine those who were seen to be "other", both spatially and socially.

EMOTION AS A "TOOL"

Emotion appears to have functioned as a tool in two ways in representations of early modern London. Firstly, the emotional reactions of the author creating the visual or literary image of the city could shape the nature of the representations. Secondly, the representation itself then acted as a tool to disseminate these emotional views throughout London society, potentially shaping the emotions of audiences to such spaces, thus acting as another layer of

felt judgement within the city. Thus, an understanding of the affective qualities of city space and place is incomplete without an understanding of how emotion functions within this process. Following Ahmed's lead, rather than asking "what are emotions?", the thesis focused on the question of "what do emotions do?". In doing so, the work has sought to investigate the social power of emotions in shaping place and social hierarchies. As such, she says we should "think of [emotional] stickiness as an *effect of surfacing, as an effect of the histories of contact between bodies, objects and signs"*.[2] Stickiness, she says, "depends on histories of contact that have already impressed upon the surface of the object"; often, this is mediated through movement and attachment.[3] These movements can be both *toward* and *away* from others, and as such they "shape the contours of social as well as bodily space".[4] These ideas were provocative when thinking about the relation of emotion to spaces within early modern London and led to questioning the "movement" suggested by emotional representations – what is *drawn to* or *pushed away* from urban space throughout history. Often the power of these emotional representations was seen most clearly in their use in defining space and people.

In the sixteenth-century context, we saw shame functioning to define who was seen as a legitimate member of London and where they were located. This became an issue of definition once London no longer reflected the image that had been suggested for centuries previously. This older image was built on both visual and literary representations of London as a grand and glorious, yet contained and knowable, city, surrounded by pastoral landscape. Once the expansion of the city challenged this view, what was seen as "London" became contested in both social and spatial ways. Much of this discourse was entangled with notions

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[2] Ibid., 90.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid., 209.

of shame. The proclamations for limiting building within the city suggested a "monarch" (symbolising those with civic power) shamed by his city and unruly subjects and acted to shift the blame (and shame) to those who could not (or would not) live within the requirements set out within them. This was an effective tool in identifying the suburbs as responsible for the city's ills. Shame was thus a larger, collective emotional response by the civic elite to the city's expansion. John Stow's *Survey of London and Westminster* is also indicative of this larger, collective response; he goes to some effort to illuminate those parts of the city he feels reinforced his vision while ignoring or hiding those he felt were not representative of London's grandness. Importantly though, he does identify the spaces in the suburbs that he sees as shameful, shifting the blame to the outskirts of the city.

The seventeenth century saw multiple plague outbreaks that provoked terror and fear within London. To contain the "object of fear", plague pamphlets and other popular literature such as Thomas Dekker's writings represented the fields to the north of the city as especially dangerous and fearful. Often these representations led the wealthy and able to flee the city, and the fields were depicted as the gateway to safety in the countryside beyond, compounding the terror associated with these spaces. In doing so, these representations were suggestive of the movements that should be undertaken to avoid infection: flee early and return late, proximity was dangerous, and the areas to the north of the city were to be avoided if at all possible. Fear in this context was linked by authors such as Dekker with morality. For some within society, those fleeing were seen as morally inferior for abandoning those who could not flee the city. This was also linked with the fear of being "shut up" in a house of the plague-infected and often led people to flee their homes within the city. By depicting the fields and suburbs to the north of London as the place of the plague and death, rather than the city within the walls, these emotional representations acted as tools in

containing the fear and panic provoked by plague outbreaks. It also suggested that those residing in the suburb were to also be feared, a threat (both moral and physiological) to be avoided where ever possible, in Sir Thomas Peyton's words "that one parish of St. Giles hath done us all this mischief".[5] Once again, Cripplegate Without was suggested as the cause of the city's troubles, and this was defined by both the space and its people.

In the eighteenth century, notions of disgust were used to target political and religious satirical attacks. Pope's use of metaphor and morally-based felt judgements were often entangled with topographical imagery of the area north of the wall, Grub Street in particular. In doing so, topographical metaphor and their entangled emotionally-laden moral judgements in Pope's satire was intended to disarm the power of the dissenting authors who identified with Grub Street literature. Much of the morality of Pope's work was mediated through evolving understanding of politeness and respectability in the eighteenth century and who was seen as worthy and who was not. This resulted in emotional communities forming around ideas of respectability (for Pope and his peers) and anonymity (for those he attacked). As a "tool", emotion does things – it can reinforce or define the political and social hierarchy, it can shift blame, and it can contain collective panic by determining what should be feared and what is safe. Importantly, Alexander Pope's use of disgust did not suggest pity for these people, differentiating it from contempt. This can be seen in historical settings, but is just as relevant in contemporary understandings of cities. Therefore, it is essential to mindful of the social, political, cultural and emotional contexts in which representations of space are constructed.

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[5] Sir Thomas Peyton to Sir Joseph Williamson, Under-Secretary of State, Knowlton, Kent. Royal Court at Salisbury, August 7, 1665. Quoted by Willian Durrant Cooper, *Letters of John Allin … to Philip Fryth and Samuel Jeake* (London, 1856) and then A Moote and Dorothy Moote, *The Great Plague: The Story of London's Most Deadly Year* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2008), 201.

REPRESENTATIONS OF SPACE AND SPACES OF REPRESENTATION

Responding to Henri Lefebvre's call for a "history of the representations of space", this thesis sought to interrogate the role emotion played in the representation of early modern London.[6] The representation of space "emerges at the level of discourse, of speech as such, and therefore comprise verbalised forms such as descriptions and definitions" and encompassed visual and literary descriptions of the city.[7] Spaces of representation, on the other hand, concern the symbolic dimension of space. Spaces of representation "do not refer to the spaces themselves but to something else", power structures, religious and political understandings of the city for example.[8] It is the area between representations of space (both visual and those found in written accounts of the city) and the spaces of representation that the thesis sought to investigate. To do justice to these ideas, it was important to be mindful of the difference between "what is represented but not experienced" and conversely, "what is experienced but not represented".[9] As such, the thesis followed John Scattergood's lead in viewing these representations as imperfect, partial and selective. In this way of understanding, "the thing itself" (city space or people) could be described in a number of different ways, "among which the describer is free to choose what to include and what to exclude" and importantly what point of view to adopt.[10] Throughout the case studies in the project, it became clear that it was often emotion that mediated this difference.

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[6] Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space,* trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Massachusetts: Blackwell Press 1991 [1974]), 42.
[7] Christian Schmid, "Henri Lefebvre's Theory of the Production of Space: Towards a Three-Dimensional Dialectic", trans. Bandulasena Goonewardena, in *Space, Difference, Everyday Life: Reading Henri Lefebvre,* eds. Kanishka Goonewardena et al. (New York: Routledge, 2008), 36.
[8] Ibid., 37.
[9] Many thanks to Stan Fung for discussing this point with me at the *Centre for Asian and Middle Eastern Architecture* Symposium, University of Adelaide. July 2017.
[10] John Scattergood, *Reading the Past: Essays on Medieval and Renaissance Literature* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1996), 17.

The sixteenth century saw the traditional representation of the city placed at odds with the expanding city. Part of this representation was the definition between rural and urban provided by the London Wall, and this was often depicted as the wall making a complete circuit around the city. This image was, in fact, ideological rather than an accurate representation of the urban context during the period. As such, Barbara Rosenwein notes that "texts may be insincere, make things up, mislead and even lie" and that we historians (rightly) no longer believe texts (or images) are transparent windows onto reality.[11] By viewing these representations as ideological, we can begin to investigate why they are misleading and what they are representative of. The representation of the city before the sixteenth-century was suggestive of a fully enclosed, glorious city second only to Rome. Once these traditional images of the city no longer corresponded to the reality of urbanity, the discourse turned to who was responsible and who could be seen as a legitimate member of society.

In the seventeenth-century plague outbreaks, the fields, particularly the ones north of the wall, captured the imagination of the city. They were depicted as a liminal zone between the infected, plague-ridden city and fresh, healthy air for those seeking to flee the city. Interestingly though they were also often depicted as the direct opposite: a place of death and dying, very much separate to the space of the living within the city walls. The open space of the fields was seen as a solution to the problem of the growing number of dead that could not (or would not) be accommodated in parish graveyards. Cripplegate Without and the adjoining fields then were represented as both necessary for ensuring the health and moral purity of the city within the walls, and as a place of fear and terror. Between the 1603 and 1665 outbreaks of the plague we can see a shift in the rhetorical representation of these

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[11] Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities*, 28.

spaces with a change from the Moorfields in general, to Cripplegate Without and the parish churchyard of St Giles in particular, as the place of the plague. These representations could be manipulated and exaggerated to provoke emotions of terror and fear, as seen in the exaggerated images of the parish churchyard of St Giles. In this way, the representation of city space in relation to the plague during the eighteenth century was not always factually accurate and could be used to shape and direct the collective fears provoked by outbreaks.

The eighteenth century saw that even though it formed a small period of the suburb's history, the political and religious based representations of the space came to dominate the broader historical narrative of Cripplegate Without. This description was based on moral panic and the definition of respectability and politeness within London society, and depended on past associations and "histories of contact that have already impressed upon the [space]".[12] These "metaphorically sticky" representations drew on the past associations of the suburb with the outcast and the plague to define those that resided there as immoral and threatening to society. As such, Withers and Mayhew believe the examination of "where" questions in this way has established new avenues for understanding the "why, how and when" questions in historical discourse.[13] The thesis adds to this by also showing that the "where" questions can also illuminate the "who" in historical understandings of city space.

KNOWING "ONE'S PLACE" WITHIN THE CITY

The final theme that became evident within the three "moments" in the early modern period was the ability for both emotion and representations of city space to be used to "place" people

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[12] Ahmed, *Cultural Politics of Emotion*, 90.

[13] Charles Withers and Robert Mayhew, "Geography: Space, Place and Intellectual History in the Eighteenth Century" *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies* 34, 4 (2011).

within the city and determine those who were seen to be "other", both spatially and socially. Ahmed believes "it is not difficult to see how emotions are bound up with the securing of social hierarchy", they become entangled with what is "higher" and "lower" within society. As such, "emotionality as a claim about a subject or collective is clearly dependent on relations of power, which endow 'others' with meaning and value".[14] The thesis argued that the notion of otherness in early modern London was not a static concept. The boundaries of what was considered "other" could, and did, shift over time, both spatially within the city and socially within London society. As social boundaries, this reflects the intentions, ideals and values of those people involved in their design, management and use. Although boundary definition and regulation may express consensus, Roderick Lawrence states, they can also engender conflict. From this perspective, they could also be a vehicle for the creation and maintenance of power, prestige or social positions.[15] Alongside social boundaries, there were also the physical boundaries found within the city, the most defined being the London Wall.

The London Wall was particularly important in the sixteenth century. As the city expanded, the "centre" of the city was not simply spreading beyond the walls, but a new spatial and social typology was being created between the walls and the rural lands beyond it – the suburb. This began to be debated in terms of identity, power and place. To be sub-urban came to particularly mean *outside* a city's wall and protection and came to be understood as "outside the walls, but contiguous with them, and within the jurisdiction of the city of London".[16] Notable was the distinction of being outside the traditional bounds of the city yet within its jurisdiction. By being within the city's jurisdiction and therefore

[14] Ahmed, *The Cultural Politics of Emotion*, 4.
[15] Roderick Lawrence, "The Multidimensional Nature of Boundaries: An Integrative Historical Perspective" in *Setting Boundaries: The Anthropology of Spatial and Social Organisation,* ed. Deborah Pellow (London: Bergin and Gravey, 1996), 35.
[16] Ibid., 2.

responsibility, these spaces were neither entirely outside of London's social hierarchy, nor were they seen as an entirely legitimate part of its collective identity. To be *sub-urban* was to be placed below or beneath the city in the spatial hierarchy and as such the "place" of those who resided there was seen to be socially lower than those who lived within the traditional boundary of the city.

In the seventeenth century, the fearful response to the threat of the plague could result in society uniting behind a common interest of defining the other, and often this meant identifying the marginal or outsider. In this way, representations could feed on people's fears and name scapegoats to define where this fear should be "placed". This could and did, lead to practical measures to deal with and control the object of fear.[17] These practical measures were often defined and described in terms of boundaries. It was the act of *keeping out* the external and *forcing out* the internal threat. As Hammill says, "on both an individual and communal level, the interior contagion is actively rejected and kept on the outside to maintain the purity of the inside. As such, the 'sick' must be kept from the whole".[18] "Placing" fear in the fields and suburbs north of the city wall, quite literally aligned social and bodily space. The metaphorical image was clear; the dead inhabited the fields, the living occupied the city within the walls. The plague itself was the object of fear, but importantly, through metaphorical association, the fields and suburbs also became an object of fear. Through this process, by placing the object of fear outside of the city, the city itself became less fearful (even if this did not align with the demographic distribution of the epidemic). By doing so, London society attempted to rationalise the irrational experience of widespread, at times seemingly random, deaths associated with contagion.

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[17] Ibid.

[18] Graham Hammill, "Miracles and Plagues: Plague Discourse as Political Thought" *The Journal for Early Modern Cultural Studies* 10, 2 (2010), 89.

In the eighteenth century, we can see that the construction of boundaries was also often social in nature. The publication of satirical attacks by Pope and his peers sought to define moral, political and religious boundaries with the intention of "placing" people on the spectrum of worthy or unworthy. By doing so, the description of people and social practices held strong normative cues, and this could be linked with particular places. Place identity came, then came to be a matter of identity politics and paid close attention to differential access to power.[19] In this way, place can be understood through social and cultural conflict. In the eighteenth century, it was politics and religion that dictated these conflicts. Ultimately though, much of this discourse came down to otherness and who was seen as threatening to both the social and physical ideological view of the city.

Following Edward Casey then, the thesis concludes that "place" is transformed by people: "To be cultural, to have a culture, is to inhabit a place sufficiently intensively to cultivate it… culture is carried into places by bodies".[20] Therefore, place can be understood as not just the site of social events, but also as the *result of* social practices. Place was, and is, a social construction, produced by social cultivation as Lefebvre would say.[21] Importantly though, this flows in the other direction too. Place can, and was, used to ascribe identities to groups of people based on emotional reactions to those places. In the process, social power structures, representations of place and collective (and individual) emotion became entangled with the development of the city in the early modern period.

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[19] Timothy Cresswell, *In Place/Out of Place: Geography, Ideology and Transgression* (Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press. 1996).
[20] Casey, *Fate of Place*, 26.
[21] Charles Withers, "Place and the 'spatial Turn" in Geography and in History" *Journal of the History of Ideas* 70, 4 (2009), 641.

REFLECTIONS AND WHERE TO FROM HERE

Since beginning this project, the study of emotions in relation to cities and urban history has been growing and evolving at a rapid rate.[22] In some ways, it has been hard to keep the work contained in this thesis up to date with the various ways in which scholars are beginning to conceptualise urban emotions. In this sense, the thesis represents a "first draft" of my contribution to the new and developing field. Following submission, the work will be reconceptualised slightly to respond to Rosenwein's new concept of "generations of feeling" in which she traces the changing understanding and use of emotion words.[23] The project will evolve to show how this can occur in attachment to space and place. Much of this is already contained in the project as a whole, however, the aim will be to show, much more explicitly, the connections between, and across, the case studies. This will be undertaken in order to show the continuities and discontinuities between the emotional representations that did stick to the suburb and those that did not. How were these emotionally-laden representations changed, built upon and recycled throughout its history?

The thesis was necessarily limited in topographical location, time period and emotional responses in order to make a meaningful contribution to scholarship. Moving forward, the topographical location will remain the same however in order to response to Rosenwein's "generations of feeling" both the time period and the emotional responses interrogated will expand. The emotional responses that were the central focus of the thesis were the "emotions of blame", negative emotions that "do things". An investigation of the social power of the "emotions of praise" would be fruitful in the exploration of the reformative powers of

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[22] See for example Joseph Ben Prestel, *Emotional Cities: Debates on Urban Change in Berlin and Cairo, 1860-1910* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017); Susan Broomhall, ed., *Spaces for Feeling* (London: Routledge, 2015) and Deborah Simonton, Katie Barclay et al., eds. *The Routledge History Handbook of Gender and the Urban Experience* (London: Routledge, 2017).
[23] Barbara Rosenwein, Generations of Feeling: A History of Emotions 600-1700 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

moral judgements associated with place within the city. Likewise, an expansion in the time periods covered would allow the project to fully trace the changing conception and connections of emotion and place.

Additions would include an exploration of the monastic culture that was present in the suburb during the medieval period, before the dissolution of the monasteries. The particular moment of the dissolution of the monasteries provoked intense emotional responses across London society, and it is likely this impacted the representation of these places. Another addition involves moving forward into the modern period when in the 1830s, Grub Street was renamed due to its bad reputation. Again, this evidently provoked a strong emotional reaction across society, but also importantly for those who resided on the street. Further forward into the modern period, the project will then seek to look to the 1940s when the majority of the suburb was devastated by bombing in World War II and the grief associated with the rebuilding efforts. By doing so, the project will trace the way emotion could impact the representation of the suburb across the entirety of its history and show the way this could change and build upon previous representations across time.

As we have seen, emotion can have a great influence on the way we view spaces within the city. Our fears, disgust and shame can shape our understanding of the people around us and also the places in which they live. We make assumptions and represent larger groups in particular ways based on the emotions provoked by a few, and this can begin to 'stick" in the historical narratives of people and place. This is true in both contemporary and historical contexts, we see it in the representations of areas with high proportions of low income earners (even if it is not the *only* type of resident) and we often see it in the representation of the duality of suburb/city rhetoric. The thesis has shown that this has remained fairly consistent since the early modern period.

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