Popular history in early modern London: the role of history in the creation of identity amongst Londoners 1580-1640

Popular History in Early Modern London: The Role of History in the Creation of Identity Amongst Londoners 1580-1640

Sarah Cissell Kent

School of Social Sciences, History & Philosophy
Birkbeck College, University of London

Submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, April 2023

Abstract

This study explores whether a shared knowledge and understanding of elements of London's past helped to create a sense of identity amongst those who lived in the city in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. It suggests that a shared knowledge of London's history and the associated values this inculcated, created a sense of common identity amongst Londoners, and this was one way in which social cohesion and thus stability was maintained in the city.

The elements of history most popular in early modern London were initially identified using ballads and almanacs, the cheapest, most numerous forms of print in the city. These sources suggest that London's topography, civic government and famous figures from the city's past were the topics Londoners were most interested in and frequently encountered. These topics appeared not only in ballads and almanacs, but were ubiquitous in chronicles, plays, pageants and other texts, suggesting the majority of those living in London acquired a familiarity with them.

These themes were popular for a range of reasons. Information on them was readily available, the values they embodied met with approval from the civic elite, and there were individual elements of each which were clearly appealing to Londoners for a range of reasons. This study considers the impact that exposure to these stories and themes had on early modern Londoners, with the values promoted by these popular historical topics creating a sense of shared identity amongst Londoners and enabling them to acclimatise themselves to the urban environment.

This study concludes that alongside the social utility of the individual topics assessed, the fact that this selected knowledge of London's past was *shared* amongst most Londoners, who may have shared little else, was a factor enhancing social cohesion within the city.

Acknowledgements

I returned to higher education when my youngest daughter started at school. It has been incredibly challenging at times to write and research whilst working full time and living with two young children! Nonetheless, it has been a joy to engage with my subject again and create something that really has been a labour of love.

This thesis would not have been possible without the support of my wonderful husband John and my daughters Bessie and Sylvie, who have put up with mummy disappearing into another room to read and write for sizeable chunks of family holidays. Also, my mother Rosemary Cissell who always encouraged me to pursue my studies.

I owe a huge debt to my supervisor Vanessa Harding, for her sound advice, guidance, and good humour through my somewhat chaotic schedule.

I would also like to thank Alleyn's School, in particular the History Department, for their financial, practical and emotional support throughout my studies. I suspect I have been given a lot of latitude when I have disappeared down the rabbit hole of research for day at a time.

Contents

Abbreviations

EEBO: Early English Books Online

EBBA: English Broadside Ballads Archive

ODNB: Oxford Dictionary of National Biography

Notes

All quotes from *Stow's Survey of London* are taken from taken from the edition by Charles Kingsford (2000) unless otherwise stated.

All quotations from the works of Stow and Holinshed are fully referenced initially, then references follow formula: Name, shortened title, (date).

List of Tables

1: Introduction

Research Question

The growth of London in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries has been called 'the most spectacular development in English urban society'.[1] The physical and demographic growth of the city was massive and by 1640 London began to assume the character of an 'enormous metropolis'.[2] Huge social and economic disparity existed within this space, with wealthy members of the civic elite living in relatively close proximity to overcrowded suburban tenements inhabited by the very poor and recent migrants to the city. Great potential for conflict existed in this environment, where London's inhabitants seemed to share very little except physical proximity. However, most recent literature on early modern London suggests that despite these divisions, the city remained ordered and socially stable. This study seeks to establish whether a contributing factor to social stability was the existence of a sense of identity *as* a Londoner which was shared amongst those living within the metropolis. This thesis suggests that such an identity did exist and was partially created through a shared knowledge and understanding of London's past.

To test the hypothesis that a knowledge of the capital's history was a factor which bound Londoners together and created some form of common identity, it is necessary to establish that a knowledge of London history *was* in fact shared by a large proportion of the city's inhabitants who represented a wide social and economic range. It is also important to establish *which* aspects and episodes of London's history were most widely known. The history of the city was certainly a popular topic at the time, with a substantial number of books, plays and pageants published or performed in London which, in whole or part, focused on this urban history. To identify 'popular' history, defined here as elements of London's history known to a large amount of people living in the capital, this thesis therefore investigates this range of genres and identifies the figures, stories and topics most heavily featured. It then explores how far it can be established that these subjects were familiar to many Londoners. Finally, it explores how Londoners perceived this history, and if these perceptions and the values it created formed part of their identity *as* Londoners.

James Robertson has suggested 'residence did not, in itself, a Londoner make'.[3] I would agree, and argue that a shared knowledge and understanding of the capital's history was instead one of several ways by which Londoners were able to forge shared norms and values and thus identify themselves *as* Londoners. Furthermore, I suggest that this shared knowledge, and perhaps more

---

[1] Peter Clark and Paul Slack, *English Towns in Transition 1500-1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976), p.62.
[2] Julia Merritt, 'Introduction', in *Imagining Early Modern London: Perceptions and Portrayals of the City from Stow to Strype 1598-1720,* ed. by Julia Merritt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp.1-26 (p.1).
[3] James Robertson, 'The Adventures of Dick Whittington and the Social Construction of Elizabethan London', in *Guilds, Society and Economy in London 1450-1800,* ed. by Ian Anders Gadd and Patrick Wallis (London: Centre for Metropolitan History, 2002), pp.51-66 (p.51).

importantly a shared *understanding* of London's history may have helped Londoners avoid significant conflict despite their often hugely disparate experiences of living in the city.

This thesis brings together several fields of historical debate. It contributes towards an analysis of 'historical culture' in early modern England that grew substantially between 1500 and 1700.[4] Daniel Woolf suggests that an interest in history grew and circulated in this period in a variety of ways, and this thesis contributes to that analysis by offering a focused investigation into what historical information about London was available to those living within the metropolis, the prevalence of this information and the impact this had on identity formation. I address this question primarily through the study of cheap print and performance. This builds upon the research conducted by a range of historians who have explored the contribution of genres such as literature, the theatre and civic pageantry in building and creating identity in early modern London, thereby adding to discussions surrounding the significance of these forms of popular entertainment in shaping identity.[5] Ultimately I suggest that a sense of shared identity, created by a common understanding of local history, was a factor in enhancing stability in early modern London, thus contributing to the debate over the political, social and cultural processes by which stability was maintained in the city.[6]

Defining Londoners

Any analysis of whether a knowledge of local urban history led to social cohesion amongst Londoners requires a definition of what a 'Londoner' was. London can be defined administratively, as the area subject to the authority of the mayor and governed by the Court of Aldermen and common council. It consisted of twenty-six wards, although the inhabitants of Bridge Without in Southwark did not have representation in the court of common council and could not participate in the election of their alderman. This administrative area extended beyond the city's walls into the wards of Bridge Without, Farringdon Without and Portsoken which lay entirely outside the walls, as did parts of Aldersgate, Bishopsgate, and Cripplegate.[7] For clarity this area is usually referred to as the 'city within and without the walls', although the picture is further complicated if one defines

[4] This argument is associated primarily with Daniel Woolf. See Daniel Woolf, *The Social Circulation of the Past: English Historical Culture 1500-1730* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), p.8.
[5] Key texts include Lawrence Manley, *Literature and Culture in Early Modern London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), Jean Howard, *Theater of a City: The Places of London Comedy 1598-1642* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania press, 2009) and Tracey Hill, *Pageantry and Power: A Cultural History of the Early Modern Lord Mayor's Show 1585-1639* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011).
[6] A debate about stability and instability in early modern towns, and specifically in London, was initiated by Peter Clark and Paul Slack in their study *Crisis and Order in English Towns I500-I700*: *Essays in Urban History* (London: Routledge and Kegan, 1972) and followed by Valerie Pearl, 'Change and Stability in Seventeenth Century London', *London Journal,* 5 (1979), 3-34, Steve Rappaport, *Worlds Within Worlds: Structures of Life in Sixteenth Century London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), Ian Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991) and Jeremy Boulton, 'London 1540-1700', in *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain 1540-1700 vol.2*, ed. by Peter Clark (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp.315-346.
[7] Rappaport, *Worlds Within Worlds,* p.34.

the boundaries of the city by parishes, some of which lay partly in Middlesex.[8] It is clear however, that as the population of the metropolis grew in the late sixteenth century, increasing numbers lived outside these boundaries. The population of London expanded dramatically between 1550 and 1700. In 1500 the population was around 50,000; this had grown to 200,000 by 1600, and by 1650 stood at 400,000. To put that in context, by 1650 one in seven of the population of England had been, or would be, Londoners at some point in their lives.[9] Whilst exact numbers may be disputed, it is clear that the picture of 'massive and sustained expansion' of the capital's population in the early modern period is widely accepted.[10] It is also clear that the vast majority of this demographic growth took place in the suburbs such as Whitechapel, Stepney, Shadwell and Westminster.[11] In 1550 about one quarter of the city's population lived within the twenty-six wards, but this proportion rose to three quarters by 1700, making any attempt to define a Londoner using the administrative boundary of the city limiting.[12]

Mass migration to the capital, crucial for sustaining population growth, also complicated the picture. It has been calculated that London in the later seventeenth century required some 8000 migrants annually to sustain its rate of increase.[13] Migrants were integral to metropolitan growth because, over the whole of the period, more people died in the capital than were born there.[14] Just 13% of a sample of inhabitants of the east end between 1580 and 1640 had been born in London, whilst a larger sample of inhabitants drawn from a similar period, suggested that perhaps only 22% were natives.[15] Most 'Londoners' were thus born outside the capital, making even long term residence in the city or its suburbs, a problematic definition.

A slightly different approach to defining a Londoner was through citizenship. This is arguably the most common way that Londoners would have defined themselves. Jacob Selwood argues that the freedom of the city was 'the most obvious marker' of belonging in the early modern metropolis' and this is supported by the innumerable times 'citizen' is used in early modern texts to describe inhabitants of the city .[16] For example in the anonymous ballad *Cheapsides Triumphs, and Chyrones Crosses Lamentation* the author begs 'brave citizens of worthy London' to contribute to the upkeep of the Cheapside Cross.[17] Since the ballad's purpose was to raise funds to repair the cross it seems unlikely the author was looking to exclude wealthy non-citizen donors, and thus used the term 'citizen' to represent Londoner, suggesting these terms might be casually interchanged in some

[8] For a more detailed discussion of different definitions of London's boundaries see Vanessa Harding, 'The Population of London, 1550–1700: a Review of the Published Evidence', *London Journal*, 15.2 (1990), 111-128.
[9] Boulton, 'London 1540–1700', p.316.
[10] Harding, 'The Population of London', p.111.
[11] Clark and Slack, *English Towns in Transition*, p.63.
[12] Ian Archer, 'The Government of London: 1500–1650', *London Journal*, 26.1 (2001), 19-28 (p.25).
[13] Boulton, 'London 1540–1700', p.317.
[14] Boulton, 'London 1540–1700', p.317.
[15] Boulton, 'London 1540–1700', p.318.
[16] Jacob Selwood, *Diversity and Difference in Early Modern London* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), p.14.
[17] Ballad 2. Ballad citations in this thesis will follow a number system for clarity, with full citations found in appendix 2.

circumstances. Citizens were a sizeable group in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, though their precise proportion amongst the city's inhabitants has been debated. The numbers of men enjoying the freedom grew in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, rising from about 4,400 in 1500, to 14,800 in 1550, to 30,000 in 1640.[18] Steve Rappaport suggests that in the mid seventeenth century three quarters of London's male householders were citizens.[19] However, this only applies to those living inside the city's administrative boundaries, not to all men living in the metropolis, for which the figure was substantially lower.[20] This definition of citizenship also mainly excludes women, as whilst there was no legal impediment directly preventing a woman from obtaining the freedom, the reality was that very few women became citizens.[21] If, therefore, possession of the freedom is used to define a Londoner this excludes a great many of the inhabitants of the metropolis.

Shared language or a broader identity as English could also not be relied upon in London as a unifying factor. European protestant refugees settled in the capital in large numbers from the 1560s. Around 5% of the city's population were aliens in the 1590s with Dutch and Flemish migrants accounting for 61% of this number in 1571 and French migrants 20%.[22] Smaller but still significant groups including Italian and Irish migrants also lived within the metropolis.[23] Overall there were at least 7000 aliens recorded in London by 1593, and this is likely to be an under estimation based on City records in which many may not have appeared. In 1550 the crown granted charters to the French and Dutch communities to set up their own churches. These stranger churches were popular enough that in 1574 the Privy Council ordered the size of the congregations to be limited. The churches may have served to emphasise the separateness of these communities and limited opportunities to build any sense of common identity. Jacob Selwood argues that these communities were certainly not considered as integrated into the metropolis and native inhabitants of the metropolis seem to have regarded them with some suspicion, with the Court of Aldermen 'stating baldly' that people born in the metropolis were not Londoners if their parents or grandparents came from abroad.[24]

Many groups and sub-cultures also thrived within the city, further complicating the question of identity. It is possible someone may have lived in the city, even held citizenship, but did not consider this fact meaningful in how they defined themselves. However, they may have identified passionately with a smaller community existing within this framework, such as a parish, livery company or other grouping. The best example of such a sub-culture were apprentices, with around

[18] Archer, 'The Government of London', p.20.
[19] Archer, 'The Government of London', p.20 and Rappaport, *Worlds Within Worlds,* p.53.
[20] Rappaport, *Worlds Within Worlds,* p.34.
[21] Rappaport, *Worlds Within Worlds,* p.36.
[22] Selwood, *Diversity and Difference,* p.23, p.24.
[23] A.L. Beier and Roger Finlay, 'Introduction: The Significance of the Metropolis', in *London 1500-1700: The Making of the Metropolis,* ed. by A.L. Beier and Roger Finlay (London: Longman, 1986), pp.1-34 (p.20).
[24] Selwood, *Diversity and Difference,* p.2.

5000 arriving yearly by 1600, and a vast 32,000 apprentices enrolled in just seven companies during the sixteenth century, a major proportion of the annual migration figures.[25] Apprentices usually lived within the household of a member of a livery company and the entire point of the process of apprenticeship was to prepare them for citizenship.[26] This would seem to identify apprentices as 'Londoners' by the criteria considered above. Steven Smith, however, makes the case for apprentices creating their own sub-culture, distinct from the companies and households they inhabited.[27] Apprentices were linked to a livery company (though only 41% of apprentices completed their training) yet apprentices seemingly viewed themselves as a separate group with their own identity which they fostered partly through the consumption of cheap print.[28] There were certainly a number of texts specifically marketed to apprentices, and the representation of apprentice heroes in texts like the Whittington ballads and Heywood's 1594 play *Four Prentices of London* seems to support this view.

Whilst many of these texts were aimed at inculcating values which would have been desirable or necessary in the citizens that these apprentices were intended to become, they also emphasized the unique characteristics of apprenticeship. This is clear from the final stanza in the ballad *Londons Glory, and Whittingtons Renown* which makes it very clear who the target market for such texts were:

> Brave London prentices,
> come listen to my song,
> 'tis for your glory all,
> and to you doth belong.[29]

Likewise, ballads such as the anonymous *The Honour of a London prentice, being an account of his matchless manhood and brave adventures, done by him in Turkey, and by what means he married the King's daughter of the same country,* were clearly aimed at an apprentice audience, providing a a fantastic tale with a hero designed to appeal directly to an apprentice readership and providing further evidence for the presence of a large amount of this literature in the capital.[30]

Massive social and economic disparity in seventeenth-century London also made the forming of any sort of common identity difficult. The city contained a proportion of wealthy inhabitants, with the 'comfortably off' comprising something like half of all households within the city's administrative boundaries by the later seventeenth century.[31] However, an increasingly large

---

[25] Christopher Brooks, 'Apprenticeship, Social Mobility and the Middling Sort 1500-1800', in *The Middling Sort of People: Culture, Society and Politics in England 1550-1800,* ed. by Jonathan Barry and Christopher Brooks (London: Macmillan, 1994), pp.52-83 (p.55). See also Rappaport, *Worlds Within Worlds,* p.41 and Boulton, 'London 1540–1700', p.318.
[26] See John Walter. 'A Foolish Commotion of Youth'? Crowds and the 'Crisis of the 1590s' in London, *London Journal*, 44.1 (2019), 17-36 (p.21).
[27] Steven Smith, 'The London Apprentices as Seventeenth-Century Adolescents', *Past & Present,* 61 (1973), 149-161.
[28] Rappaport, *Worlds Within Worlds*, p.77 and Smith, 'The London Apprentices as Seventeenth-Century Adolescents'.
[29] Ballad 10.
[30] Ballad 6.
[31] Boulton, 'London 1540–1700', p.321.

proportion of inhabitants living in the suburbs and satellite communities around London were living in poverty, with Ian Archer identifying the later sixteenth century as a time when London society began 'filling out at the bottom'; a process that accelerated in the seventeenth century.[32] Alongside these extremes were the broad group of Londoners who can be defined as the 'middling sort'; as John Stow observed in the *Survey of London,* 'they of the middle place' were most numerous.[33] Although this middle class were defined differently at various points between the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, broadly they were likely to hold citizenship and work for a living, rather than relying on rentier income.[34] Definition of the middling sort is further complicated by the differing status that the same individual could occupy through their life cycle. In London, a 'structured set of collective practices' defined an apprentice and journeyman as separated in status, yet these titles were likely to apply to the same individual at different stages of life.[35] This argument equally applies to women who, at different points may have been wives or widows of citizens with the change in status and engagement with civic and economic life this entailed.

Though there is debate about who constituted the middling sort at various points in time, all definitions agree that this group were able to 'access, through print, a world of knowledge denied to the poor', and were affluent enough to form the large market for popular entertainment that this study is based on.[36] It is likely therefore that one unifying factor which could be relied on was that 'common cultural assumptions' played a major role in defining this group.[37] Defining the middling sort based on education and shared cultural values rather than in economic terms is the most appropriate definition for this thesis and by this definition they made up a significant part of the population of London, particularly within the city's administrative boundaries.

It is clear therefore that London's population was a highly diverse group with a sizeable group of the 'middling sort' alongside a smaller mercantile and political elite, a large youth culture linked to apprentices and domestic servants recruited from the countryside, numbers of casual labourers and paupers residing mainly in the suburbs and members of the gentry found at the inns of court and residing in the city or the newly developing west end. Identifying popular print and entertainment which was likely to have been widely accessed across all these social groups is therefore necessary if any conclusions are to be drawn about identity creation in London.

---

[32] Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability,* p.13.
[33] John Stow, *A Survey of London: Reprinted From the Text of 1603*, ed. by C.L. Kingsford (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), p.211.
[34] Jonathan Barry, 'Introduction', in *The Middling Sort of People: Culture, Society and Politics in England 1550-1800,* ed. by Jonathan Barry and Christopher Brooks (London: Macmillan, 1994), pp.1-27.
[35] Barry, *The Middling Sort of People,* p.15.
[36] Barry, *The Middling Sort of People,* p.19. See also Louis B. Wright, *Middle-Class Culture in Elizabethan England* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1935).
[37] Barry, *The Middling Sort of People,* p.18.

Creating Identity

Ultimately it is impossible to ascertain how much significance those who lived within the metropolis placed upon this fact, and whether it formed a meaningful element of how they viewed and identified themselves. The answer to this question is likely to differ substantially not only across groups in society, but amongst individuals within these groups. Indeed, it is highly likely that 'Londoner' was *not* the primary way in which many living in the metropolis identified themselves. More local self-identification, with ward, company or (outside the walls in particular) parish were probably more common. However, certain elements of shared identity, even without the label of 'Londoner', can be detected, and are explored throughout this study.

There were certainly factors which bound together *some* of the inhabitants of the metropolis. Michael Berlin focuses on one arena in which communal identity was formed: the parish. He argued that ritual within the parish led to shared experiences amongst members and thus the parish provided a forum for socialisation that created cultural norms.[38] Wards within the city were another institution inhabitants could potentially identify with and participate in.[39] Membership of a livery company provided a sense of community, with members 'enveloped in the fabric of company life' despite disparity in status between the journeymen and members of the livery.[40] This sense of identity was likely to extend to wives and daughters of company members, many of whom would have been active participants in their family business, though the records do not always reflect this.[41] The practice of widows taking over their deceased husband's business would also have enhanced this connection. The frequent description of Jane Shore as a 'Goldsmith's wife' in ballads, poems and plays reinforces this view.[42]

However, these factors, clearly important in creating a sense of solidarity amongst many Londoners, excluded other groups. Apart from perhaps the parish, or membership of a stranger church, these unifying circumstances usually did not usually apply to those who lived beyond the jurisdiction of the mayor and aldermen or did not possess the freedom of the city. Indeed, the aldermen's defence of citizens' privileges, including prosecution of non-free labour and defence of the citizens from tolls elsewhere in England, may well have increased resentment in those to whom these privileges did not extend, making it even *less* likely that these groups would share any sense of identity. This may have enhanced what Beier and Finlay describe as a 'feeling of alienation' amongst excluded groups, making any chance of establishing a sense of common identify and

---

[38] Michael Berlin, 'Re-ordering Rituals: Ceremony and The Parish 1520-1640', in *Londinopolis: Essays in the Cultural And Social History of Early Modern London*, ed. by Paul Griffiths and Mark Jenner (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), pp.47-66.
[39] Pearl, 'Change and Stability in Seventeenth Century London'.
[40] Ian Anders Gadd and Patrick Wallis, 'Introduction' in *Guilds, Society and Economy in London, 1450-1800,* ed. by Ian Anders Gadd and Paul Wallis (London: Centre for Metropolitan History, 2002), pp.1-14 (p.4).
[41] Gadd and Wallis, *Guilds, Society And Economy,* p.7.
[42] For example, Ballads 21, 23 and 29.

purpose difficult.[43] This sense may have been exacerbated by the language of citizenship used so frequently in popular print at the time.

However, whilst a sense of identity as a Londoner was more likely to exist amongst those who held the freedom or lived inside the boundaries of the city, this does not mean that those who lived in the suburbs did *not* identify themselves as Londoners, perhaps most clearly by differentiation from those living elsewhere in England. This identity may not have been as clearly articulated in popular entertainment, but many texts *implicitly* define Londoners as those who understood and participated in life within the metropolis, a categorization that *does* include those living in the suburbs. Ballads such as *A Merry Discourse betweene Norfolke Thomas, and Sisly Standtoot his Wife* and *A Merry Progresse to London to see Fashions, by a young Country Gallant* mocked those who travelled up to London without understanding the dangers and temptations in wait, or the appropriate behaviour required to fit in.[44] Likewise in William Haughton's 1598 play *Englishmen for My Money*, the character of Frisco gives visiting foreign merchants street directions which will lead them wildly astray, a joke that deliberately excludes those without a working knowledge of the capital's streets but can be enjoyed by citizens and suburban Londoners alike.[45] In Stow's *Survey*, a text which does so much to articulate and define early modern London, despite the unusual separation found in the opening line of 'citizen and 'comminalty', Stow concludes his dedication with the acknowledgement that both groups 'be a politique estate of the Citie, as the walles and buildinges be the materiall partes of the same. To you therefore, doe I addresse this my whole labour'.[46] Stow clearly viewed both elements of London's population as Londoners, and assumed an equal relevance of his work to both. Thomas Dekker, in *The Dead Tearme*, refers dismissively to '*Suburbe Curtizans*', making it clear he defines Londoners as citizens.[47] However, even he has the personification of St Paul's suggest to Westminster that:

> We are now both of us as Buildings belonging to one Land lorde, so closely joyned together in league, that the world thinkes it a thing impossible, by any violence, unlesse we fall to civill discention within ourselves, ever to be seperated: our handes as if it were at a marriage, are plighted one to another our bodies are still embracing, as if they were Twinnes*:* wee are growne so like and everie day doe more and more so resemble each other that many who never knew us before, woulde sweare that we were all One*.* Thence then we are held to be so, let us never bee taken to be otherwise.[48]

[43] Beier and Finlay, 'Introduction: The Significance of the Metropolis', p.20. See also Joseph Ward, *Metropolitan Communities: Trade Guilds, Identity and Change in Early Modern London* (California: Stanford University Press, 1997), p.2.
[44] Ballads 25 and 12.
[45] William Haughton, *Englishmen for My Money or A Woman Will Have Her Way,* ed. by Albert Croll Baugh (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1913), IV. 1. 1551-1646.
[46] Stow, *Survey of London*, (1603), pp.xcvii-xcviii.
[47] Thomas Dekker, *The dead tearme. Or, Westminsters complaint for long vacations and short termes written in manner of a dialogue betweene the two cityes London and Westminster* (London: Printed by W. Jaggard and are to be sold by John Hodgets at his house in Pauls Churchyard, 1608), ESTC S105243.
[48] Dekker, *The dead tearme.*

This more inclusive view of the places which lay outside the walls recognised difference but suggested common purpose. All inhabitants of the metropolis lived in close proximity to each other, visited the same theatres, saw the same spectacles, shared the same dangers of plague and disease and many also shared a similar experience of migration. Therefore, it is entirely possible that some elements of identity as a Londoner existed across the metropolis, even if it was not articulated as such overtly, and so a wide definition of a 'Londoner' as one who lived in the metropolis and consumed and participated in the culture discussed in this study is assumed.

I have suggested in this study that a knowledge of London history and the values this inculcated created a shared sense of identity amongst Londoners which may have been a factor in enhancing social stability. Peter Clark and Paul Slack, in their 1972 *Crisis and Order in English Towns I500-I700* suggested that social and political polarization in London led to confrontation and unrest in the later sixteenth century.[49] They suggest that tension and discontent were a constant concern for government. The growth of the suburbs exacerbated these issues even further, as it was to render the powers of the mayor of 'almost useless' since he could not enforce order and discipline upon a population that spilled out beyond the limits of the city's authority.[50] However, the consensus is that despite these social and economic stresses London remained remarkably stable in this period. Historians such as Steve Rappaport, Valerie Pearl and Ian Archer have constructed a convincing argument that these were years of 'essential orderliness' and offer varying reasons as to why this was the case.[51] Apart from the relatively isolated attacks on migrants, such as on the 1517 'Evil May Day' there were only one or two recorded disturbances before the 1590s. The 'crisis of the 1590s' involved two disturbances linked to food shortages in June 1595 when crowds, comprised mainly of apprentices, seized food and sold it below market price. The context of dearth led to unusually harsh punishment of the ringleaders, and rumours apparently swept the city of thousands of apprentices preparing to launch a rescue, even setting up a gallows in front of the house of the unpopular mayor Sir John Spencer, though, according to John Walter 'this was to mistake rumour for reality'.[52] Five apprentices were sentenced to be hanged and this in turn led to more protests on 28 June, when a large crowd on Tower Hill became involved in a contretemps with City officers. These incidents, however, do not seem to justify identifying the 1590s as 'years of crisis', particularly as the food riots operated 'within the protocols of what has been called taxation populaire', which was not a direct challenge to authority as the crowd were enforcing prices *set* by a former mayor.[53] Even in the more serious disturbances on the 28 June, it seemed clear that it was

[49] Clark and Slack, *Crisis and Order in English Towns,* p.4.
[50] Caroline Barron, *London in the Later Middle Ages: Government and People 1200-1500* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), p.172.
[51] Archer, *Pursuit of Stability*, p.2
[52] Walter, 'A Foolish Commotion of Youth', p.25.
[53] Walter, 'A Foolish Commotion of Youth', p.20.

this mayor that was unpopular, not civic authorities in general. Thus whilst there was undoubtedly a clash between crowd and authorities, ''rebellion' seems too inflationary a term'.[54]

Keith Lindley has described how disorder continued in the seventeenth century, arguing few years passed without some disturbance on the streets.[55] However, he agrees that given the limitations to civil and military resources available for riot prevention and control, it is 'remarkable that the problem did not assume even greater urgency'.[56] This he attributes to a combination of a well-functioning system of poor relief, the efforts of the city constables, watchmen and the London trained bands, alongside a 'measured approach' adopted by the authorities which all played a role in preventing occasional disturbances becoming something more serious in the years preceding the civil war.[57]

As discussed above, many of the reasons for a lack of serious disorder in London considered by these historians, whilst explaining stability within the city boundaries, excluded many inhabitants of the metropolis. This suggests that there were other factors which had a role to play in maintaining social cohesion and order in early modern London. This thesis speculates as to whether it can be argued that a shared knowledge of history was one of these elements. In doing so it suggests that cultural factors were also significant in the maintenance of stability in London. These less tangible forces were more inclusive of migrants new to the city, casual workers without company affiliation, apprentices and many others, and so provided these groups and individuals with the opportunity to develop a sense of identity as a Londoner. This identity was, I suggest, formed through a body of commonly held beliefs, cultural norms and shared values, acquired through consumption of can be described as 'popular culture'.

'Popularity' as a Concept

I use the word 'popular' in this study in the numerical sense of 'frequently occurring' and suggest that it is possible to identify a body of 'popular' London history as defined by the historical episodes which appeared most frequently in the widest variety of texts. This in turn suggests it was these stories and topics that the largest amount of people living in London were aware. To identify this 'popular history' involves identifying texts which were produced in the largest numbers, or most frequently re-printed. This simple definition of popularity is the one used by Alan Farmer and Zachary Lesser in their 2013 analysis of the Elizabethan book trade and is the sense in which I use

[54] Walter, 'A Foolish Commotion of Youth', p.30
[55] Keith Lindley, 'Riot Prevention and Control in Early Stuart London', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 33 (1983), 109–26 (p.109).
[56] Lindley, 'Riot Prevention and Control', p.126.
[57] Lindley, 'Riot Prevention and Control', p.122.

the word 'popular' in this thesis.[58] However, the term 'popular culture' has entirely different connotations, which are also relevant to this study.

Peter Burke in his 1985 essay 'Popular Culture in Seventeenth-Century England' defined it as the culture of 'ordinary people' below the level of the elite.[59] Burke argued that by the early eighteenth century, popular culture and elite culture stood in opposition to each other, with popular culture increasingly viewed by the elite as inferior, uncouth and only appropriate for the lower classes. Burke's definition, as Tim Harris points out, infers 'popular history' was history which would hold no interest for affluent or elite Londoners or even the middling sort.[60] Indeed, Burke's two-tier model of culture would mean that 'popular' history as he defines it could *not* create a common sense of identity and instead differing perceptions and understandings of the history of the city could, conversely, be viewed as exacerbating social division and conflict.[61]

Even if the contentious term 'popular' is removed, the idea of 'culture' remains problematic.[62] Culture can be defined as customs and institutions, physical objects and imaginative genres and works, signifying processes and symbols. However, culture can also be understood as a process, with people drawing upon a variety of different cultural forms and genres and adapting them to meet their needs and the needs of specific situations'.[63] Tim Harris points out the further danger of treating culture as 'monolithic, suggesting that 'cultural pluralism' is a much more helpful model, and in particular he stresses the issue of gender, challenging the assumption that men and women from the same social and geographical background 'inhabited the same cultural space'.[64] These differing definitions demonstrate the difficulty inherent in analysing popular culture, which is why the approach I have taken is to include a large and wide ranging body of sources, thus attempting to ameliorate some of the issues discussed above.

In studying such an intangible concept as culture, Burke suggests that a sensible focus for the historian is the analysis of what remains 'embodied in artefacts, such as images and texts' alongside

---

[58] Alan Farmer and Zachary Lesser, 'What is Print Popularity? A Map of the Elizabethan Book Trade', in *The Elizabethan Top Ten: Defining Print Popularity in Early Modern England*, ed. by Andy Kesson and Emma Smith (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2013), pp.62-98.

[59] Peter Burke*, Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* 3rd ed. (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009) and Tim Harris, 'Problematising Popular Culture', in *Popular Culture in England c.1500-1850,* ed. by Tim Harris (London: Macmillan, 1995), pp.1-27 (p.1).

[60] Harris, 'Problematising Popular Culture', p.1. See also Nicolas Moon, '*A People's History of England': Print, Authority and the Past in Early Modern English Ballads* (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of York, 2013), p.5.

[61] Peter Burke, 'Popular Culture in Seventeenth-Century London' in *Popular Culture in Seventeenth-Century England*, ed. by Barry Reay (London: Croom Helm, 1985), pp.31-58. See also Daniel Woolf, 'Genre into Artifact: The Decline of the English Chronicle in the Sixteenth Century', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 19.3 (1988), 321-354 (p.347).

[62] I use the term 'culture' here as it has been deployed by historians such as Peter Burke and Tim Harris in relation to historical periods, rather than as a sociological or anthropological concept.

[63] For an outline of this debate see Joad Raymond, 'Introduction: The Origins of Popular Print Culture', in *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture, Vol.l Cheap Print in Britain and Ireland to 1600*, ed. by Joad Raymond (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp.1-14 and Ian Archer, 'Popular Politics in the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries', in *Londinopolis: Essays in the Cultural and Social History of Early Modern London,* ed. by Paul Griffiths and Mark Jenner (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), pp.26-47 (p.27).

[64] Harris, 'Problematising Popular Culture', p.12, p.13.

performances, whether formal (plays or pageants) or informal.[65] However, this approach raises the issue of production, since whilst it is possible to identify texts and performances containing London history consumed by a large audience, what is certain is that the vast majority of historical writing was 'in no way produced by them, other than in the sense that all consumption is a form of reproduction'.[66] There is a danger therefore that works containing London history may be written for the mass market but not particularly reflective of the tastes or interests of the majority, instead reflecting learned views of what the mass market wanted or needed. Adam Fox highlights the difficulties in investigating whether any particular texts might be 'didactic, instructing and moralizing, fashioning the outlook and conditioning the responses of their recipients' or 'reflective, mirroring the cultural norms and illustrating the sensibilities, beliefs and aspirations of their audiences'.[67] This is a concern in the context of early modern London, where the involvement of men like university-educated Thomas Nashe and Robert Greene may mean that elements of the history of London were appropriated by the elite and then reconstructed for the masses to serve a polemical purpose.[68] These issues suggest any analysis of popular history and its presentation to Londoners in popular print and performance faces many obstacles.

However, whilst the issues above must be considered in any study of popular culture, Burke's definition has been challenged and a consensus reached that it 'is now axiomatic in early modern historiography that there was no sharp division between popular and elite culture during this period'.[69] Tim Harris offers one challenge to the idea of a two-tier model of culture by pointing out the presence of the middling sort, a group whom, as discussed above, were sizeable and socially significant in London.[70] This would suggest that any simple oppositional model does not work well in sixteenth and seventeenth-century London, as is suggested by Samuel Pepys' apparent enjoyment of traditional festivals such as the St Bartholomew's fair, alongside his enjoyment of broadside ballads.[71] This argument is fully supported by the many historians who point to the ubiquity of ballads and almanacs in early modern London, suggesting these texts reached all strata of society, as is discussed more fully in chapter two.[72] Tracey Hill also agrees, pointing to the example of Anthony Munday, who exemplifies the social fluidity of London, being a citizen and Draper of London who produced work experienced by a large London audience.[73] Jean Howard and

---

[65] Burke, 'Popular Culture in Seventeenth Century London', p.31.
[66] Adam Fox, 'Ballads, Libels and Popular Ridicule in Jacobean England', *Past & Present*, 145 (1994), 47-83 (p.48).
[67] Fox, 'Ballads, Libels and Popular Ridicule', p.48.
[68] Manley, 'London and Urban Popular Culture', p.368. See also Anna Bayman, 'Printing, Learning, and the Unlearned' in *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture, Vol I: Cheap Print in Britain and Ireland to 1600*, ed. by Joad Raymond (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp.77-91 (p.81).
[69] Bayman, 'Printing, Learning, and the Unlearned', p.64.
[70] Harris, 'Problematising Popular Culture', p.16.
[71] Burke, 'Popular Culture in Seventeenth Century London', p.36.
[72] Bernard Capp, 'Popular Literature', in *Popular Culture in Seventeenth Century England*, ed. by Barry Reay (London: Croom Helm, 1985), pp.198-243 and Margaret Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1982). See also Bayman, 'Printing, Learning, and the Unlearned', p.77.
[73] Tracey Hill, *Anthony Munday and Civic Culture*: *Theatre, History and Power in Early Modern London 1580-1633* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004), p.2.

Lawrence Manley, focusing on the theatre, point to the social mixture of the audience, all watching the same plays, which arguably 'turn on the central question of what Londoners share, and what, across various divides, they understand of each other'.[74] This consensus that different genres, texts and performances crossed social divides thus reinforces my approach, and suggests that the study of a broad range of texts and genres, without assuming a particular audience for each, allows firmer conclusions to be drawn about understandings and knowledge of popular history amongst Londoners as a whole.

Furthermore, whilst an elite literary culture did exist, created not just by content, but by literacy rates, the high cost of paper, and the exclusiveness inherent in the ownership of manuscripts which were usually expensive, this division was ameliorated as much of this content was modified, simplified and disseminated in cheap print, a process discussed in more detail in later chapters. Thus classical literature, chronicle histories, and chivalric romances in different forms were disseminated to a wide London audience, promoting 'genuinely shared cultures'.[75] Examples of this process include stories such as that of Guy of Warwick, who in some versions of the story was given a more humble, plebeian origin which 'obligingly narrowed the social gulf between the reader and hero, and so facilitated the process of self-identification'.[76]

Returning briefly to my definition of popularity, I chose to identify London history as it was presented in ballads and almanacs due to the huge volume of these texts produced and sold in London, making them the most widely available and easily accessible texts. Whilst I explore representations of London history across a broad range of genres, it also enhances the argument presented in this study that there is a consensus ballads and almanacs were also purchased and used by those who were more affluent and of a socially higher status, supporting the argument that the elements of the history of London found in these sources were genuinely 'popular' in the sense of widespread.

There also seems to be a consensus that the production of texts, performances and other types of entertainment was not a one-way process, and that issues of production do not prevent a meaningful analysis of popular texts as a source for audience attitudes and experience. Roger Chartier has suggested that distinctions between 'popular' and 'elite' literature are somewhat pointless as culture can only be understood in terms of how texts and performances were received or 'appropriated' by their audience, and that the study of such material 'cannot be limited to the intention of those who produce'.[77] This is a highly significant argument within this thesis, and I have

[74] Manley, 'London and Urban Popular Culture', p.369.
[75] Bayman, 'Printing, Learning, and the Unlearned', p.79.
[76] Capp, 'Popular Literature', p.208.
[77] Roger Chartier, 'Culture as Appropriation: Popular Cultural Uses in Early Modern France', in *Understanding Popular Culture: Europe from the Middle Ages to the Nineteenth Century,* ed. by Steven Kaplan (New York: Mouton, 1984), pp.229-53 (p.234).

suggest that many of the stories and themes discussed in this thesis gained and retained their popularity because they were appropriated by their audience in ways that their authors did not necessarily intend.[78] Nova Myhill and Jennifer Low typify this argument in their analysis of theatre audiences, arguing that these were far from passive, and through both interaction and the simple choice to attend a given play or not, shaped the types of plays written and performed.[79] Whilst the term 'popular culture' is therefore problematic, Tim Harris' observation that 'it is a useful form of shorthand' is one that I agree with, and in this thesis 'popular culture' is defined as print and performances accessible to the majority of the inhabitants of London.[80]

Working with this definition, many historians have argued that popular culture had a significant role to play in forming identity and aiding social cohesion in early modern London through focused work on distinct types of popular entertainment. Tessa Watt's 1991 analysis of broadside ballads and chapbooks was crucial in demonstrating how cheap print could be significant in identity formation, further reinforcing Roger Chartier's arguments that the competitive printing trade ensured that consumption shaped production through publishers' needs to provide what sold well.[81] Margaret Spufford's and Laura Stevenson's work also focuses on cheap print and both present arguments which are significantly developed with reference to the works focused on London found in this thesis. Spufford's 1981 *Small Books and Pleasant Histories* suggested that cheap print is a useful way in which to explore the world view of 'the humblest social groups' of readers in the seventeenth century.[82] Laura Stevenson, in contrast, argued that the Elizabethan period saw the creation of *new* types of texts in which merchants were presented favourably for the first time, a phenomena particularly important in terms of the London audience.[83] Bernard Capp and Louise Hill Curth focused their analyses on almanacs to investigate commonly held views on topics such as medicine and law in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[84] Barrett Beer focuses his analysis on abridged chronicles, which presented a short, simplified version of English history that he suggests formed a vital component of sixteenth-century popular culture. These abridged chronicles were relatively cheap, with nine editions of Stow's abridged *Summarie*

---

[78] Angela McShane develops Chartier's argument further in her discussion of the place of broadside ballads in the study of early modern popular culture, arguing that there was 'a dynamic interaction between popular cultural activities and the publishing trade'. See Angela McShane, 'Ballads and Broadsides', in *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture: Vol. I: Cheap Print in Britain and Ireland to 1660,* ed. by Joad Raymond (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp.339-362 (p.342). See also Natascha Wurzbach, *The Rise of the English Street Ballad 1550-1650* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

[79] Nova Myhill, and Jennifer Low, 'Introduction: Audience and Audiences', in *Imagining the Audience in Early Modern Drama 1558-1642*, ed. by Nova Myhill and Jennifer Low (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), pp.1-17. See also Lawrence Manley, 'Introduction', in *London in the Age of Shakespeare: An Anthology,* ed. by Lawrence Manley (Kent: Croom Helm, 1986), p.2.

[80] Harris, 'Problematising Popular Culture', p.25.

[81] Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety* 1550-1640 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

[82] Spufford, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories*, p.8.

[83] Laura Stevenson, *Praise and Paradox: Merchants and Craftsmen in Elizabethan Popular Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), p.63.

[84] Bernard Capp, *Astrology and the Popular Press: English Almanacs 1500-1800* (London: Faber & Faber, 1979) and Louise Hill Curth, *English Almanacs, Astrology and Popular Medicine 1550-1700* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007).

published between 1566 and 1604, and form the basis of many of the arguments presented in this study.[85] Lawrence Manley's influential work on more expensive literature analyses a range of texts available in early modern London and agrees with Chartier's analysis that certain texts were created *for* Londoners in an attempt to inculcate certain types of behaviours, but also shaped *by* Londoners through reception. Manley concludes that a consequence of much of the literature he analyses was that it 'equipped the population for co-habitation and cooperation on a massive scale'.[86] There is a large body of historiography that therefore strongly agrees that culture had a role in creating community in London, and was a mechanism by which urban settlement took place.[87]

The work of these historians offers a strong defence of the utility of print in analysing popular culture in early modern London, however, there are limitations in attempting to reconstruct popular culture using only print. Tools such as the Stationers' Register can be used to identify the frequency of re-printing or looking at a larger sample to draw inferences, as is possible with almanacs, and can help gauge the popularity of any given text. Nonetheless, who bought these texts, who read them and how they were understood is clearly more difficult to reconstruct.[88] Robert Houston makes the very valid point that whilst in the 1660s around 400,000 almanacs were sold every year, which has been calculated to suggest one family in every two or three could have bought one, equally plausible is that one family in ten bought four almanacs in any given year. The first figure thus implies a large and diverse reading public, the second a far more restricted one, and the historian is equally justified in believing either.[89] Therefore, a more fully rounded analysis can be achieved by broadening the range of sources beyond print and considering types of transmission that did not require literacy, such as the theatre, or even the price of admission, such as civic pageantry.

Several historians have also considered the forms of popular entertainment that did not require literacy. Jean Howard, in her 2009 *Theater of a City: The Places of London Comedy*, has analysed the role played by the theatre in forming identity in early modern London. Howard suggests that plays set in London helped make sense of the city to inhabitants with differing durations and kind of experience with it; and by promoting a shared literacy about the city and its ways invited those in the audience to see themselves as 'knowledgeable members of an urban community'.[90] Other historians have emphasised the importance of civic pageantry as another key way in which culture was transmitted. David Bergeron has written substantially on the Lord Mayor's Show suggesting

---

[85] Beer suggests that this change in form enabled authors and texts to cross social and economic divides. See Barrett Beer, 'English History Abridged: John Stow's Shorter Chronicles and Popular History', *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, 36.1 (2004), 12-27.
[86] Manley, *London in the Age of Shakespeare,* p.2.
[87] Lawrence Manley, 'Fictions of Settlement: London 1590', *Studies in Philology*, 88.2 (1991), 201-224 (p.202).
[88] Robert Houston*, Literacy in Early Modern Europe* (London: Routledge, 2002), p.126.
[89] Houston*, Literacy in Early Modern Europe*, p.126.
[90] Howard, *Theater of a City*, p.39

that as a free spectacle annually seen by thousands is important to consider.[91] Tracey Hill has developed this argument more fully, discussing the lived experience of the Shows, alongside the production of the printed pamphlets which commemorated the day.[92] Hill also argues that the Lord Mayor's Show was one of the few events we can be sure 'must have been familiar to all the citizens of London', making civic pageantry a particular point of interest in exploring popular culture.[93] This view is reinforced by the many eye-witness accounts of the show which survive, and is discussed in more detail in chapter three.

All these interpretations concur that popular print and entertainment are useful sources through which to study cultural norms and identity in early modern London. This study develops and adds to these arguments by focusing on London history as it was presented in *all* of these genres, rather than focusing on one in particular. This broader analysis increases the likelihood that London history, as presented within these differing texts and forms of popular entertainment, was encountered by the majority of the city's inhabitants and ensures that the varied communities that society in early modern London was constructed from can be assessed as fully as possible.

The availability of the theatre and civic pageants notwithstanding, the question of literacy is clearly highly relevant to this study. Whilst some of the genres in which London history was deployed such as plays and pageant did not require literacy to access, ballads, almanacs and other forms of print did, and are integral to this study. Moreover, both plays and pageants were potentially also accessed by Londoners through the medium of print. Arguably, if a substantial amount of the population cannot read then this limits any conclusions that can be drawn on how widely known the elements of London history identified in cheap print were to inhabitants of the city.

Differing definitions of literacy make this topic contentious. It is possible to argue that delineations between reading, writing and the ability to read print but not script must be considered before any conclusions on literacy rates can be considered. For the purposes of this study however, literacy is defined as the ability to access at least some of the main genres considered, and fortunately for my argument, there is a consensus that literacy rates in the capital were much higher than the rest of the country, with London giving the 'impression of exceptional literacy'.[94] David Cressy suggests that literacy rates in London stood at just over 50% in the 1580s, and had risen to around 80% by 1600.[95] There is also general agreement that whilst literacy was more common amongst the middling sort and social elite, it was not confined to these groups. Robert Houston gives the example of the Ironmongers, who expected apprentices to be literate, writing and signing an oath

[91] David Bergeron, *English Civic Pageantry* (London: Edward Arnold, 1971).
[92] Hill, *Pageantry and Power,* p.4.
[93] Hill, *Pageantry and Power,* p.4.
[94] Beier and Finlay, 'Introduction: The Significance of the Metropolis', p.23
[95] David Cressy, *Literacy and the Social Order: Reading and Writing in Tudor and Stuart England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980).

of obedience at their indenture, a requirement 94% managed by 1600.[96] London was also exceptional because the urban environment 'forced' literacy, producing a hothouse effect, where not only did those who lived in London attempt to develop their ability to read and write, but those migrating to the city were more likely to be literate, since this was widely perceived as a requirement to thrive there.[97]

More recent historiography suggests that literacy amongst women was much higher in London than Cressy estimated in his work, suggesting that a better measure of reading than counting signatures was to define those who initialled documents as literate.[98] Eleanor Hubbard argues this measure suggests that by 1640 'at least a quarter of London women had at least begun learning how to read' and that reading was fairly common even among the women of London's trade and craft communities.[99] This argument is supported by the existence of ballads marketed directly to women such as *The Maidens complaint of her Loves inconstancie* which begins with the line:

> You maides and wives and women kind,
> Give eare, and you shall heare my minde.[100]

Ballads and chapbooks targeting a female audience, in the same way as the presence of texts targeting apprentices and recent migrants, suggests high enough literacy rates in these groups to sustain a market for this literature.[101]

Adam Fox suggests that in villages 'the memory of aged inhabitants could be of great importance in the retention of local knowledge about the past', a circumstance less likely in London.[102] If this was the case, then it is intriguing to suggest that new inhabitants of the city were drawn to seek out information on its history in written material, the only alternative method by which such information could be easily acquired without family or friends to provide it, as was possible where they originally came from. Thus, a desire to acquire some knowledge of local history and recreate the familiarity with the past encountered at home may have been another spur to developing a basic level of literacy. This argument is enhanced by the presence of so much London history in easily accessible written materials.

The question of differing *levels* of literacy should also be considered. Self-taught or developing readers may not have had the competence to tackle longer chronicles or chorographical works like Stow's *Survey*, but broadside ballads or the tables present in almanacs did not require more than a basic level of literacy to access. Indeed, Louise Hill Curth argued that in an analysis of almanacs the

---

[96] Houston, *Literacy in Early Modern Europe*, p.136.
[97] Houston, *Literacy in Early Modern Europe*, p.154.
[98] Eleanor Hubbard, 'Reading, Writing, and Initialing: Female Literacy in Early Modern London' *Journal of British Studies*, 54 (2015), 553–577 (p.567).
[99] Hubbard, 'Reading, Writing, and Initialing', p.567. See also Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture,* p.17.
[100] Ballad 11.
[101] Hubbard, 'Reading, Writing, and Initialing', p.559.
[102] Adam Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England 1500-1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p.220.

term 'user' is more appropriate than reader, since so much of the information within was presented in tables and lists.[103] The historical tables found in many almanacs are a significant element of this study, and their accessibility to those with only a basic level of literacy is thus even more suggestive that this content would have reached a wide-ranging selection of Londoners.

Finally, as mentioned above, the importance of oral transmission of popular ballads and other printed materials in places like alehouses, reinforces the importance of print as a source of popular culture. If literacy rates were indeed much higher than the national average in the capital then non-readers were never far in London from those who could read aloud to them.[104] Ballads in particular, as texts intended to be sung aloud, were as likely to be heard as read, as discussed more fully in chapter two. Plays or pageants, such as the annual Lord Mayor's Show, would also have been experienced as public performance by far more people than would have accessed the published texts. Overall, the wide range of genres discussed above, all of which I consider in my research, means that even if some genres and texts were more accessible to particular groups, taken together, they are likely to constitute an overview of Londoners' knowledge and interest in the history of the city that can validly be considered 'popular'.

The Role of History

Having established that popular print and other forms of entertainment are a valid source through which to explore the culture of early modern Londoners, and were important in creating shared norms and values, my research specifically focuses on how London history was presented in these genres, and the impact this had on inhabitants of the metropolis. I suggest that one way in which identity as a Londoner was constructed was through the acquisition of some knowledge of London history which was shared by most inhabitants of the city and helped to shape their perception of the community in which they lived.

The importance of history in shaping communities in the early modern period was most recently highlighted by Daniel Woolf who suggested that interest in history grew substantially in England between 1500 and 1700.[105] Building on F.J. Levy's 1967 survey on Tudor historical thought, along with Keith Thomas and J.G.A. Pocock's assessments of the subject in the 1980s, Woolf argued that in this period a growth of interest in history was caused by factors such as rapid changes to the social and physical environment and the polemical uses to which history was increasingly put by those seeking to justify the Reformation.[106] In this environment appeals to the past became more

[103] Hill Curth, *English Almanacs*, p.82. See also Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture,* p.19.
[104] Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture, p.*39.
[105] Woolf, *The Social Circulation of the Past.*
[106] Keith Thomas, *The Perception of the Past in Early Modern England: the Creighton Trust lecture 1983, delivered before the University of London on Monday 21 November 1983* (London: The Creighton Trust, 1983), <https://openlibrary.org/works/OL2624277W/The_perception_of_the_past_in_early_modern_England?edition= [accessed 9th January 2022], J.G.A. Pocock, 'The Sense of History in Renaissance England', in *William Shakespeare: His World, His Work, His Influence*, ed. by John F. Andrews (New York: Scribner, 1985) pp.143-158 and Daniel Woolf, 'Review of Levy, F.

attractive and it was at this time that the English developed much more of a sense of a national history. This was reinforced and delivered through the flowering of differing historical forms such as new narrative histories, the growth of antiquarianism and the rise of chorography, but also through drama and verse. Woolf suggests this shared understanding of the past was 'socially circulated' both horizontally and vertically, thus creating the shared historical culture he describes.[107] My investigation builds on this discussion by focusing on this process specifically in London, suggesting that it was not only a 'national' history that was being formed in this period, but that this same formation was happening on a smaller scale in London and undoubtedly in other towns. I argue that a selective history of London formed part of the cultural consciousness of those living in the city and served as a tool by which they could identify themselves, and those around them as Londoners.

Ian Archer suggests it is 'very difficult to get an idea of the degree to which history contributed to Londoners' sense of identity', but this seems an overly pessimistic view given the volume of sources that survive through which the question can be explored.[108] It is certain that history was a popular topic in Elizabethan London. A substantial number of books, plays and pageants were published or performed which, in whole or in part, focused on the history of the city. Louis B. Wright, in his influential 1935 study of the Elizabethan middle class, was one of the first to identify how history, as presented in popular literature, helped to form identity in London.[109] Peter Burke's study of the principal sources from which the 'historical culture' of ordinary people was constructed' in the *Oxford History of Popular Print Culture* is an excellent overview of how history featured in the genres considered in this thesis.[110] Burke agrees that popular history may have contributed to the 'urbanization or even the metropolization of popular culture'.[111] However, Burke's review does not focus primarily on London, and he does not draw any firm conclusions on whether a shared popular historical culture existed in this period.

Possibly the most significant text, which exemplifies this interest in London history, and both shaped, and was shaped by many of the ideas and themes discussed in this study, was John Stow's 1597 *Survey of London.* The *Survey* was a best seller, with an immediate reprint in 1599, an updated edition in 1603 and a continued and expanded version by Anthony Munday in 1618, which was itself reprinted with further material in 1633. The *Survey* contained a vast amount of detail on the

---

J., *Tudor Historical Thought'*, H-Net Reviews, (January, 2005), <http://www.h-net.org/reviews/showrev.php?id=10124> [accessed 14 May 2020].

[107] See Paulina Kewes, 'History and its Uses: Introduction', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 68. 1-2 (2005), 1-31 and Harriet Lyon, "A Pitiful Thing"? The Afterlife of the Dissolution of the English Monasteries in Early Modern Chronicles, ca. 1540–1640', *Sixteenth Century Journal,* 49.4 (2018), 1037-56.

[108] Ian Archer, 'Discourses of History in Elizabethan and Early Stuart London', *Huntingdon Library Quarterly*, 68. 1-2 (2005), 205-226 (p.208).

[109] Wright, *Middle Class Culture.*

[110] Peter Burke, 'Popular History', in *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture: Vol.I: Cheap Print in Britain and Ireland to 1660,* ed. by Joad Raymond (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp.443-454 (p.444).

[111] Burke, 'Popular History', p.452.

history of London, and is a key source for many other authors. Sophia Li Chi-Fang points out that several passages from Dekker's 1608 plague pamphlet *The Dead Tearme* seem to be lifted almost entirely from Stow's work, such as Dekker's list of monarchs buried in Westminster Abbey and his description of building and repairs to St Paul's Cathedral.[112] Indeed, the very existence of such a text, alongside the evidence for its popularity, found in its swift re-printing and its clear impact on other texts and plays, discussed in later chapters, suggests that the history of London was a topic of real interest in the metropolis.

Stow's *Survey* was a text focused in part on the history of London, and has generated a great deal of historiography. However, several historians have considered the role of popular history in London in other contexts. Tracey Hill argues that London history as presented in the Lord Mayor's Show had a role in creating 'cultural identity and common understanding' for Londoners.[113] Ian Archer focuses on the deployment history by the London livery companies, who used history in their rhetoric and in decorating their halls as 'theatres of memory' to strengthen their position and enhance corporate identity.[114] Many other historians have contributed further to the idea of popular history helping to shape identity by investigating the portrayal of individual figures from London's past, such as Richard Whittington, or by investigating the role of individual authors such as John Stow or Thomas Heywood.[115] This thesis, as discussed above, builds on these studies by focusing on a *range* of genres, rather than on a single genre, figure or author. Furthermore, this approach has allowed me to identify the topics, events and figures appearing most frequently across these different sources, and so to begin to analyse why *these* elements of London history became 'popular' whilst others did not.

Structure of Argument

In conclusion, the main research question of this thesis is whether a knowledge of London's past helped to create a sense of identity *as* a Londoner for inhabitants of the city and its suburbs in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and if this sense of shared identity was a factor in aiding social stability. I have discussed the difficulties in identifying 'Londoners' and explained that I intend to define the term broadly, although this may not have been done by those living in and around London at the time. By exploring how history was presented in cheap print and popular

---

[112] Sophia Li Chi-Fang, 'John Stow's Survey Of London (1603) As The Principal Source For Dekker's Dead Tearme (1608)', *Notes and Queries* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011). See also Edward Bonahue, 'Citizen History: Stow's Survey of London', *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900*, 38.1 (1998), 61-85 (p.63).

[113] Hill*, Pageantry and Power*, p.7.

[114] Ian Archer, 'The Arts and Acts of Memorialization in Early Modern London', in *Imagining Early Modern London: Perceptions And Portrayals of the City From Stow to Strype 1598-1720,* ed. by Julia Merrit (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

[115] For example, Richard Rowland, *Thomas Heywood's Theatre 1599-1639: Locations, Translations and Conflict* (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2010), Robertson, 'The Adventures of Dick Whittington' and various authors in *John Stow and the Making of the English Past*, ed. by Ian Anders Gadd and Alexandra Gillespie (London: British Library, 2004).

entertainment I have identified the historical themes that would have been accessible to the widest range of the city's inhabitants. Many historians have argued that popular culture played a role in shaping identity in early modern London, and I have explained that such an approach is valid, since the consensus amongst historians is that most genres of popular entertainment were consumed by a wide social range of Londoners and shaped by market demand, suggesting the production of these genres was reciprocal rather than imposed by a cultural elite.

In chapter two I identify the elements of London's history which were most popular using a large sample of ballads and almanacs. This chapter outlines the justification behind selecting ballads and almanacs as a starting point for this investigation. It explains that these texts were so accessible and ubiquitous in society at the beginning of the seventeenth century that any historical references found in them were likely to both embody and create 'common knowledge' and also reflect commonly held cultural norms. This chapter also explains my methodology and the ways in which I analysed these sources to identify the most popular themes, and discusses what themes can be identified.

This thesis is organised by aspect of London history discussed rather than by genre, which differentiates it from many of the works discussed in this chapter. The elements of London history most frequently found in ballads and almanacs appeared in a wide range of sources and genres, from pamphlets and plays to humanist histories and poems. Many kinds of print and performance are included in this investigation; however, some appear more frequently than others. In chapter three I outline in more detail the significance of the main genres (alongside ballads and almanacs) upon which this research is based; chronicles, plays and civic pageantry. I survey the position of each of these forms of entertainment in Elizabethan and early Stuart London alongside the potential audience for each. This chapter concludes that an analysis which includes each of these complementary popular cultural forms is highly likely to reflect the views and tastes of the wide London audience and explains the links between these sources and their authors.

In the following three chapters I consider respectively the three elements of London's history found most often in ballads and almanacs. The topography of London, the popularity of selected individuals from London's past and the government of London, in particular the role and office of the mayor and the relationship between the city and the crown. I assess the appearance of these topics both in chronicles, other forms of elite and popular literature and in different genres of popular entertainment. I consider potential reasons for the popularity of these historical topics and then draw some conclusions on why they were attractive to the London audience and what this can tell us about the position, role and utility of popular history.

The conclusion recapitulates the findings of this thesis: that the history of London was a popular topic in the city, presented frequently to inhabitants of the metropolis not only in texts that were explicitly historical, but also in other genres of entertainment which formed 'popular culture'. It identifies the elements of London history that were most popular and offers some conclusions on why these topics and individuals became 'popular' whilst others did not. Finally, it demonstrates that the absorption of this knowledge created shared understanding, values and social norms amongst those living in the capital which may have helped create a sense of shared identity as a Londoner amongst those living in the capital.

2: Almanacs and Ballads: Identifying London History

To assess whether a knowledge of the history of London led to a collective understanding of the past which then had an impact in shaping identity in early modern London, it is necessary to ascertain whether there *existed* such a shared body of historical knowledge and identify how this information was acquired. In order to begin exploring these questions I have taken as my initial sources ballads and almanacs produced and sold in London in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. These texts have several advantages by which to assess 'popular' history, as defined in the introduction as the most numerically prevalent themes and topics. The sheer volume of ballads and almanacs that survive is highly useful in enabling some quantitative conclusions to be drawn, before a more qualitative and comparative approach is attempted in later chapters. Moreover, given their ubiquity in early modern London, I have argued that the stories, anecdotes, characters or themes from the history of London that appeared most frequently in ballads and almanacs were the most familiar to Londoners, and so warrant further investigation. Furthermore, I suggest that the nature and form of almanacs, with the limited space available inside, means that the historical information chosen for inclusion was particularly significant. This chapter therefore outlines the position of both ballads and almanacs in the market in early modern London and explains how I have used these sources to identify the topics on which the following chapters are based.

The Advantages of Almanacs

I chose almanacs as the primary source by which to identify the elements of London history which had become most widely known because of the unique place they occupied in the market and their particular features, discussed below, which meant that historical data contained within was particularly significant.

Almanacs were generally small books, the primary function of which was to serve as a calendar identifying saints' days and political anniversaries. The first printed almanac was produced by Gutenberg in 1448, and large numbers were imported to England throughout the 1470s; the printing of almanacs then began in Britain around 1537. Almanacs were produced as either 'blanks' or 'sorts'. Blanks provided two pages per month (and sorts a single page) with empty space for notes, meaning almanacs also functioned as an abbreviated sort of diary, perhaps explaining why some survived, even though they lost their function as a calendar once their published year was over. Though cheap, almanacs were multi-functional, with publishers keen to pack as much as possible into the small

space available in order to produce a highly saleable product. Most were sold unbound to reduce cost further. Because of their ephemeral nature, almanacs usually have very low survival rates. However, because of the vast numbers produced 'enough survive to make possible an assessment of their contribution to the culture of the period'.[1] In most almanacs, the calendar usually took up half the booklet, most also have a preface to a patron or the reader, or a rudimentary contents page. The remaining space was devoted to 'prognostications' and other utilitarian content such as tide-tables, dates of feasts and markets, or a zodiac man image for medical purposes. This study focuses on another frequent inclusion, a table of notable historical events, often found at the front or back of the almanac and discussed more fully below.

All the evidence suggests almanacs sold in enormous numbers. Louise Hill Curth refers to almanacs as 'the first true form of British mass media'.[2] Precise sales and print figures for the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries are not available, however, a surviving stock book of the Stationers' Company covering the years 1653-1698, shows in the 1660s around 400,000 almanacs were sold annually, the most likely interpretation of this figure suggesting that one family in three bought an almanac each year.[3] Other isolated figures which survive such as the sale of 18,500 copies of Partridge's almanac for 1648, whilst not conclusive, suggest that between 1580 and 1640 almanacs are likely to have been produced and distributed on a huge scale, outnumbering most other forms of print.[4]

Further evidence of the ubiquity of almanacs is given by anecdotal reference to them in other sources. Bernard Capp argues that 'Ben Jonson and other dramatists expected their audiences to be able to recognise allusions to Allstree, Bretnor and many other compilers', suggesting almanacs were a popular enough product that they could be easily recognised even by the name of their author.[5] A print of thirty six 'Cryes of London', likely to date from the reign of Charles I, shows a seller of 'Alminakes' as separate from books, suggesting this was the primary product of many wandering vendors in the city.[6] Likewise in her 1573 poem *Will and Testament,* Isabella Whitney (particularly interesting as a rare female voice) ends her poem about London with a throwaway reference to almanacs, suggesting this was the normal method by which she ascertained the date:

---

[1] Capp, *Astrology and the Popular Press*, p.66.
[2] Hill Curth, *English Almanacs*, p.2.
[3] Capp, *Astrology and the Popular Press*, p.44.
[4] Capp, *Astrology and the Popular Press*, p.44.
[5] Capp, *Astrology and the Popular Press*, p.123.
[6] John Overton, *The Common Cryes of London*, c.1640, paper, 178 x253 mm, <https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_I-7-86> [accessed 14 May 2019].

> In Anno Domini A Thousand: v. hundred seventy three, as Alminacks descry,
> Did write this Wyll with mine owne hand and it to London gave.[7]

Taken together, the preponderance of evidence suggests almanacs were therefore a commonly purchased and used item in early modern London and would have been a familiar object to the vast majority of those living in the city.

Since they were cheap to produce, almanacs were accessible to all but the very poorest inhabitants of the metropolis. The standard price in the sixteenth century appears to have been 1d for a sheet almanac, and 2d for one in book form. More expensive bound almanacs could be sold for much more, which is why Adam Smyth states that almanacs 'trouble ideas of popular culture'; suggesting almanacs were almost singular in their reach across all levels of society, with only broadside ballads occupying a similar place in the market.[8] Moreover, a huge range of almanacs existed, with the more expensive providing useful information for professional men, merchants and the gentry, whilst cheaper editions tended to include 'crude woodcuts' and less text.[9] Though almanacs may well have been used in different ways amongst different social groups, it is clear that their ownership was common across all levels of society in London, enhancing their value as a source by which to analyse widely available historical information in London. The use of an almanac did not even require literacy in the fullest sense because much of the useful content in these texts was presented in table form, increasing the size of the market even further.

The popularity of almanacs is further evidenced by governmental attempts to control their production. Until the incorporation of the Stationers' Company, almanacs in England remained largely unregulated.[10] Given the potential for political commentary raised through the prognostications almanacs contained, they were in an invidious position. Royal injunctions were issued in 1559 to control prognostications, with further regulations issued in 1568-9. This strict governmental control, triggered by the events of the Northern Rebellion against Elizabeth I, was undoubtedly responsible for the number of registered almanacs dropping from nineteen in 1567 to six in 1571; all of which were licensed by the Archbishop of Canterbury.[11] The incorporation of the Stationers in 1557 allowed the

---

[7] Isabella Whitney, *A Sweet Nosgay, Or Pleasant Posye Contayning a Hundred and Ten Phylosophicall Flowers &c* (London: R Jones, 1573), ESTC S119702.
[8] Adam Smyth, 'Almanacs and Ideas of Popularity', in *The Elizabethan Top Ten: Defining Print Popularity in Early Modern England*, ed. by Andrew Kesson and Emma Smith (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2013), pp.125-133 (p.128).
[9] Robin Myers, 'The Stationers' Company and the Almanack Trade', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain Vol. V*, ed. by Michael Suarez, & Michael Turner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp. 723-735 (p.723).
[10] Hill Curth, *English Almanacs*, p.37.
[11] Capp, *Astrology and the Popular Press*, p.129.

government to assert control of almanac production through them, undoubtedly why it coincided with the emergence of English almanacs in mass form by the period covered in this study.[12] Regulation through the Stationers made the government more comfortable with the genre, and from the Stationers' point of view, almanacs were an incredibly lucrative part of their business. In 1571 the printing of almanacs was given as a monopoly to the printers Richard Watkins and James Roberts until 1603. James I then renewed the monopoly of the Stationers till the eighteenth century.[13] Almanacs were then produced by the English Stock, an independent publishing company formed by privileged members of the Stationers, with the profits from the almanac trade ensuring its prosperity. Blagden estimates the annual profit on almanacs as around £1,500 in the latter half of the seventeenth century.[14] This vast amount of money allowed the Stock to earn back its capital in just eight years, helping to maintain the numbers joining the livery.[15]

Naturally, with such a lucrative product, the Company took a keen interest in how to ensure almanacs remained a profitable part of their business, and the Stationers vigorously defended their monopoly on almanac printing and closely monitored the market.[16] One strand of this defence was to take stringent methods against piracy, such as using marked paper, seizing counterfeit almanacs and suing offending printers.[17] The Stationers also bought and destroyed large quantities of almanacs from competitors who had managed to get occasional crown licenses.[18] However, the primary method of keeping the almanac trade lucrative was by keeping almanacs affordable. In the sixteenth century the normal price for an almanac appears to have been kept as low as possible. Prices crept up to 4d in the later seventeenth century, but it is clear the Company made real efforts to keep prices as low and stable as possible.[19] This ensured almanacs remained an affordable item for the majority, keeping sales high and further increasing the likelihood almanacs were purchased by a wide social range of Londoners, reinforcing their value as a source.

This sensitivity to the market by publishers and attempts to keep almanacs affordable was highly significant because it meant space in almanacs was at a premium, and careful attention was paid to ensure this space was used to its fullest advantage to provide the

---

[12] R.C. Simmons, 'ABC's, Almanacs, Ballads, Chapbooks, Popular Piety and Textbooks' in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, Vol. IV,* ed. by John Barnard, D.F McKenzie and Maureen Bell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp.504-514 (p.507).
[13] Myers, 'The Stationers' Company and the Almanack Trade', p.723.
[14] Cyprian Blagden, 'The Distribution of Almanacks in the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century', *Studies in Bibliography,* 11 (1958), 107-116 (p.114).
[15] Myers, 'The Stationers' Company and the Almanack Trade', p.724.
[16] Smyth, 'Almanacs and Ideas of Popularity', p.125.
[17] Myers, 'The Stationers' Company and the Almanack Trade', p.730.
[18] Simmons, 'ABC's, Almanacs, Ballads', p.508.
[19] Simmons, 'ABC's, Almanacs, Ballads', p.508.

reader with what they wanted; what Simmons calls 'early market awareness'.[20] This strategy led to the evolving specialisation of almanacs to cater to customer demand. Specialisation in almanacs took several forms. The first almanac to include a list of fairs, for example, was Digges in 1556, road directions were added for the first time in Gossenne in 1571, and a table of the regnal dates of kings and queens, probably used to date legal documents was added at the same time.[21] More specialisation developed throughout the seventeenth century with Perkins' publications including a detailed chronology and Woodhouse and Dade adding more information on fairs and agriculture.

A further refinement was the production of regionally specialised editions. This was often advertised in the title, such as Thomas Bretnor's almanac 'Rectified for the elevation of the Pole Articke, and meridian of the famous citie of Colchester'.[22] Even when places were not made explicit in the title, adaptation can be seen from the list of fairs or directions given, such as 'Vaux's almanacs stressing northern affairs, and Pigot's edition for 1630 which concentrated on Shropshire events'.[23] Since the vast majority of almanacs were printed in London, it is unsurprising that London-based specialisation was popular, with two almanacs indicating this in their titles, namely *Calendarium Londinense* and *The London Almanack*.[24] Since, as discussed in the introduction, literacy rates were also higher in London than elsewhere in the country, it made sense for publishers to design a product which was particularly attractive to those living in the city even if it were suitable for general use.

This attempt to tailor almanacs closely to market demand is why the inclusion of tables listing key historical events, discussed in more detail below, is so significant. As discussed above, almanacs were such a lucrative product for the Stationers that great care was taken to ensure they remained so, and careful consideration was given as to what went into each almanac. This strongly suggests that there was a demand for the historical information the tables contained amongst customers. Had these tables been met with a lukewarm response from almanac users, they would have been dropped. However, it is clear that not only did more and more almanacs include such a table as the seventeenth century progressed, but the tables tended to become longer, as is discussed in more detail below.

---

[20] Simmons, 'ABC's, Almanacs, Ballads', p.506.
[21] Capp, *Astrology and the Popular Press*, p.32.
[22] Thomas Bretnor, *A new almanacke and prognostication for the yeere of our redemption, 1630. Being the second from bissextile or leape yeere. Rectified for the elevation of the Pole Articke, and meridian of the famous citie of Colchester and may serve for the most parts of Great Brittaine. By Ezec. Bretnor Philomathema* (London: Printed for the Companie of Stationers, 1630), ESTC S90095. From this point all references to almanacs will follow the format of name + (date) with full citations found in appendix 1.
[23] Capp, *Astrology and the Popular Press*, p.34.
[24] Hill Curth, *English Almanacs*, p.47.

In this competitive market, customer satisfaction was a far greater priority for the Company than the desires of almanac authors. This led to publishers continuing to publish almanacs under the names of recognised authors, even when they were dead, or encouraging the continuation of authorship by members of the deceased's family, as happened with Wing, Neve and Gadbury.[25] Bernard Capp gives the examples of John Heyman and George Wharton, both of whom asked for their almanacs not to include a chronology and were overruled.[26] This is further evidence which suggests that the chronological tables this study focuses on were a popular inclusion with the customers, and thus preserved by publishers despite the limited space available to them. Moreover, given the limited space within almanacs, this argument can be extended to the specific events selected for inclusion in these tables, which must have held significance to have been picked out from the vast range of historical dates that could have been chosen.

In summary, almanacs sold cheaply in vast numbers making them accessible to a broad range of Londoners. Whilst it is impossible to reconstruct precisely what proportion of Londoners bought and used almanacs, the surviving statistics on sales and print runs, alongside throwaway references to them in other contexts suggests that their presence was ubiquitous, and they were a form of print that reached across the social and economic spectrum in London. Moreover, the limited space available in almanacs alongside the fiercely competitive market in which they were sold meant that the historical tables they contain, and indeed any historical events meriting inclusion in these chronological tables, had probably been carefully selected by the almanac creator or publisher and merits investigation.

The Advantages of Ballads

The other genre I selected as a source from which to identify popular historical topics were ballads. Ballads were an even cheaper form of print than almanacs and had a fundamental role to play in helping early modern people to develop social, cultural, religious and political views.[27] Like almanacs, ballads were originally functional, carrying official proclamations and posted in public places. However, the genre quickly diversified and ballads were produced for entertainment and decoration.[28]

---

[25] Capp, *Astrology and the Popular Press*, p.43.
[26] Capp, *Astrology and the Popular Press*, p.45.
[27] Angela McShane, 'Ballads and Broadsides', p.361.
[28] Detailed discussion of the place of ballads in seventeenth-century London is found in Lance Bertelsen, 'Popular Entertainment and Instruction, Literary and Dramatic: Chapbooks, Advice Books, Almanacs, Ballads, Farces, Pantomimes, Prints and Shows', in *The Cambridge History of English Literature 1660–1780*, ed. by John Richetti (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp.61-86 (p.72). See also McShane, 'Ballads and Broadsides'.

Ballads are universally acknowledged as 'the popular-culture item of early modern England', with R.C. Simmons describing the market for them as 'phenomenal'.[29] Historians agree that, like almanacs, they were ubiquitous in early modern society and formed a genuine vehicle of mass communication.[30] Ballads were popular across society, with their collection by members of the social elite like Samuel Pepys suggesting their appeal was not purely to the lower end of the market, despite their low price point.[31] Lance Bertelsen points to examples such as Hogarth's *Industry and Idleness*, which publishers may have intended for apprentices, but which 'everyone read'; he suggests many ballads quickly made their way up and down the social scale, 'making drawing of distinct lines of aesthetic or material demarcation virtually impossible'.[32]

Broadside ballads were not intended to be kept long; 'essentially printed for the day'.[33] The consequently low survival rates of ballads mean that it is tempting to underestimate their popularity, since 'three quarters of ballads printed between 1557 and 1640 have not survived'.[34] A better sense of just how many ballads were in circulation can be garnered from the Stationers' Register. The Stationers did not have a monopoly on ballads, as it did for almanacs. However, the Company did grant licenses to publishers to print ballads. Before 1582 the fee was fourpence a ballad, with prices raised in 1587. The licensee could then pay an extra fee to have the title of their property entered into the Stationers' Register as an additional protection of their rights.

The Register therefore can give more of a sense of how many ballads were in circulation, and their titles, although the contents of lost ballads cannot be known. the Register provides an instant impression of the popularity of the broadside ballad, with over 3000 entries between 1557 and 1709.[35] It also gives us a sense of the numbers of publishers involved, with 172 printers of ballads identified in the Register.[36] Even conservatively estimating a small number of unregistered ballads, Kenneth Charlton and Margaret

---

[29] Katherine Steele Brokaw, 'Popularity, Performance, and Repetition', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 79.2 (2016), 339-342, and Simmons, 'ABC's, Almanacs, Ballads', p.510.
[30] This argument is made in, for example, Angela McShane, *Political Broadside Ballads of 17th Century England: A Critical bibliography* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2011) and Patricia Fumerton, and Anita Guerrini, 'Straws in the wind', in *Ballads and Broadsides in Britain 1500 to 1800,* ed.by Patricia Thomason, Anita Guerrini and Kris McAbee (Ashgate: Farnham, 2010).
[31] Steele Brokaw, 'Popularity, Performance, and Repetition'.
[32] Bertelsen, 'Popular Entertainment and Instruction', p.63.
[33] Leslie Shepard, *The Broadside Ballad* (London: Herbert Jenkins Ltd, 1962), p.23.
[34] Alexandra Hill, 'The Lamentable Tale of Lost Ballads in England, 1557–1640', in *Broadsheets: Single-Sheet Publishing in the First Age of Print,* ed. by Andrew Pettegree (Leiden: Brill, 2017), pp. 442–58 (p.442).
[35] Shepard, *The Broadside Ballad,* p.52.
[36] Hill, 'The Lamentable Tale of Lost Ballads', p.455.

Spufford calculate a minimum of 600,000 ballads in circulation.[37] However, the Register is still limited in terms of establishing the true number of ballads in circulation, as in practice many publishers seemed to have chosen not to take on the additional expense of registration, with potentially around a third of all texts remaining unregistered.[38] After 1586 ballad printing became concentrated in the hands of fewer printers, making control easier, and in 1624 a 'ballad partnership' was formed, with mass entries into the register, providing more information on publication and titles. Even then, registration was far from complete; of the 160 ballads still extant printed in 1660 about the Restoration, *none* appear in the Register.[39] These limitations mean that a true record of the number of ballads and their titles is not possible to reconstruct, but it strongly suggests that the number of surviving ballads were only a fraction of those available to early modern Londoners, which further reinforces how significant a source to analyse popular representations of London history ballads are.

Like almanacs, the ubiquity of ballads can also be inferred from reference to them in other works. John Chamberlain, writing to his frequent correspondent Dudley Carleton in 1619 observes that there had been lots of invective again the 'insolence of women' in sermons he had recently heard, but then goes on to explain this had been picked up by 'ballads and ballad-singers', so that women 'can come no where but their ears tingle', thus reinforcing the impression that ballads, and their public performance, were inescapable in the city.[40] In the case of ballads, the tone from some contemporary commentators was often one of disapproval. William Webbe's statement that 'the uncountable rabble of ryming Ballet makers and compylers of sencelesse sonets, who be most busy to stuffe every stall full of grosse devises and unlearned pamphlets' is fairly typical.[41] Natascha Wurzbach suggests the invective against ballads was a sign of 'professional envy', further reinforcing the popularity of the genre, which is unlikely to have inspired such envy unless highly popular and therefore lucrative.[42]

---

[37] Kenneth Charlton and Margaret Spufford, 'Literacy, Society And Education' in *The Cambridge History of Early Modern English Literature,* ed. by David Loewenstein & Janel Mueller (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 13-54 (p.35).

[38] David Kastan, 'Print, Literary Culture and the Book Trade' in *The Cambridge History of Early Modern English Literature,* ed. by David Loewenstein & Janel Mueller (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 81-116 and Hill, 'The Lamentable Tale of Lost Ballads', p.447.

[39] McShane, 'Ballads and Broadsides', p.346.

[40] John Chamberlain, The Letters of John Chamberlain, ed. by Norman Egbert McLure, (Vol. 2), (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1939), p.289.

[41] William Webbe, A Discourse of English Poetrie Together, with the Authors Judgment, Touching the Reformation of our English Verse by William Webbe, (London: [n.pub.], 1586), ESTC S111629.

[42] Wurzbach, *The Rise of the English Street Ballad*, p.244. See also Kenneth Charlton '"False Fonde Bookes, Ballades and Rimes": An Aspect of Informal Education in Early Modern England', *History of Education Quarterly*, 27.4 (1987), 449-471 (p.457).

These numbers (likely, as discussed, to be a vast underestimate) should also be considered in the context of each ballad probably reaching a much wider audience than the original purchaser. Ballads were intended to be sung, as is clear from the common inclusion of a suggested tune to sing the words to. Most broadsides begin with 'to the tune of', such as *A Courtly new Ballad of the Princely wooing of the faire Maid of London, by King Edward* which is to be sung 'To the tune of Bonny sweet Robbin', or *A brave warlike Song. Containing a briefe rehearsall of the deeds of Chivalry, performed by the Nine Worthies of the world, the seaven Champions of Christendome, with many other remarkable Warriours,* which was to be performed 'To the tune of List lusty Gallants'.[43] This suggests public performance was a frequent occurrence, since the tunes suggested must in turn have been well known enough for the authors to assume the audience could use them and fit new words to them.

Professional performers such as minstrels also helped spread and popularise ballads. Gerald Porter argues that by the end of the sixteenth century minstrels no longer performed in the houses or the aristocracy and 'were forced to find an audience, performing outside the playhouses and in market squares'.[44] A 1597 Act of Parliament suppressing 'roving minstrels' alongside the arrest of singers, still described as minstrels, for singing satirical ballads about the Duke of Buckingham during the years leading up to the assassination in 1628 suggest that these performers remained important publicists for ballads well into the seventeenth century.[45] The importance of performance in selling a ballad was obvious, with a balladmonger's ability to sell his wares probably partially dependent on the success of his rendition.[46] Presumably these singers would have chosen locations and occasions where they performed to the largest possible audience as a way of increasing sales. Thus balladmongers also acted as public performers, widening the potential audience for each ballad even further.

Ballads were often also stuck up on walls, both indoors and outdoors, providing a cheap form of decoration to inns and public spaces and allowing anyone who frequented them to read the ballad. Angela McShane suggests it is only recently that historians have become aware of just how popular ballads were as a form of decoration, with some specifically designed with public display in mind. She argues broadsides became 'key elements in the

[43] Ballads 29 and 1.
[44] Gerald Porter, 'The English Ballad Singer and Hidden History', *Studia Musicologica*, 49. 1-2 (2008), 127-142 (p.131).
[45] Porter, 'The English Ballad Singer', p.132.
[46] Wurzbach, *The Rise of the English Street Ballad,* p.13.

decor and entertainment facilities' offered by public places like taverns and in homes.[47] Therefore alongside the already sizeable market offered by their affordability, the contents of ballads were also easily available to those who had not purchased the ballad originally, suggesting an even wider reach through society than almanacs, and thus strengthening the value of ballads as a source by which to reconstruct Londoners exposure to the history of the city.

The primary function of a broadside ballad was to sell itself. Thus, it had to be entertaining. Though undoubtedly many served religious, moral or political agendas, they still had to persuade the audience to purchase them and so publishers produced ballads on subjects they believed their readers would find appealing. Since publishers wanted high sales and thus profits, ballads were 'geared to appeal across age, gender, and social groups, as well as geographically'.[48] However, whilst many ballads had a general appeal, they played a particularly important role in urban culture, becoming 'part of the folklore of cities' and, of all available forms of print, perhaps offer the best reflection of popular urban culture.[49] The location of the printing presses in London kept the price of ballads low, as porterage did not have to be factored in, and alongside higher levels of literacy, this made the London market a particularly lucrative one, and Londoners the primary target audience. As with almanacs, this suggests that ballads which feature stories from London's past were produced and selected with some care by authors and publishers who wished to maximise their profits, and the choice of topic within should therefore be considered as meaningful. Conversely, elements of London's history which seem significant, but do *not* feature in any surviving ballad are also worth consideration, as is discussed in more detail in chapters five and six.

Topics covered by ballads varied hugely. Though ballads informing the public of contemporary events were common, many ballads also focused on traditional tales. Alexander Kaufman, for example, identifies ballads as providing some of the 'earliest biographical moments of Robin Hood'.[50] Other ballads were created in response to the changing political, religious and economic circumstances of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, with a large amount of rooted in post-Reformation religious culture' (such as one of the earliest surviving broadsides, the ballad of *The Husbandman, Doctor Martin Luther,*

[47] McShane, 'Ballads and Broadsides', p.355.
[48] McShane, 'Ballads and Broadsides', p.359.
[49] Shepard, *The Broadside Ballad*, p.34. See also Alan Bold, *The Ballad: The Critical Idiom 41* (London: Methuen and Co, 1979), p.67.
[50] Alexander Kaufman, 'A Desire for Origins: The Marginal Robin Hood of the Later Ballads', in *Studies in Medievalism XXIV: Medievalism on the Margins,* ed. by Karl Fugelso, Vincent Ferré, Alicia C. Montoya (Cambridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2015), pp.51-62.

The Pope, The Cardinall, c.1550).[51] Many ballads celebrated particular monarchs or commemorated events such as royal entries to London; Skelton's 1509 elegy to Henry VII, and a 1513 account of a Scottish King have been identified as some of the earliest extant broadsides.[52] Mark Hailwood makes the case that ballads could also play an important role in occupational identity, suggesting they could shape social views and norms.[53] The range of ballads Hailwood identifies, such as character portraits, social complaints and ballads about marital relations gives an idea of the broad range of topics available.[54] Many ballads were also designed to promote a specific outcome, even if this was not immediately apparent, ballads describing the events of a fire, for example, often aimed to inspire people to donate money to those affected, or ballads celebrating battles were in fact veiled recruitment advertisements.[55]

My research is focused on ballads with a historical theme, which was also a popular topic. Many historians have argued for the importance of ballads as a vehicle for providing a narrative about England's past to people with less access to more expensive texts.[56] Ballads with a historical theme had an important role in creating national and religious identity, with ballads focusing on the defeat of the Armada in 1588 and the Northern Rebellion in 1569, important tools by which a 'Protestant nation-building narrative' was constructed.[57] This is a strong argument for the utility of ballads in assessing how much the average Londoner knew about history, and further suggests any particular historical themes found within ballads are worth exploring.

Daniel Woolf asserts that although it was the ballad and chapbook that replaced the chronicle in the early sixteenth century 'as narrator of history', using ballads to assess knowledge of history more broadly across differing social groups is of limited value.[58] He suggests different genres were designed to appeal to different sections of Tudor society, meaning 'those who read Camden and Sir John Hayward were unlikely to be more than casual consumers of ballads, almanacs, and the chapbook histories'.[59] However, as

---

[51] David Atkinson, *The Ballad and its Pasts: Literary Histories and the Play of Memory* (Cambridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2018), p.8. See also Watt, *Cheap Print And Popular Piety* and Simmons, 'ABC's, Almanacs, Ballads'.
[52] Bold, *The Ballad*, p.68.
[53] Mark Hailwood, 'Broadside Ballads and Occupational Identity in Early Modern England', *Huntington Library Quarterly,* 79.2 (2016), 187-200 (p.188-189).
[54] Hailwood, 'Broadside Ballads and Occupational Identity', p.196.
[55] McShane, 'Ballads and Broadsides', p.362. See also Anita Guerrini, 'Advertising Monstrosity: Broadsides and Human Exhibition in Early Eighteenth-Century London', in *Ballads and Broadsides 1500–1800,* ed. by Patricia Fumerton and Anita Guerrini (Vermont: Burlington, 2010), pp.109–27.
[56] See Nora Corrigan, 'The Merry Tanner, the Mayor's Feast, and the King's Mistress: Thomas Heywood's 1 "Edward IV" and the Ballad Tradition', *Medieval & Renaissance Drama in England*, 22 (2009), 27-41 (p.27). See also Blair Worden, 'Historians and Poets', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 68. 1-2 (2005), 71-93.
[57] Moon, *A People's History of England,* p.87.
[58] Woolf, 'Genre into Artifact, p.347.
[59] Woolf, 'Genre into Artifact' p.347.

discussed in the previous chapter, this does not seem to be a widely held view and the consensus appears to be that ballads were not designed solely for less educated readers but permeated and were clearly popular at all levels of society.[60]

However, ballad scholars do agree that representations of the past in ballads are often problematic. Margaret Spufford suggests that many 'historical' ballads simply draw on medieval chivalric romances, and are set in a non-specific fictional past, rather than referring to actual historical events. Examples include stories like Bevis of Southampton, accounts of Guy of Warwick and the Robin Hood legends. Many ballads simply took popular stories and set them in a vague 'pre-Reformation past, replete with lascivious friars and kings in disguise who brought good fortune'. [61] In the same way, accounts of royal mistresses such as Jane Shore or Rosamund Clifford, both popular ballad heroines, were less historical accounts than 'excuses for juicy accounts of adultery, high life, rich living and repentance, with a moral at the end'.[62] Other ballads had slightly more grounding in fact and were loosely based on historical events. But such ballads were often only vehicles to make a moral point, made more convincing by association with a real person or incident. Such ballads include those celebrating heroes who had at some point in an unspecific past made their fortunes, such as Richard Whittington or Simon Eyre.[63] These types of tales were particularly suited to an urban audience and are discussed more fully in later chapters. That early modern audiences did not necessarily draw a distinction between ballads with a grounding in historical fact and those which were historical fiction is reflected in the organisation of Pepys collection, in which Pepys grouped together into 'Vulgaria', ballads and chapbooks on King Arthur, Guy of Warwick, Bevis of Southampton, St George, Robin Hood, Tom Thumb, Jack of Newbury, Thomas of Reading, the destruction of Troy and the story of Richard Whittington.[64] Conversely, Nick Moon, in his analysis of the contribution of ballads to national historical culture, suggests that ballads which Pepys considered to be 'news' are perhaps better characterised as a form of history.[65]

The use of ballads as a source has other challenges. Ballads are scattered through many collections, such as the Roxburghe collection of 15,000 ballads held by the British library, or the Ashmolean collection, made up from earlier collections owned by John Aubrey (1626-1697) and Edward Lhuyd (1660-1709) bequeathed to the Bodleian in 1692. The titles of

---

[60] Femke Molekamp, 'Popular Reading and Writing', in *Ashgate Research Companion To Popular Culture in Early Modern England*, ed. by Andrew Hadfield, Matthew Dimmock, Abigail Shinn (Ashgate: Farnham, 2014), pp.59-73 (p.64).
[61] Charlton and Spufford, 'Literacy, Society And Education', p.40.
[62] Charlton and Spufford, 'Literacy, Society And Education', p.40.
[63] See for example ballads 10 and 28.
[64] Simmons, 'ABC's, Almanacs, Ballads', p.513.
[65] Moon, *A People's History of England,* p.4.

ballads too often do not give many clues to their content. The ballad *Londons Glory, and Whittingtons Renown,* for example, might be reasonably expected to contain an account relevant to this research, featuring the life of a historical Londoner.[66] However, the ballad *A new Medley, OR, A Messe of All-together* contains a reference to Jane Shore (another figure from London's past discussed in more detail below) which cannot be detected from the title.[67] This makes it difficult to easily locate relevant ballads swiftly. However, relatively recent innovations such as the *English Broadside Ballad Archive* and the Bodleian's *Broadside Ballads Online*, are invaluable tools for research, particularly since the integration of their search engines in 2011.[68]

Many broadside ballads only survive because of the work of early collectors, most famously Samuel Pepys, though other known collectors included John Selden, George Thomason, Anthony Wood, John Bagford, Thomas Percy, Walter Scott and William Motherwell.[69] This activity seems to have been more popular in the seventeenth century, from which about 10,000 ballads (most from after 1660) survive. However, the lack of collecting in the sixteenth century means a much lower survival rate, with only around 260 sixteenth-century ballads surviving, and several of these duplicates.[70] We also lack any sense of how a sixteenth-century ballad reader might have categorised ballads; information that we do have some examples for in seventeenth-century collections like Pepys'.[71] This 'catastrophic' loss means there are probably fewer surviving ballads which are primarily focused on London history than existed in reality. However, enough remain to identify key areas of interest, as discussed below.[72] Dating ballads also remains tenuous, since publishers often titled ballads as 'new' though in fact this was a marketing strategy to sell older works.[73] This makes it particularly difficult to detect if ballads with a historical theme became more or less popular, in the way that such trends can be ascertained from almanacs. Nonetheless, despite these limitations, the value of ballads as a means of assessing a knowledge of history in early modern London is still high, and several distinctly popular themes can be detected, as discussed below.

In conclusion, ballads and almanacs are highly useful sources from which to select frequently recurring themes from London's history. They were cheap, affordable for all but

---

[66] Ballad 10.
[67] Ballad 30.
[68] Amanda Winkler, 'Digital and Multimedia Scholarship', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 67.3 (2014), 848–866.
[69] McShane, 'Ballads and Broadsides', p.344.
[70] Eric Nebeker, 'The Broadside Ballad and Textual Publics', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, 51.1 (2011), 1–19 (p.11).
[71] McShane, 'Ballads and Broadsides', p.344.
[72] McShane, 'Ballads and Broadsides', p.344.
[73] Atkinson, 'The Ballad and the Idea of the Past', p.8.

the very poorest, and all the evidence suggests they were printed in huge quantities and sold well. Passing references from contemporaries suggests the ubiquitous presence of ballads and almanacs in early modern London, as does the relatively large corpus of surviving texts, despite their ephemeral nature. Both were accessible by those who were not fully literate (ballads more so, though the tables in almanacs did not require more than a basic level of literacy from a user). However, historians agree that both were also popular amongst socially higher groups as well, albeit potentially for distinct reasons. The *differences* in these types of text also in fact enhance their utility as sources. The brief chronological tables in almanacs lend themselves to the inclusion of events which are dateable and discrete, whereas the narrative form of ballads was better suited to longer stories of characters or events. This means that the analysis of both provides a wider range of possible topics to be identified and increases the likelihood that these topics were familiar to early modern Londoners.

Selecting Historical Data in Almanacs

Despite the fragility of almanacs, large numbers of examples do survive. Several of these almanacs specify London as their focus, such as Bretnor's almanacs which identify themselves as *'*calculated and composed according to arte for the latitude and meridian of the honorable citie of London'*,* or Pond's *A president for prognosticators,* which is likewise 'Calculated for the citty of London'.[74] One would assume that these would be the almanacs Londoners would be most likely to buy, though almanacs with no place name in the title, such as Richard Allestree's '*a new almanack and prognostication for the yeere of our Lord God 1629 and from the creation 5591, being the first from leap-yeere',* were also likely to be used by Londoners, as discussed above, and provide a broader base from which to draw conclusions.[75]

Several surviving almanacs were printed in London, but were clearly intended to be sold or used in another location, such as *A new almanacke and prognostication for the yeare of our Lord God 1620, being bissextile or leape-yeare: calculated and composed according to arte for the latitude and meridian of the towne of Shipston upon Stowre in the county of Worcester* by G. Gilden, or John Neve's 1640 almanac *'*rectified for the elevation of the pole artick, and meridian of the ancient and famous city of Norwich'.[76] Some of these almanacs also include chronological tables, many of which include different events to those in the almanacs marketed to Londoners, further highlighting the importance of these tables as

[74] Bretnor, (1609) and Pond, (1610), see appendix 1 for full citations.
[75] Allestree, (1629).
[76] Gilden, (1620) and Neve, (1640).

writers made the effort to adapt them regionally. Gresham's almanacs, targeted at 'the honorable Cittie of Yorke and the north parte', include the building of York and the 'riding in the north', in their chronological tables, demonstrating this regional specialisation, and suggesting it was events with the most relevance to the target audience that were curated by almanac authors.[77]

Overall I identified 260 different almanacs which were likely to have been purchased by people living in and around London in the early sixteenth century. Many of these almanacs did not include a chronology. Several had a table with the regnal years of British monarchs since 1066 either at the beginning or end of the almanac, which could be taken to indicate a growing interest in national history. However, according to Bernard Capp this feature was more likely to have been a functional tool used to date legal documents than an expression of interest in history. Moreover, Perkins' and Sofford's almanacs contain this table separately from the chronology, further suggesting they served different functions and were viewed as different tools, so I have excluded these texts. Many of the remaining almanacs are successive yearly editions by the same author. However, reading through the almanacs shows variation and evolution in the chronologies they contain across the years, so a range of editions still must be considered separately. As previously mentioned, the evolution of these chronologies further reinforces their importance, demonstrating they were actively updated by publishers keen to provide readers with what they wanted.

Disregarding almanacs without a relevant chronological table left a 181 almanacs, published between 1602 (the earliest extant with a chronological table) and 1640, which featured chronologies that include historical events specifically related to London. Most are successive, yearly editions by the same range of authors. In total there are seventeen different authors responsible for these 181 texts. Many of these chronologies are very similar, not only from year to year across the same author, but also between differing authors, suggesting shared tables inserted by publishers. However, there are also some substantial variations between authors, and notably even between editions by the same author. The tables have differing titles, for example, such as 'memorable accidents' or 'compendious chronologie'.[78] Perkins' tables entitled as containing things 'worthy of memory', highlighting that the events included have been selected because they are particularly meaningful, though even without this highlighted in the table title, careful selection had clearly taken place and the choice of events included had significance.[79]

[77] Gresham, (1607).
[78] Wilson's and Sofford's almanacs.
[79] Perkins, (1627).

One notable difference across almanacs was the length of these tables, with some only taking up half a page, and others a substantial portion of the text. Perkins in particular has a very lengthy chronological section, spread across six pages in all surviving editions between 1625 (the first extant) and 1640. One might expect a purchaser with a particular interest in history to therefore buy Perkins' almanacs, and so the table in these is particularly useful in indicating which elements of London history are given particular focus, particularly since Perkins' almanacs are amongst those which advertise themselves on the front cover as most suitable for 'the famous and honorable City of London'.[80] The chronological tables were, as mentioned above, also frequently updated, further reinforcing that each event selected was a carefully chosen inclusion which publishers or authors believed reflected audience demand. For example, Pond's almanac of 1602 contains only a brief table, with no mention of London. By 1605 the table has been updated to include the destruction of St Paul's steeple in 1561 and the outbreak of plague in London in 1563. In 1627 the table changes again and adds in the building of Westminster Hall (1100), the building of London Bridge (1191), the appointment of the first mayor of London (1191) and the opening of the 'New River', an artificial waterway supplying water to London which opened in 1612.[81] This suggests a growing interest in London history, which Pond is keen to supply. Not all chronologies developed over the years (though most do). Dade for example in 1610 features only the destruction of St Paul's steeple and the 1563 outbreak of Plague in terms of London history, events it continues to include until 1620, at which point it drops the chronology altogether.

Although the chronological tables do vary, there is a remarkable similarity in the events they include, and clear patterns can be discerned. The table below (2.1) shows all London events mentioned in the almanac chronological tables, along with the frequency with which they occur. They are listed chronologically, with the most distant events mentioned first. Each almanac has been individually counted, including yearly editions by the same author, as the tables were often updated and adapted between annual editions. The dates given by the different authors vary slightly, though usually only by a year.

[80] Perkins, (1634).
[81] See appendix 1 for full references.

Table 2.1, London Events Listed in Almanac Chronological Tables, 1602-40

Source: Almanac sample – full citations for all almanacs in appendix 1.

Event in the history of London	Inclusions in almanac chronology tables
London was built	63
The rebuilding of London by King Lud and the building of Ludgate	6
St Paul's cathedral was built	41
St Pauls cathedral was burnt down	14
Westminster Hall was built	55
London Bridge was built (there are variations in the almanacs on building/re-building/replacing with stone)	64
Tiling was first used in London	8
The election of the first mayor of London	53
St Paul's cathedral was rebuilt	6
The steeple of St Paul's cathedral was burnt down	120
The 'new river' was brought to London	15
'Evil May Day'	14
The last outbreak of plague specifically identified as in London.[82]	120
The Royal Exchange was built	36
The 'coming of James' to London	25
The paving of Smithfield	1
The 'collapse of Blackfryers'	10

A caveat to this table is the slightly different treatment of the almanacs created by Samuel Perkins, available between 1625 and 1640, which, as mentioned above, include uniquely detailed chronological tables. The chronological table in Perkins' almanacs are seven pages long in the 1625 edition, and eleven pages long by 1640. No other almanac has more than a double page of chronology. Because it is so exceptional, I have not included some of the events only mentioned by Perkins in the table. Many of these are only refinements of earlier mentioned events, and don't change the focus found in other chronologies in any case. However, the full list of events included by Perkins is discussed in more detail in chapter four as the list is significant in reinforcing some themes.[83]

All events with more than twenty occurrences I have highlighted in the table in bold. Clearly these events were selected by almanac producers and publishers as being the most significant elements of London history, and thus worthy of the most frequent inclusion. Of these eight events, six of them refer to the physical building, improvement or destruction of

[82] From the dates given it is clear these references refer to the outbreaks of plague in 1563, 1626 and 1602.
[83] The full list of events included by Perkins in 1640 are outlined and discussed fully in chapter four.

London buildings and landmarks. Indeed, of all eighteen of the events in the table, thirteen are focused on this topic, and in Perkins, eleven from fourteen.

A clear trend is the *increasing* inclusion of London's topographical history over the first half of the seventeenth century. The first events from the history of London to appear in the tables were the loss of St Paul's steeple (Gresham) and the 1563 outbreak of plague in London (Pond), both first mentioned in 1604. It is only these two events from London's history, both of which were relatively contemporaneous when included, which featured in almanacs until 1618, when Sofford adds the foundation of London and the building of St Paul's and London bridge. The following year Ranger adds the foundation of Westminster Hall and the construction of the bridge. In 1620 Dade and Frende add London events to their chronological tables, and by 1631 Allestree, Browne, Gilden, Perkins, Ponde, Ranger, Sofford and White all had tables featuring events from London's topographical history and continued to do so till 1640.[84] This is a remarkable pattern and is explored fully in chapter four which assesses why an interest in the history and evolution of London's topography is a theme which occurs with such frequency almanacs, alongside other genres of popular print or entertainment.

Given the brevity of most of these tables, and the argument I have made that given the careful curating of these tables due to the value of space in almanacs, *any* event which merits inclusion has significance, even if it is not one of the most frequently cited. This means even events with fewer inclusions should be considered. Many of the events included in table 2.1 with fewer mentions in the almanacs reinforce the themes already identified, and that of topography in particular. Thus the fourteen mentions of a fire in St Paul's (all found in Perkins' almanacs) only serve to reinforce the importance of St Paul's and its history to Londoners. The re-building of London by King Lud, and the link to the contemporary Ludgate is also interesting. Whilst it does still reinforce the importance of topography generally as a theme, the potential reasons for the focus on Ludgate in particular are considered more fully in chapter four.

Events such as the introduction of tiling and paving in Smithfield, both seemingly quite small events in comparison to the building of the city, or the invention of the mayoralty are both found in the detailed chronologies of Perkins' almanacs. Yet their inclusion still represents a choice by the table creator. Despite the comparative length of these tables, space was till at a premium, and it is unlikely that the author was simply trying to fill the page! Both events further reinforce the importance the almanac tables placed on the

[84] See appendix 1.

physical environment in London. Bernard Capp argues the inclusion of these civic improvements was to create an impression of 'progress', and certainly these slightly smug civic improvements do create a sense of the wealth and general superiority of London, as does the impressive undertaking of the building on the 'New River', an artificial waterway designed by bring fresh drinking water to London and opened in 1613.[85] However, the inclusion of these events could arguably also be seen as a commentary of the efficiency of civic government, and this interest in the history of civic government is the second theme that can be discerned in the almanac tables. The clearest indicator of interest in this topic though is the inclusion of the creation of the mayoralty in London, occurring in fifty-three of the chronological tables. The 'coming of James' to London, which merited twenty-five inclusions, could also be taken to indicate an interest in the relationship between crown and city. This idea is developed and explored more fully in chapter six.

There are many other events which appear in the almanac tables which are intriguing, but not necessarily as relevant to this study. The year of the last major outbreak of plague, for example, is an unsurprising inclusion. Plague had a profound impact on the inhabitants of the city, accounting for around 20% of all deaths in London from 1603 to 1665.[86] The ramifications of plague for Londoners is beyond the scope of this thesis, but Thomas Corns has argued that plague 'deeply marked the literary culture of the metropolis as surely as it deformed its social life'.[87] He points out that twenty-eight books dealing in some way or other with plague were published during or shortly after the 1603-4 outbreak, and a further thirty-six in the outbreak of 1625-7.[88] Given the way, as discussed, almanacs reflected audience tastes and interests, it is unsurprising that such a potentially profound event in their lives would be included. Indeed, it is possible to read into the listing of years since the last outbreak of the disease a sense of celebration and of foreboding. However, plague was not confined to London, and was arguably a contemporary issue, rather than one London's inhabitants would consider a part of history. Therefore, I have not developed this topic in my analysis.

The inclusion of 'evil May day' and 'the collapse of Blackfryers' have fourteen and ten references respectively. 'Evil May day' is found only in the almanacs of Perkins from 1625.[89] The 'collapse of Blackfryers' is chronologically the most recent of the events included in the almanacs, appearing in Browne's almanacs only two years after the event, and later in

[85] Capp, *Astrology and the Popular Press*, p.221.
[86] Paul Slack, *The Impact of Plague in Tudor and Stuart England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), p.297.
[87] Thomas Corns, 'Literature and London', in *The Cambridge History of Early Modern English Literature*, ed. by David Loewenstein, and Janel Mueller (Cambridge: CUP, 2003), pp. 544-564 (p.552).
[88] Corns, 'Literature and London', p.561.
[89] Perkins, (1625).

Langley's almanacs.[90] The 'collapse of Blackfryers' refers to the collapse of the French ambassador's house in 1623 due to the weight of around 300 people who had gathered there to hear mass, causing 95 fatalities. The collapse of the ambassador's house being included in the tables is understandable, given the fact that the event was considered a providential judgement from God by many, as suggested by the publication of the 1623 chapbook *The Fatall Vesper,* which observed 'for some gave out that it was the just punishment and vengeance of God inflicted upon the for their idolatrie'.[91] The event was also swiftly commemorated in a broadside ballad *The Dismall Day ay the Black-Fryers.*[92] The almost immediate inclusion of the event in the almanacs tables highlights the significance Londoners placed upon it, in the context of increasing hostility towards Catholicism in the 1620s and 1630s, and perhaps suggests where religious sympathies of the almanac compiler lay. Nonetheless, noteworthy is that the tragedy was not referred to as the 'fatall vesper' in the almanacs, but identified by the location, Blackfriars, therefore reinforcing the significance of topography as a theme and making it clear that location had meaning for Londoners, as is discussed in more detail in the following chapter.

Why 'evil May day' appeared in the almanacs is less clear and could be perceived in several different ways. Evil May day was the popular nickname for a 1517 riot when around a thousand apprentices attacked strangers living in the city, in particular Flemish immigrant workers. The riot was put down by troops led by the Duke of Norfolk, and the majority of the apprentices were pardoned by Henry VIII, though the ringleaders were executed. The event was well remembered in London, also appearing in the 1593 play *The Book of Thomas More.* It was clearly an event which continued to resonate in the consciousness of Londoners over a hundred years later. There are several potential reasons for this. Possibly the event was remembered because of the involvement of large numbers of apprentices, who were then spared in a surprising act of mercy after the apparent intervention of Katherine of Aragon. Apprentices, a large group in London, who, as discussed in the introduction and in more detail in chapter five, formed their own sub-culture, perhaps considered this event a part of 'their' history and almanac writers recognised this. Also possible is that the event was remembered for its xenophobic element, worry about strangers and foreigners taking job opportunities away from Londoners a concern also felt in the economic and social context of the early seventeenth century, and the consequences

[90] Browne, (1625), Langley, (1635).
[91] W.C., *The fatall vesper, or A true and punctuall relation of that lamentable and fearefull accident, hapning on sunday in the afternoone being the 26. of october last, by the fall of a roome in the black-friers, in which were assembled many people at a sermon, which was to be preached by father drurie a iesuite together with the names and number of such persons as therin unhappily perished, or were miraculously preserved* (London: [n.pub],1623), ESTC S109060.
[92] Ballad 33.

of violent reaction felt worthy of cautionary remembrance. Also possible is that the event was celebrated as an incident where disorder was swiftly yet mercifully dealt with by civic and central government, perhaps echoing the themes about Londoners relationship with civic government and the crown explored in chapter six.

Selecting Historical Data in Ballads

Despite the loss of many sixteenth century ballads discussed above, a greater number have survived from the seventeenth century. The English Broadside Ballad Archive (EBBA) includes the Pepys collection of over 1,800 ballads, the 1,500 Roxburghe ballads from the British Library, the Euing collection of 408 ballads held at the University of Glasgow, as well as the 600 early broadside ballads at the Huntington Library in Pasadena. Also included are the ballad collections from the National Library of Scotland and more than 1,150 broadside ballads in the collections of Harvard University's Houghton Library. The Britwell collection of some 90 loose black-letter ballads of the sixteenth century, and many other bound and loose sheets not in named collections also form part of the database.[93] Many collections of ballads known as garlands, a term coined by balladeer Thomas Deloney, which became popular in the seventeenth century, also contain useful material, even if published slightly later, since broadsides are usually only possible to date roughly, and ballads contained within may well have been circulating earlier, and copies may simply not have survived.[94]

There are, luckily, many surviving ballads which contain accounts of events in national history, such as those about the Spanish Armada mentioned above. There are also a vast number of ballads surviving which are about life in contemporary London, or recount contemporary events which took place *in* London. However, I have identified only eleven ballads which can be said to be focused in whole or in part on events or people specifically from the history of London. These ballads are shown in table 2.2 below.

---

[93] Patricia Fumerton, dir., English Broadside Ballad Archive (http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu), searched on 12th November 2020.

[94] The texts containing relevant ballads are Richard Johnson*, A Crowne Garland of Goulden Roses Gathered Out of Englands Royall Garden. being the Lives and Strange Fortunes of Many Great Personages of this Land Set Forth in Many Pleasant New Songs and Sonetts Never before Imprinted* (London: Printed by G. Eld for John Wright and are to be sold at his shop at Christ Church gate, 1612), ESTC S119112, Richard Johnson*, The Golden Garland of Princely Pleasures and Delicate Delights Wherin is Conteined the Histories of Many of the Kings, Queenes, Princes, Lords, Ladies, Knights, and Gentlewomen of this Kingdome. being most Pleasant Songs and Sonnets to Sundry New Tunes Now most in use: The Third Time Imprinted, Enlarged and Corrected by Rich. Johnson. Devided into Two Parts* (London: by A. Mathewes for Thomas Langley, and are to be sold at his shop over against the Sarazens Head without Newgate, 1620), ESTC S106558 and Thomas Deloney, *The Garland of Good-Will Divided into Three Parts : Containing Many Pleasant Songs and Pretty Poems to Sundry New Notes: With a Table to Find the Names of all the Songs Written by T.D* (London: Printed for J. Wright, 1678), ESTC S91636.

Table 2.2, London Events and Stories in Broadside Ballads, c.1601-80

Source: ballad sample – full citations for all ballads in appendix 2

Author	Title	Collection
Anon	*A Courtly new Ballad of the Princely wooing of the faire Maid of London, by King Edward,* c.1601-1640 (London: printed for Henry Gosson)	Roxburghe C.20.f.7.58, ESTC S121097, EBBA 30042.
Anon	*The wofull lamentation of Mistris Jane Shore a Goldsmiths wife of London, sometimes K. Edwards Concubine, who for her wanton life came to a most miserable end,* c.1620 (London: printed by G.P)	Manchester Central Library - Blackletter Ballads BR f 821.04 B49, ESTC S124241, EBBA 36025.
Anon	*[?]e pitty, to all people that shall heare of it in [?]ull fire that hapned on London-Bridge,* 1633 [n.p]	Blackletter Ballads BR f 821.04 B49, ESTC S124245, EBBA 36041.
Anon	*A brave warlike Song. Containing a briefe rehearsall of the deeds of Chivalry, performed by the Nine Worthies of the world, the seaven Champions of Christendome, with many other remarkable Warriours,* c.1626 (London: Printed for Fr Coules)	Magdalene College – Pepys Ballads 1.88-89, ESTC S124610, EBBA 20277.
Anon	*Cheapsides Triumphs, and Chyrones Crosses Lamentation,* c.1630 (London: Printed for F. Coules)	Magdalene College – Pepys Ballads 1.66-67, ESTC S3138, EBBA 20266.
Anon	*The lamentable fall of Queene Elnor, who for her pride and wickednesse, by Gods judgment, sunke into the ground at Charing crosse, and rose up againe at Queene hive,* c.1586-1625 (London: Printed for William Blackwall)	Huntington Library – Britwell HEH 18297, ESTC S121791, EBBA 32230.
Anon	*Londons Glory, and Whittingtons Renown OR, A Looking-Glass for Citizens of London,* c.1640-1674 (London: Printed for R. Burton)	British Library – Roxburghe C.20.f.9.58-59, ESTC R216022, EBBA 30404.
Thomas Deloney	'A new Sonnet, containing the Lamentation of Shore's Wife, who was sometimes Concubine to King Edward the Fourth; setting forth her great Fall, and withal her most miserable and wretched end', in *The Garland of Good-Will Divided into Three Parts*	(London: Printed for J. Wright, 1678), ESTC S91636.
Richard Johnson	'A Courtly new Song of the Princely wooing of the faire Maide of London by K. Edward', in *The Golden Garland of Princely Pleasures*	(London: by A. Mathewes for Thomas Langley, and are to be sold at his shop over against the Sarazens Head without Newgate, 1620), ESTC S106558.
Richard Johnson	'A delightfull song, of the foure famous feasts of England, the one of them ordayned by King Henry the seventh, of the honor of Marchant Taylers, shewing how seaven Kings have bin free of that company', in *A Crowne Garland of Goulden Roses*	(London: Printed by G. Eld for John Wright and are to be sold at his shop at Christ Church gate, 1612), ESTC S119112.
Richard Johnson	'A Song of Sir Richard Whittington, who by strange fortunes, came to bee thrice Lord Maior of London, with his bountifull guifts and liberallity given to this honorable Citty', in *A Crowne Garland of Goulden Roses*	(London: Printed by G. Eld for John Wright and are to be sold at his shop at Christ Church gate, 1612)ESTC S119112.
Martin Parker	*An excellent new Medley, Which you may admire at (without offence) For every line speakes a contrary sences,* c.1625 (London: Printed for H.G)	British Library – Roxburghe C.20.f.7.292-293, ESTC S119378, EBBA 30205.
Martin Parker	*A new Medley, OR, A Messe of All-together*, c.1601-1640 (London: printed for H. Gosson)	British Library – Roxburghe C.20.f.7.112, ESTC S119378.
Martin Parker	*The Wandring Jews Chronicle: OR The Old Historian, His Brief Declaration, Made in a mad fashion, of each Coronation, That pas'd in this Nation, Since William's Invasion,* c.1674-1679 ([n.p.] Printed for F. Coles, T. Vere, J. Wright, and J. Clark)	Roxburghe C.20.f.9.47, ESTC R216016, EBBA 30399.
Martin Parker	*An excellent new Medley, Which you may admire at (without offence) For every line speakes a contrary sences,* c.1625 (London: Printed for H.G)	British Library – Roxburghe C.20.f.7.112, ESTC S124204.

A clear trend found in the ballads is the popularity of the story of Jane Shore, mistress to King Edward IV. The *Courtly new Song of the Princely wooing of the faire Maide of London by K. Edward* in Johnson's *Golden Garland* of 1620 is a duplicate of the ballad found in EBBA. Though they do not name the 'faire Maide', the references to King Edward and London strongly suggests it is Jane Shore that the ballad refers to. The *New Sonnet, containing the Lamentation of Shore's Wife, who was sometimes Concubine to King Edward the Fourth; setting forth her great Fall, and withal her most miserable and wretched end* from Deloney's 1678 *Garland of Good will* is a different ballad on the same topic.[95] A third example of a different, though similarly named ballad is *The wofull lamentation of Mistris Jane Shore a Goldsmiths wife of London, sometimes K. Edwards Concubine, who for her wanton life came to a most miserable end. Set forth for an example to all lewd women* c.1620.[96] Jane Shore is also one of the London references in *A new Medley, OR, A Messe of All-together, An excellent new Medley, Which you may admire at (without offence) For every line speakes a contrary sences* and *The Wandring Jews Chronicle*.[97] Overall, Jane Shore is either the focus, or a passing reference, in six of the thirteen available ballads.

Another Londoner with multiple mentions in the ballad sources is Richard Whittington. He is the topic of two of the surviving ballads; *A Song of Sir Richard Whittington, who by strange fortunes, came to bee thrice Lord Maior of London, with his bountifull guifts and liberallity given to this honorable Citty* collected by Richard Johnson in his 1612 garland and *Londons Glory, and Whittingtons Renown*.[98] These two ballads are very similar, with a few added stanzas in the later c.1640 version, which suggests the ballad remained popular throughout the seventeenth century. The final historical figure with two mentions in the ballads is William Walworth. Though not the main topic of a ballad, he is referred to in *The Wandring Jews Chronicle* and *A brave warlike Song. Containing a briefe rehearsall of the deeds of Chivalry, performed by the Nine Worthies of the world, the seaven Champions of Christendome, with many other remarkable Warriours* published in 1626.[99] Therefore, an analysis of ballads alongside almanacs led me to identify a third theme, an interest in figures from London's past and their deeds, heroic or otherwise. This theme is explored more fully in chapter five.

[95] Ballad 24.
[96] Ballad 22.
[97] Ballad 30, 31 and 32.
[98] Ballads 28 and 10.
[99] Ballads 31 and 1.

The ballads found also reinforce the interest in the topography of London present in the almanacs. There is one ballad about a fire on London bridge and the second part of the ballad refers explicitly to John Stow, and to historical fires on the bridge:

> As I have read the Chronicle of Stowe,
> One thousand one hundred thirty sixe yeeres agoe
> The Bridge then being builded all of wood,
> Was burned every sticke and stake as't stood.[100]

This reflects an interest in history, and not only news, a growing genre of ballads, in which one would frequently find accounts about fires and other disasters such as storms and high winds. Two more ballads refer to crosses in London, and the decay into which they have fallen. One ballad focuses on a comparison between the well maintained cross at Cheapside, and compares this to the ruin of 'Chyron's cross' – a fictional monument symbolically representing all such neglected monuments I assume, since there does not seem to be any specific monument of this name.[101] This is reinforced by the woodcuts found on the ballad, with the image of the Cheapside cross appearing on the first half of the ballad, but only that of an unknown house flanked by two figures who appear to be a king and courtier on the part dealing with Chyron's cross.[102] The other is a stanza from *A new Medley, Or, A Messe of All-together* which states:

> Queene Elinor built Charing-crosse,
> Which now is covered ore with Mosse.[103]

Though not strictly historical, both ballads lament the loss or ruin of these historical landmarks, and so support the significance placed upon London's topography, a theme developed more fully in chapter four.

The final two references to history found in the ballads both stand alone. The first is a reference to the conflict between Henry III and Simon de Montfort, from a stanza in *The Wandring Jews Chronicle*, which states:

> I saw the Earl of Leicester stout,
> (Calld Simon Munford) with his Tent
> besiege fair London Town.[104]

The conflict between City and crown alluded to in this ballad is discussed more fully in chapter six. References to the sometimes fraught relationship between London and the

---

[100] Ballad 16.
[101] Ballad 2.
[102] Ballad 2. Image can be viewed at <https://www.proquest.com/eebo/docview/2248547233/pageLevelImage/?imgSeq=1>.
[103] Ballad 30.
[104] Ballad 31.

monarch sometimes nebulously or metaphorically featured in popular print, potentially explaining the story recounted in the ballad *The lamentable fall of Queene Elnor.*

The lamentable fall of Queene Elnor, who for her pride and wickednesse, by Gods judgment, sunke into the ground at Charing crosse, and rose up againe at Queene hive, is something of an anomaly as the events contained are more fantastical than historical. It seemingly refers to Queen Eleanor of Castile, wife to Edward I, and is full of references to London. The evil Elinor murders the wife of the mayor of London, and due to her wickedness:

> at Charing crosse she sunke
> into the ground alive,
> And after rose with lyfe againe
> in London at Queene hive.[105]

Unlike the other ballads, which may dramatize or partially fictionalise historical figures and accounts, the contents of this ballad are clearly supernatural. However, this ballad is significant because of the symbolism it may contain about London's sometimes fractious relationship with the monarchy and this theme is discussed much more fully in chapter six when London's government and its relationship with the crown is analysed, alongside the mention of Simon de Montford in *The Wandring Jews Chronicle*.

The final ballad which suggests an interest in the governance of London is the 1612 *A delightfull song, of the foure famous feasts of England, the one of them ordayned by King Henry the seventh, of the honor of Marchant Taylers, shewing how seaven Kings have bin free of that company* which not only lists the Kings who have been members of the Merchant Taylors, but also explains:

> The honored Maior of London, the second feast ordaines:
> By which the worthy cittizens, much commendation gaines.
> For Lords and Judges of the land, and Knights of good request:
> To Guild hall comes to countenance, Lord Maior of Londons feast.[106]

The ballad compares the feasts traditionally held at Court on St George's Day with the one given by the mayor and this comparison and emphasis on links between city and court is reflective of a more positive relationship between crown and city, another characterisation often found in popular print which is also discussed more fully in chapters five and six.

[105] Ballad 9.
[106] Ballad 27.

Conclusion

Overall, my analysis of the two cheapest forms of print, almanacs and ballads, demonstrates that they do contain enough references to historical events and themes to conclude that some knowledge of the history of London was of interest to the early modern London audience. Ballads and almanacs are particularly valuable genres by which to identify if history was a popular topic in London because they were published in a competitive market which forced them to adapt quickly to reflect customer demands, thus suggesting that any topics, stories and themes found within reflected current audience tastes. Moreover, given both genres had limited space (almanacs in particular) any historical events within were highly likely to have been carefully selected, representing the *sort* of history Londoners were interested in.

From the ballads and almanacs I have therefore identified three topics from London's past which seem to have generated the most interest. These are the development of the topography of London, the stories of famous individuals from London's past, and the governance of London, particularly the role of the mayor and London's relationship with the crown. This relationship is presented both positively and negatively in the ballads and almanacs, as is discussed more fully in chapter six. The data in the almanacs also seems to suggest that interest in these themes grew, or at least was maintained in the early seventeenth century. I have explored these topics more fully in chapters four, five and six, looking at their appearance in a range of other genres and suggesting some reasons for their popularity. However, whilst ballads and almanacs can suggest the key topics that Londoners found interesting and the historical information they were most likely to possess, a more rounded view which can convincingly be argued to reflect the experience of most Londoners requires an analysis of a wider range of genres, Chapter three therefore outlines the main genres, other than ballads and almanacs, upon which a more developed analysis is based.

3: Chronicles, Plays and Pageants: History in other Genres

I selected almanacs and ballads as a starting point from which to identify themes from London's history which had become part of 'popular' culture by the early seventeenth century (in terms of widely known). Ballads and almanacs provide a large, but manageable body of sources to conduct quantitative research from which to identify frequently appearing topics, and their highly abbreviated form meant that any historical references contained within must have been considered the most significant to the early modern audience as these genres represent the most epitomised genres of history, distilled from much longer sources.

However, whilst ballads and almanacs are highly useful in identifying topics such as London's historical topography, government and famous inhabitants to investigate, it is clear that these ideas need to be explored through a much wider range of genres in order to establish if they can genuinely be described as 'popular' in the sense of frequently mentioned and (as far as can be established) widely known. Longer and more detailed genres also allow for an analysis of precisely *how* these topics and themes were most commonly represented. An analysis of genres which required various levels of literacy and financial outlay can also enhance the likelihood of identifying information that reached the broadest possible range of London's inhabitants, a highly disparate selection of people, as discussed in the introduction. This in turn makes any assessment of whether such information represents a shared understanding of the history of London more valid.

Furthermore, the themes and stories identified in ballads and almanacs, which represent an epitomised selection of London history, were in all likeliness curated by almanac and ballad authors from other types of literature, as is discussed more fully below. Therefore tracing the direction of travel and exploring the ways in which stories may have passed in modified forms between different genres may illustrate why and how the topics identified as most popular reached ballads and almanacs whilst other potential stories, themes and elements of London's history were excluded.

Reconstructing what an individual Londoner read or saw is of course difficult. However, there are a several examples of individual Londoners recording their experiences, such as visits to the theatre or their presence at a civic pageant. Several eye-witness accounts of civic pageantry remain from both Londoners such as Abram Booth and foreign visitors such as Orazio Busino, the Venetian ambassador's chaplain, who were present for the spectacle

of the Lord Mayor's Show.[1] Other examples include the chronicle of Henry Machyn which contains several intriguing references to his knowledge of London history and experience of some of the texts and performances discussed below, and the diary of Simon Forman, who offers a rare account of attendance at a play.[2] Contemporary Londoners Nehemiah Wallington and John Chamberlain have also left accounts which mention their consumption or appreciation of texts such as chronicles and ballads and their experience of civic pageantry, reinforcing a sense of their importance in early modern London. The diary of Samuel Pepys is one of the most famous examples of such an account and of course, Pepys' collection of ballads, and the way in which he chose to organise these is highly useful.[3] Several of these sources are referred to in the following chapters and these personal reflections can give some sense of how Londoners responded to the genres discussed below and their engagement with representations of history in early modern London.

The following chapters include examples from a broad range of texts such as pamphlets, poems, sermons, chorographical works and various other forms of popular entertainment. However, three genres in particular, chronicles, plays and civic pageantry, account for a substantial proportion of the sources which disseminated London's history. Therefore this chapter will attempt to explain the place, spread and popularity of these genres in early modern London in more detail, outlining the significance of each in terms of providing Londoners with information on London's past.

Chronicles

An essential genre in beginning to assess the presence and availability of popular history in London was the chronicle. There is a great deal of evidence that chronicles were a popular genre in the late sixteenth century. Henry Machyn notes in his diary for 1557 the death of the mother of Edward Hall, of whom Machyn observes 'he set forth the chronicle the which is called Mr. Hall's Chronicle'.[4] To include such detail suggests Hall's chronicles was a well enough known text for even Hall's mother to have achieved a tenuous amount of celebrity

---

[1] Hill, *Pageantry and Power,* p.120.

[2] Ian Mortimer, 'Tudor Chronicler or Sixteenth-Century Diarist? Henry Machyn and the Nature of His Manuscript', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 33.4, (2002), 981-998, Simon Forman, *The Autobiography and Personal Diary of Dr Simon Forman*, ed. by J.O. Halliwell (London: Camden Society, 1849) and Henry Machyn, *A London Provisioner's Chronicle 1550–1563, by Henry Machyn, Manuscript, Transcription, and Modernization, c*reated by Richard W. Bailey, Marilyn Miller, and Colette Moore (*Michigan edition), <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/t/text/text-idx?c=machyn;cc=machyn;view=text;idno=5076866.0001.001;rgn=div2;node=5076866.0001.001:8.2>.*

[3] John C. Hirsh, 'Samuel Pepys as a Collector and Student of Ballads', *Modern Language Review*, 106.1 (2011), 47-62.

[4] Machyn, *A London Provisioner's Chronicle*, f.73v

and make this connection worth mentioning. Nehemiah Wallington, lamenting his mother in 1603, listed her virtues, one of which was that 'she was also perfitt and well seene in the Englishe chronicles'.[5] This observation not only suggesting that chronicles were read and history learned, but also that this was done by women, and that the acquisition of historical knowledge was viewed positively.

Chronicles were undoubtedly read in their own right, but just as significantly there is a huge amount of evidence that authors and playwrights drew on the most widely available chronicles again and again for the source material needed to produce their works. Often authors credit their chronicle source directly. The works of John Stow are often singled out for mention. For example, in the anonymous ballad *pitty, to all people that shall heare of it in* […] *full fire that hapned on London-Bridge* the author states that his information was found in 'the Chronicle of Stowe'.[6] Likewise in the pageant written by Anthony Munday for the 1611 Lord Mayor's Show, Munday notes 'ex. John Stow' next to some of the historical detail he includes on the origins of the mayoralty.[7] Stow's chronicles and his *Survey* were clearly a major source for other authors, and are discussed in more detail below. Chronicles are often also credited by authors who do not identify their author such as in Thomas Deloney's 1597 *The Gentle Craft* which begins an account of the life of Simon Eyre by asserting 'Our English chronicles do make mention that some-time there was in the honourable City of London a worthy Maior, known by the name of Sir Simon Eyer, whose fame liveth in the mouths of many men to this day'.[8] The ballad *A delightfull song, of the foure famous feasts of England, the one of them ordayned by King Henry the seventh, of the honor of Marchant Taylers* celebrated Henry VII's patronage of the Merchant Taylors and also ends:

> His triumphs there performd and done,
> long lasting will remaine:
> And Chronicles report aright,
> the order of it plaine.[9]

---

[5] Nehemiah Wallington, *The Notebooks of Nehemiah Wallington, 1618-1654,* ed. by David Booy (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), p.88.
[6] Ballad 16.
[7] Anthony Munday, *Chruso-thriambos The triumphes of golde. At the inauguration of Sir James Pemberton, Knight, in the dignity of Lord Maior of London: on Tuesday, the 29. of October. 1611. Performed in the harty love, and at the charges of the Right Worshipfull, worthy and ancient Company of Golde-smithes. Devised and written by A.M. cittizen and draper of London* (London: Imprinted by William Jaggard, printer to the Honourable Citty of London, 1611), ESTC S124580.
[8] Thomas Deloney, *The Gentle Craft,* ed. by Alexis F. Lange (Berlin. Mayer & Moller. 1903), p.60.
[9] Ballad 27.

Similarly John Weever's 1631 *Ancient funerall monuments within the united monarchie of Great Britaine, Ireland, and the islands adjacent* informs the reader *'*Here lieth entombed in a Chappell of his owne foundation, Sir William Walworth Knight, Lord Maior of London, whose manfull prowesse against that arch-Rebell Wat Tyler and his confederates, is much commended in our English Chronicles'.[10] Most of these examples are texts meant to entertain, and not therefore obliged to prove the historical veracity of the content within. However, popular authors clearly felt the appeal of their text was enhanced by advertising the research they had conducted from chronicles, clearly considered the go-to source for accurate and relevant historical detail. This reinforces the importance of chronicles as read in their own right by early modern Londoners, but also as the source from which the majority of authors on whose works this study is based, selected their material.

Even when authors do *not* acknowledge a chronicle as a source, a link can clearly be seen. In Stow's 1580 *Chronicles,* he outlines the posthumous benefaction of Richard Whittington:

> Richard Whittington*,* with his goodes builded Whittington Colledge in London*,* and a great part of the Hospitall of Saint Barthelmew in Smithfielde*.* He builded the Library of the Grey Friers, and the East end of the Guild Hall in London*,* with divers small conduites, called Bosses, and the Weast Gate of London called Newgate*.*[11]

Thomas Heywood's *The History of Sir Richard Whittington* recounts that:

> Whittington Colledge, with a perpetuall allowance for Divinity Lectures to be made there for ever leaving good land for the maintenance thereof. And on the west side of the City he built that famous gate and prison, to this day call'd Newgate, and thereupon caused the Merchants arms to be graven in stone. He added to St. Bartholmews Hospitall in Smithfield, and was at the charge of repairing thereof. Further, at the Gray-Fryars in London he erected a Library.[12]

This list of information is so similar it seems highly likely this information was found in the chronicles of Stow, which included Whittington's charities in all editions, full and abridged. Chronicles then were the source of much of the information found in popular historical

---

[10] John Weever, *Ancient funerall monuments within the united monarchie of Great Britaine, Ireland, and the islands adjacent* (London: printed by Thomas Harper and are to be sold by Laurence Sadler at the signe of the Golden Lion in little Britaine, 1631), ESTC S118104.

[11] John Stow, *The Chronicles of England from Brute unto this Present Yeare of Christ. 1580* (London: by Henry Bynneman for Ralphe Newberie, at the assignement of Henrie Bynneman. Cum priuilegio Regiæ Maiestatis, 1580),), ESTC S117590, p.568.

[12] Thomas Heywood*, The Famous and Remarkable History of Sir Richard Whittington Three Times Lord Major of London, Who Lived in the Time of King Henry the Fift, in the Year 1419: With all the Remarkable Passages and Things of Note which Hapned [Sic] in His Time, with His Life and Death Written by T.H* (London, Printed by W. Wilson, and are to be sold by Frances Coles,1656), ESTC R10116.

works and the most direct way in which Londoners could access historical information, and as such it seems useful to spend some time discussing the genre.

A chronicle is technically defined as an historical account 'organized according to year'.[13] However 'chronicle' and 'history' are sometimes interchangeable terms. Christopher Given-Wilson remarking that 'to try to distinguish too precisely between 'chronicle and 'history' can be […] a frustrating task'.[14] Some of the chronicles used in this study do not follow this patter, such as Fabyan's 1516 *New Cronycles of Englande and of Fraunce* yet are still referred to by authors, publishers and printers as chronicles and for ease are referred to as such here.[15]

However, the term 'chronicle' rather than 'history' can also denote a less elite readership and therefore can be useful. Woolf argues that the chronicle as a genre was declining in popularity by the sixteenth century; partially as a consequence of the growth in humanist, political histories, with a 'pointed Tacitean style and Machiavellian analysis of political events'.[16] The popularity of these new histories may have damaged the 'top end' of the market for chronicles, but arguably, created a new market for abridged history – increasingly identified by the retention of 'chronicle' in the title.[17] Focusing research on works sold as chronicles, yet published after 1580, when the 'Indian Summer' of the mid-sixteenth century for these texts had passed may therefore garner results which are more reflective of what more people living in London would have been likely to read, as these texts were usually cheaper, shorter, and therefore more accessible to those with an interest in history but limited in what they could afford to buy and how much time they could devote to reading.

Chronicles were initially a monastic phenomenon; it was in the medieval period that the writing of chronicles moved to royal courts and town governments and into the form assessed in this study.[18] Chloe Wheatley credits this change to the twelfth-century growth of more clearly defined urban centres which led to the production of city chronicles that 'enumerated details related to annual election appointments as well as civic rules and

---

[13] Daniel Woolf, 'Genre into Artifact', p.323.
[14] Christopher Given-Wilson, *Chronicles: The Writing of History in Medieval England* (London: Hambledon and London, 2004), p.20.
[15] Alexandra Gillespie, and Oliver Harris, 'Holinshed and the Native Chronicle Tradition', in *The Oxford Handbook of Holinshed's Chronicles,* ed. by Paulina Kewes, Ian Archer, and Felicity Heal (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp.135-152.
[16] Woolf, 'Genre into Artefact', p.350.
[17] Woolf, 'Genre into Artefact', p.351. See also Ian Archer, 'John Stow, Citizen and Historian', in *John Stow and the Making of the English Past*, ed. By Ian Anders Gadd and Alexandra Gillespie (London: British Library, 2004).
[18] Given-Wilson, *Chronicles,* p.21.

regulations'.[19] Chronicles appear to have been a popular genre of literature in medieval England with fifty to sixty chronicles surviving in a single manuscript, which suggests a much higher number in circulation.[20] The *Brut,* a London based chronicle detailing the legend of the arrival of the Trojan Brutus in England (later founding London, an event many almanac writers include in their tables) appeared around 1300 in the vernacular (and in prose).[21] At some point around 1380 *Brut* continuations first appeared in English. This swiftly became the most popular form, with three quarters of surviving *Brut* manuscripts in English, which by the fifteenth century replaced Latin as the 'language for the writing of history in England', suggesting that even by the fifteenth century there was a growing interest in history among the wider public.[22]

Of particular interest, due to their use as sources by later popular chroniclers like Stow and Holinshed, and the precedents they set, are the London chronicles. These chronicles appeared in the first quarter of the fifteenth century, the first extant is the *Cronica Maiorum et vicecomitum Londoniarum* from the reign of Henry III.[23] They are distinguished by the division of years according to the appointment of the mayor of London and the inclusion of the names of the current mayor and sheriffs for each year, and indeed the London chronicles generally begin in 1189 (the traditional year in which the mayoralty was established).[24] These chronicles were perhaps where Londoners began a 'tradition of writing about their city's governance and cultural practices'.[25] This focus and interest on elements of the government of London is a theme which can be traced through to the ballads and almanacs discussed in chapter two, and it is clear that these sources follow a direct tradition of assuming detail about London's government would be of interest to the public were are worth recording. Although the advent of printing seems to have led to the decline of the London chronicles, the legacy of these manuscripts is of vital importance both because of the precedent they set in writing history with a London focus – and also because of the debt other contemporary chronicles owe them. Though the evidence seems to suggest that these manuscripts were not valued in the same way by the middle of the sixteenth century within households, there was a considerable trade in them. Several were

---

[19] Chole Wheatley*, Epic, Epitome, and the Early Modern Historical Imagination* (Oxford: Routledge, 2016), p.15.
[20] Given-Wilson, *Chronicles,* p.21.
[21] Daniel Woolf, 'Historical Writing in Britain from the Late Middle Ages to the Eve of Enlightenment', in *The Oxford History of Historical Writing, Vol.3: 1400-1800*, ed. by José Rabasa, Masayuki Sato, Edoardo Tortarolo and Daniel Woolf (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp.473-496 (p.475).
[22] Given-Wilson, *Chronicles*, p.140.
[23] Antonia Gransden, *Historical Writing in England II c.1307 to the Early Sixteenth Century* (London: Routledge, 1982), p.227.
[24] McLaren, *The London Chronicles*, p.142.
[25] Wheatley, *Epic, Epitome, and the Early Modern Historical Imagination*, p.15.

collected by John Stow, and they almost certainly acted as a source for Holinshed, though not acknowledged directly 'because all such texts fall into his category of works whose authors are 'utterlie unknowne'.[26]

The London chronicles may have begun a tradition of writing and recording history from the point of view of Londoners, but it was when printed chronicles began to appear in Britain at the end of the fifteenth century that the popularity of history as a subject was 'clearly amplified', allowing it to reach the mass market.[27] When Caxton began printing in 1476 in Westminster, chronicles were amongst some of the earliest works printed, with the *Brut* first printed as *The Chronicles of England* in 1480, and Trevisa's translation of Higden's *Polychronicon* printed in 1482.[28] Throughout the following centuries the genre remained popular, with 'a steady trickle 'of medieval chronicles formerly available only in manuscript appearing.[29] These included *Fabyan's Chronicle* in 1516, *Froissart's Chronicles* between 1523 and 1525 and the *Union of the Two Noble and Illustre Famelies of Lancastre and Yorke* in 1548. The *Chronicle of Years,* which went through ten editions before 1557 was also notable for being the first successful abridged style chronicle, a much more popular genre at the beginning of the seventeenth century.[30] Overall Daniel Woolf's research shows that between 1475 and 1699 seventy-nine new chronicles and 141 re-editions were published.[31]

Daniel Woolf suggests that the heyday of the chronicle was between 1550 and 1579 and the genre was moribund by the mid seventeenth century because of a growing appetite for news, which chroniclers couldn't work fast enough to fulfil.[32] He suggests this led to the traditional functions and contents of chronicles 'dissolving into a variety of genres' that included almanacs and ballads, which could provide quickly accessible and stringently curated historical information, alongside the most entertaining or scandalous historical events culled from longer chronicles.[33] This is why the historical information selected for inclusion in almanac tables and to a lesser extent ballads is so significant. If an appetite for historical information remained, but chronicles were read less, then it seems clear that only

---

[26] Gillespie and Harris, 'Holinshed and the Native Chronicle Tradition', p.143.
[27] Woolf, 'Genre into Artefact', p.324. See also Felicity Heal and Henry Summerson, 'The Genesis of the Two Editions', in *The Oxford Handbook of Holinshed's Chronicles* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp.3-20 (p.21)
[28] Gillespie, and Harris, 'Holinshed and the Native Chronicle Tradition', p.140.
[29] Woolf, 'Genre into Artefact', p.325.
[30] Aaron Pratt and David Kastan, 'Printers, Publishers, and the Chronicles as Artefact' in *The Oxford Handbook of Holinshed's Chronicles,* ed. by Paulina Kewes, Ian Archer and Felicity Heal (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp.21-42 (p.25).
[31] Woolf, 'Genre into Artefact', p.344.
[32] Woolf, 'Genre into Artefact', p.344.
[33] Woolf, 'Genre into Artefact', p.327.

the information considered most valuable would be selected for inclusion in such distilled formats.

However, Woolf may be overstating the demise of the genre, and it is clear the market for chronicles clearly wasn't completely gone after 1580. The popularity of a work like Holinshed, with two editions in ten years, despite its high price point, makes this clear. Even if fewer chronicles were published, those already in circulation continued to be read. The collection of Samuel Pepys for example, alongside many printed works of history, contains a mid-sixteenth-century manuscript 'metrical chronicle of England' beginning with the reign of William II and continuing into the reign of Henry VIII, and a manuscript *Chronicle of Robert of Gloucester*, suggesting the collecting of manuscripts continued well into the seventeenth century.[34]

Even more significant in the mass market was the growing demand for abridged chronicles, most notably the work of Grafton and Stow, which reinvigorated the market for chronicles in the later sixteenth century.[35] These shorter chronicles were able to draw in a larger audience as they were 'relatively cheap, usually sold unbound, and small enough to be carried from place to place'.[36] The impact of abridged chronicles should not be underestimated. Their popularity suggests readers with more limited means were interested in history and wanted access to an affordable version of it, and their epitomised form means that they include only the information their authors believed most relevant and desirable to readers, making it possible to identify the most popular elements of London history, in terms of the content Londoners were most likely to have encountered more frequently. Daniel Woolf, whilst arguing for the decline of the chronicle as a genre, makes an exception for abridgements, which he accepts remained popular between 1550 and 1609.[37]

These texts shared features with almanacs, clearly targeting a similar audience; Stow's *Summarie* included a twelve-month religious calendar complete with saints' days, alongside a table entitled, 'How a Man May Journey from any Notable Town in England to the City of London or from London to any Notable Town in the Realm', a tool common in almanacs.[38] These texts obviously presented great value for money, which would have made them

[34] *Catalogue of Pepys Library at Magdalene College Cambridge* vol.5, Manuscripts Part ii: (Modern), compiled by C.S. Knighton (Suffolk: D.S Brewer, Rowman and Littlefield, 1981), p.32, p.91.
[35] Pratt and Kastan, 'Printers, Publishers, and the Chronicles as Artefact', p.27.
[36] Barrett Beer, 'English History Abridged', p.13.
[37] Woolf, 'Genre into Artefact', p.345.
[38] Beer, 'English History Abridged', p.15.

popular amongst Londoners of more limited means. However, cost was not the only reason for their popularity. Chloe Wheatley suggests another reason for the appeal of the abridged form was 'the simple lack of free time that plagued even the most privileged of readers'.[39] This suggests a wider social market for abridged chronicles than might be supposed.

Fundamentally, chronicles were intended to provide readers with an education in history. This did not necessarily mean 'things that happened', but, like modern works of history, *why* they happened and how they mattered to contemporaries. There is much evidence that abridged chronicles popularized national history and so helped create awareness and popularise a sense of 'English identity', providing readers with a shared understanding of the past, which then created a common purpose and nascent sense of patriotism.[40] This is an idea that is discussed in more depth in later chapters because of the impact it had on the presentation of elements of London history as well. The affordability of these texts ensured this shared interpretation of history was 'accessible to a larger public', and could provide a unifying force despite social and economic differences in the reading public.[41] I argue a similar process, on a smaller scale, was also created by these texts in London, particularly given the focus on the capital found in the best-selling chronicles such as the works of Stow.

Many chroniclers believed it was essential to provide their readers with a foundation story for Britain. Geoffrey of Monmouth's 1136 *Historia Regum Angliae* essentially provided an origin myth for the British people, which was incorporated into the later *Brut* and *Polychronicon*, which became 'the standard works from which everyone learned history'.[42] These explanations were mostly fictitious, but Geoffrey of Monmouth's attempt to provide a tangible connection to place through a knowledge of its origin and history remained a key component of later chronicles. This process was also true in London, with the most popular chroniclers such as John Stow repeating Geoffrey of Monmouth's foundation myth and crediting the Trojan Brutus with the foundation of London in his *Summarie of Englyshe Chronicles,* first published in 1565. This story remained in the edition of Stow's *Summarie* published posthumously and edited by Edmund Howes in 1618, though there are many other changes.[43] This interest in the 'origin story' of London is also clear from the almanacs,

---

[39] Wheatley, *Epic, Epitome, and the Early Modern Historical Imagination*, p.13.
[40] Beer, 'English History Abridged', p.26.
[41] Beer, 'English History Abridged', p.26
[42] Given-Wilson, *Chronicles,* p.165.
[43] John Stow, *A Summarie of Englyshe Chronicles Conteynyng the True Accompt of Yeres, Wherein Every Kyng of this Realme of England Began Theyr Reigne, Howe Long they Reigned: And what Notable Thynges Hath Bene Doone Durynge Theyr Reygnes. Wyth also the Names and Yeares of all the Baylyffes, Custos, Maiors, and Sheriffes*

with its foundation first included in Ranger's almanac of 1617, and then going on to appear in six different almanac by 1629, and the reasons for the persistence of this myth are discussed in more detail in the following chapter.[44]

A particular focus on 'place' is found in many chronicles. The *Historia Regun Anglie* focuses heavily on topography, and William Camden's *Britannia* (whilst not technically a chronicle but a work of chorography, similarly to Stow's *Survey*) is also heavily focused on the material remains of the past, and is credited with invigorating the study of local history, a 'genre whose popularity it did much to create'.[45] This focus on topography is one of the themes in London history I identified as most popular in almanacs in particular, as is discussed in much more detail in chapter four and it is clear this focus was directly imported from chronicles, emphasising their importance as a key genre to analyse.

John Stow's work, most obviously the Survey, intrinsically links the history of London to its surviving material remains.[46] However it is the chronicles written by Stow that are by far the most important sources for much of the content discussed in this study. Stow was unquestionably the most popular chronicler of the late sixteenth century.[47] The strong focus on London history in Stow's chronicles reflected his own tastes, as a citizen whose 'outlook on the world remained very much that of the middling Londoner', and this is probably one of the reasons for his unquestionable appeal to the London audience.[48]

Stow's first abridgement *A summarie of the chronicles of Englande* appeared in octavo form in 1565, with further editions in 1566, 1570, 1574, 1575, 1590, and posthumous editions edited by Edmund Howes published in 1607, 1611 and 1618 testifying to its massive popularity. This was followed by the shorter (and therefore cheaper) sextodecimo *The*

---

of the Citie of London, Sens the Conqueste, Dyligentely Collected by John Stow Citisen of London, in the Yere of our Lorde God 1565, Wherunto is Added a Table in the End, Conteynyng all the Principall Matters of this Booke. Perused and Allowed Accordyng to the Quenes Maiesties Injunctions (London: In ædibus Thomæ Marshi, 1565), ESTC S117862, p.9, and John Stow, *The abridgement of the English Chronicle, first collected by M. John Stow, and after him augmented with very many memorable antiquities, and continued with matters forreine and domesticall, unto the beginning of the yeare, 1618. by E.H. Gentleman. There is a briefe table at the end of the booke* (London: By Edward Allde and Nicholas Okesfor the Company of Stationers, 1618), ESTC S117863, p.8.

[44] Ranger, (1617), and the in Allestree, Bretnor, Browne, Gilden, Perkins and Ponde (all 1629).

[45] Nicolas Barker, 'Editing the Past: Classical and Historical Scholarship', in *The Cambridge History of the Book, Vol. 4, 1557-1695,* ed. by John Barnard, D.F. Mckenzie and Maureen Bell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp.206-228 (p.211).

[46] Given-Wilson, *Chronicles,* p.134.

[47] To illustrate the point, a search of EEBO using the term 'chronicle' and 'London' between 1580 and 1640 returns eighty-two texts. Of these twenty-six can be discarded, usually as referring to the biblical Book of Chronicles. A further fourteen are play scripts. When these texts are excluded and duplicates are removed, there remain twenty-five items, nine of which are by Stow. This rough calculation roughly gives Stow a 40% share of the market. These figures exclude the editions of Stow's works published before 1580 (which would also have been extant and undoubtedly would greatly increase this figure).

[48] Ian Archer, 'John Stow, Citizen and Historian', p.15-16.

abridgement or summarie of the English chronicle in 1566, which was also re-issued with incredible frequency, with editions appearing in 1567, 1573, 1584, 1587, 1598, and 1604. There are minor variations between editions of the *Summarie*, culminating in more substantial differences between the 1565 and the 1618 version, the most obvious being the inclusion of the reigns of Elizabeth I and James I. There are differences in emphases too, with Howes spending less time on pre-conquest monarchs, whom he often merely lists.

Indeed, chroniclers seemed to be in little doubt that readers preferred contemporary history.[49] In Holinshed, for example, the second edition did not include much new material on the Norman Kings. However, from the fourteenth century up to the Elizabethan years 'great swathes of primary materials presented by Stow, Thynne and Hooker' appear.[50] In Stow's 1598 abridged chronicle the period from the Norman Conquest to the Battle of Bosworth covers 161 pages while the reigns of Henry VII and Henry VIII alone cover fifty-one pages.[51] This trend is also reflected in the almanacs, reinforcing the links between these genres. Between 1604 and 1616 the destruction of St Paul's steeple was the earliest event from London history included in the tables, and it is only by 1625 that events from further than sixty years ago begin to appear with frequency.

Stow followed the success of his *Summarie* with the longer *The Chronicles of England, from Brute unto this present yeare of Christ* in 1580, which was adapted into *The Annales of England*, published and re-issued in 1592, 1601, 1615 and 1631. The 1580 *Chronicles*, a much more substantial text, is structured differently again and is made more navigable by the inclusion of an index at the end. When assessing the themes found in ballads and almanacs therefore, Stow's chronicles will clearly be a vital point of comparison.

The desire to educate the reader was undoubtedly primary, but the market to publish was competitive, and to sell, chronicles also had to entertain. Between 1560 and 1630 the average book retailed unbound at about 45 d. Though this is a rough calculation, it suggests the price of chronicles 'increased far beyond the basic rate of inflation'.[52] Authors therefore tailored their narratives accordingly and did their best to ensure their works were appealing. This explains many chronicles 'generous use of anecdotes'.[53] Chronicles were a place in which the 'deeds of heroes should properly be celebrated' through tales and stories which owed as much to the medieval romance tradition as to surviving historical

[49] Grandsen, *Historical Writing in England,* p.221.
[50] Heal and Summerson, 'The Genesis of the Two Editions', p.18.
[51] Beer, 'English History Abridged', p.17.
[52] Woolf, 'Genre into Artefact', p.338.
[53] Beer, 'English History Abridged', p.22.

evidence.[54] These heroes usually included Richard I, Charlemagne and Alexander.[55] However, Medieval chroniclers reached further back, to 'Brutus, Albion, Lucius and, most memorable of all, King Arthur'.[56] Though later chroniclers were sceptical about the existence of these figures, these legends often persisted in later chronicles. There were political reasons for this; Caxton printed the *Morte d'Arthur* in 1485, the year of Bosworth. Since Henry VII claimed descent from King Arthur, reinforced in the naming of his eldest son, scepticism about the Arthurian legend 'came dangerously close to treason'.[57] However, it was also probably the case that these myths had passed irrevocably into the public consciousness and were what readers wanted and expected to find, a consideration which, as I discuss in later chapters, may also explain the repeated selection of the same few events from London's history in popular accounts. Political considerations may also account for events which did *not* often feature in popularised accounts of London's past, as is discussed in more detail in chapter six.

A simple function of some chronicles may also have been to look impressive on a bookshelf. This may not apply to the abridged chronicles popular in the later seventeenth century which 'would not have been attractive to one wanting to impress his friends', but may explain the popularity of a work like Holinshed.[58] Publication of Holinshed's *Chronicles* (1577) was 'driven by printers and publishers who saw a market for a luxury product in the demand for histories that characterised Elizabethan England'.[59] Holinshed was a huge compilation 'nearly thirty years in the making', from its conception to the revised and expanded edition of 1587.[60] Originally published in two volumes, then divided into three for the 1587 edition, it was a colossal work of approximately 3.5 million words. This made it larger in size than any other printed work in England at the time, including Foxe's *Actes and Monuments* and the 1611 King James Bible.[61] It was entered into the Stationers' Register on the 1 July 1578 for 20s, the highest recorded fee of the time. Substantially larger than most other books of the day, it would really have stood out on a shelf 'a fact that would have been as obvious to the eye then as it is today'.[62] Ownership of Holinshed's *Chronicles* may therefore have been a statement designed to impress visitors. Despite its mammoth size,

[54] Given-Wilson, *Chronicles*, p.104.
[55] Given-Wilson, *Chronicles*, p.165.
[56] Barker, 'Editing the Past', p.207.
[57] Barker, 'Editing the Past', p.207
[58] Beer, 'English History Abridged' p.16.
[59] Heal, Summerson, 'The Genesis of the Two Editions', p.3.
[60] Chris Highley, 'Holinshed and Company', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 77.3 (2014), 361-365 (p.361).
[61] Pratt and Kastan, 'Printers, Publishers, and the Chronicles as Artefact', p.23.
[62] Pratt and Kastan, 'Printers, Publishers, and the Chronicles as Artefact,'p.23.

and associated cost, Holinshed's Chronicle was nonetheless popular enough for a second edition to be commissioned in 1584. The decision to commit to a second edition, despite the 'significant financial risk' such an undertaking would have been, is the best evidence that sufficient demand for historical works existed to justify a new text and suggests a popularity that cannot solely be explained by purchase as a status symbol.[63] The decision to print a second edition so soon would also have quickly reduced the price of the first, widening its potential market. It is therefore extremely likely that even allowing for the copies of Holinshed that remained primarily display items, it was a widely read text.

Holinshed was a group effort, with contributors including John Stow who made a major contribution to the second edition.[64] Because of the communal nature of the work, Holinshed's Chronicles 'offer an array of historiographical discourses'.[65] Criticised both by contemporaries and historians for incoherence and over-inclusivity, Holinshed was influentially re-assessed by Annabel Patterson in 1994. She argued that the *Chronicles*, in reaction to the polemical discourses of the Reformation, were deliberately 'representing diversity of opinion', and that this was achieved by 'multivocality, with the *Chronicles* recording verbatim what they found in earlier historians or contemporary witnesses'.[66] Holinshed is also particularly useful because like Stow, it provides insight into the kind of history Londoners wanted access to. Patterson argues the compilers of the Chronicle were 'middle-class citizens self-consciously acting as such', and as a result, 'they register, as part of the drive towards completeness and multivocality, a greater interest than we have supposed in the voices and views of the groups below them, the common people, the artisanal and labouring classes'.[67]

The abridged works of Stow and the Holinshed's *Chronicle* differed greatly in size, cost, target audience and authorial voice. However, they are similar in construction, were produced by authors similar in milieu and outlook, and were both seemingly popular with the public. I therefore give particular focus to the works of Stow and Holinshed in my research. Indeed, the differences between Holinshed and Stow provide a more rounded

[63] Pratt and Kastan, 'Printers, Publishers, and the Chronicles as Artefact', p.33.
[64] See Barrett Beer, 'John Stow and the English Reformation, 1547-1559', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 16.2 (1985), 257-271 for an outline of Stow's contribution to Holished.
[65] Highley, 'Holinshed and Company', p.362.
[66] Annabel Patterson, *Reading Holinshed's Chronicles* (London: University of Chicago Press, 1994), p.7.
[67] Patterson, *Reading Holinshed's Chronicles*, p.7.

and therefore valid picture of the types of history being produced and consumed in London.[68]

Plays

Ballads and almanacs represent the cheapest and most accessible end of the market for print. Chronicles, whilst not necessarily aimed at an 'elite' market, were relatively expensive and required a higher level of literacy, interest and time to peruse, and so a narrower readership is much more likely. These two types of text represent opposing ends of the market, yet both required literacy to access. Therefore for a fuller understanding of where London's history might have been encountered by all sections of London's inhabitants, it is important to look at other genres in which this history was represented visually and aurally. This includes the public performance of ballads which were designed to be sung out loud as described in chapter two. However, I have also explored other genres which did not require literacy to access, primarily plays and civic pageants.

As Thomas Heywood recognises in his 1641 *Apology for Actors*, that plays:

> Taught the unlearned the knowledge of many famous histories, instructed such as cannot reade in the discovery of all our English chronicles, and what man have you now of that weake capacity, that cannot discourse of any notable thing recorded even from William the Conquerour, nay from the landing of Brute, untill this day.[69]

Contemporaries clearly therefore realised the role of the play in informing the public about history, and Heywood clearly suggest that such knowledge is both desirable and important. His direct assertion that plays deliver the content found in 'all our English chronicles' highlights the links between these genres and reinforces the importance of chronicles as a source. Moreover, in the same way that abridged chronicles can show which content authors considered the most important by selecting it for inclusion in an epitomised form, so the choices of playwrights in selecting which stories *from* the chronicles to present on stage can further help us identify which elements of London history were considered the most significant and became the most well known.

The opportunities provided by a growing population and the economic and social developments in late sixteenth-century London led to the rapid growth of public theatre;

---

[68] In later chapters I have primarily used Stow's 1565 *Summarie*, the 1618 *Abridgement*, the 1566 *Summarie Abridged,* the 1580 *Chronicles* and Holinshed's 1577 *Chronicles* for comparison. This allows me to look at how historical events were presented in a range of more and less detailed texts and if content changed over time.
[69] Thomas Heywood, *An Apology for Actors Containing Three Briefe Treatises. 1 their Antiquity. 2 their Ancient Dignity. 3 the True Use of their Quality, written by Thomas Heywood* (London: printed by Nicholas Okes, 1612), ESTC S106113.

'one of the chief entertainment institutions to emerge' from these changing circumstances.[70] These new theatres were permanent fixtures rather than the occasional productions in non-purpose-built venues which had previously relied on religious or festive occasions. As such they required a large audience and a frequently changing repertory of works, which would tempt the audience to return repeatedly.[71] The first purpose built commercial playhouse in London was James Burbage's Theatre, built in 1576 in Shoreditch. The liberty of Blackfriars also provided a venue for companies of boy actors from 1576 to 1584, when the Children of the Queen's Chapel made use of a hall to put on plays.[72] Other purpose-built theatres swiftly followed Burbage's Theatre. The Curtain was built in 1577, the Rose in 1587, the Globe in 1598, the Swan in the 1590s and the Fortune in 1600. From early on theatres clustered in two areas: north of the city in the suburbs of Clerkenwell and Shoreditch, and on Bankside.

There are several ways to try to calculate the number of Londoners who visited the theatre. David Bevington acknowledges the 'great commercial success' of the London theatre with an 'incredible flourishing of attendance at plays during the 1580s and 1590s, and on briefly into the next century'.[73] Paul Menzer suggests the capacity of the purpose built theatres averaged between 2000 and 3000 and Henslowe's diary suggests in the 1594–95 season the Admiral's Men, to give an example of just one company, generally performed six days a week.[74] If we assume most people did not go to see the same play twice in quick succession, this calculation suggests a very large number of Londoners attending the playhouses. However, Menzer adds that often plays were performed to half empty theatres, and that 'on an ordinary day one could expect the theatre to be about half full', making any attempt to provide an estimate of overall audience numbers difficult.[75] Christopher Highley suggests that after 1600 the Blackfriars theatre attracted 'up to 500 playgoers at least once a week, some from inside, others from outside the precinct'.[76] Andrew Gurr cites an incredible fifty million theatre visits between the 1560s and 1642.[77] There is also evidence that women were well-represented in the theatre's audience, Gurr suggesting that there was a 'high proportion of women at the playhouses' and 'citizens'

[70] Howard, *Theater of a City,* p.2.
[71] David Bevington, 'Literature and the Theatre', in *The Cambridge History of Early Modern English Literature,* ed. by David Loewenstein and Janel Mueller (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp.428-456 (p.443).
[72] Bevington, 'Literature and the Theatre', p.445.
[73] Bevington, 'Literature and the Theatre', p.441.
[74] Paul Menzer, 'Crowd Control', in *Imagining the Audience in Early Modern Drama 1558-1642*, ed. by Nova Myhill and Jennifer Low (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), pp.1-19.
[75] Menzer, 'Crowd Control', p.16.
[76] Christopher Highley, 'Introduction: Exploring Neighbourhoods', *Early Theatre*, 19.2 (2016), 157-166 (p.160).
[77] Andrew Gurr, *Playgoing in Shakespeare's London* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1996), p4.

wives were a noteworthy presence'.[78] Precise figures may not be possible to calculate, but the consensus seems to be that the playhouses were well attended by a range of Londoners, therefore the preponderance of evidence suggests the plays discussed in this study reached a relatively large audience.

There is debate about not only the size of theatre audiences, but their social composition. The price of admission can be reconstructed for certain theatres. Though plays were originally put on in inns, where the players could control the gate and require some small payment for entrance to the play, this evolved into theatres like the Rose, where admission cost a penny, and further payment was required for the gallery seats, with a range of prices mounting to the most expensive seats in the Lord's room. Alfred Harbage, writing in the 1950s, was clear that 'Shakespeare's audience was a large receptive assemblage of men and women of all ages and of all classes'.[79] Ann Cook, however, reassessed the demographic evidence in the 1980s and argued that prices meant plays were primarily a pastime of the wealthy. She argues that given the economic crisis of the later sixteenth century 'it seems doubtful that even so much as a penny could often be spared from most pockets'.[80] However, this interpretation has since been modified and it is likely that at least until the opening of the indoor private theatres beginning in 1599 'the artisan and servant classes joined with the citizens and gentry at play houses'.[81] The consensus therefore seems to be for a socially mixed audience, with people clearly willing to pay a penny for a few hours' entertainment reinforcing the argument that history presented on the stage would have been encountered by a socially wide ranging body of Londoners.

There is some suggestion that different playhouses may have appealed to different social groups, with those to the north of London slightly more downmarket than those on Bankside. In particular, several historians identify the Red Bull as a theatre which catered for the lower end of the market.[82] However, this assumption has also been challenged. David Foakes argues that the theatres 'provided a hierarchy of accommodations in the expectation that the audience would be socially and economically diversified'.[83] Therefore

---

[78] Gurr, *Playgoing in Shakespeare's London,* p.56, p.57.
[79] Alfred Harbage, *Shakespeare and the Rival Traditions* (New York: Macmillan, 1952), p.158.
[80] Ann Cook, *The Privileged Playgoers of Shakespeare's London: 1576-1642* (Princeton: Guildford University press, 1981), p.229.
[81] Gurr, *Playgoing in Shakespeare's London,* p.66.
[82] Eleanor Collins, 'Repertory and Riot: The Relocation of Plays from the Red Bull to the Cockpit Stage', *Early Theatre*, 13.2 (2010), 132-149. See also Mark Bayer, 'Heywood's Epic Theater', *Comparative Drama*, 48.4 (2014), 371-391.
[83] Reginald Foakes, 'Playhouses and Players', in the *Cambridge Companion to English Renaissance Drama*, ed. by A.R Braunmuller and Michael Hattaway (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp.1-52 (p.9). See also Gurr, *Playgoing in Shakespeare's London*.

whilst some playhouses like the Red Bull or Fortune might have tailored their output to the inhabitants of their immediate vicinity, this did not preclude more affluent Londoners from visiting these playhouses, or indeed poorer suburban dwellers venturing to Bankside.

Much historiography of the early modern theatre has focused on the idea of the rivalry between public and private theatre. Alfred Harbage began the debate around rival traditions, or a 'war of the theatres' between popular and court drama, in which conflict between puritan city authorities and theatre companies due to religious differences and concerns for public order led to the eventual decline and closure of 'public' theatres from the 1620s, and the move to more expensive and exclusive private theatres. This date though does not mark an absolute end to public theatre attendance by less economically privileged playgoers. The 1617 attack on the Cockpit theatre, seemingly caused by the anger of the Red Bull audience at the move of Queen Anne's men and their repertory of plays 'away from the penny playhouse and transferred to a sixpenny venue' suggests that the public theatres still attracted a sizeable audience at this relatively late date.[84]

My research is firmly focused on public theatres and assumes their ability to attract a sizeable and variegated audience to make the inclusion of plays as a genre which disseminated popular history valid. Most of the plays referred to in this study were written before 1600 and the rise of the private theatre, which suggests a large and socially variegated audience, making plays a useful source to study popular tastes. The debate on the rival traditions *is* highly relevant though because of the potential impact that these circumstances had on the *sort* of plays offered. David Bevington suggests that to succeed in the face of civic and religious disapproval, public theatre companies had to offer plays which were avoided wider political commentary in favour of non-contentious representations of the concerns and issues of the audience, encouraging plays which were 'unabashedly urban'.[85] Tracey Hill suggests that a lack of such tact was responsible for the poor reception of Beaumont and Fletcher's 1607 *Knight of the Burning Pestle*, which satirized London merchants slightly too viciously and so perhaps alienated the audience.[86]

One consequence of this decision to avoid plays which were offensive to puritan sensibilities or aroused civic disapproval was the great popularity of history plays in the late sixteenth century. David Bevington argues that 'in the earlier years of the century the

[84] Collins, 'Repertory and Riot', p.133.
[85] Bevington, 'Literature and the Theatre', p.445.
[86] Tracey Hill, 'The Grocers Honour' or, Taking the City Seriously in The Knight of the Burning Pestle' in *Early Theatre,* 20.2 (2017), 159-178.

dramatists and their sponsors were actively intent on courting a wide national audience for drama in order to carry out the programme of the Protestant Reformation'.[87] History plays which glorified past monarchs or heroic battles in which the English were triumphant, such as Heywood's 1606 *If You Know Not Me, You Know Nobody II*, which recounts Elizabeth I victory in the Spanish Armada, were a perfect vehicle for this.[88] This perhaps helps to explain why one in five plays registered between 1588 and 1608 are historical.[89] There is some suggestion that history plays fell out of fashion by the early seventeenth century, with the rise of more satirical works and the growing move to private theatres. However, they continued to be shown, with seventeenth-century revivals of Perkin Warbeck and a play on the Cade rebellion.[90]

It is also clear that even though it might be veiled, history plays had much to say about contemporary concerns and issues.[91] Brian Walsh suggests Dekker deliberately used anachronism in *The Shoemaker's Holiday* to confront the audience with the observations the play makes on contemporary society.[92] W.K. Chandler suggests Dekker does this with topographical references, describing the thirty-five landmarks Dekker refers to in the play, many of which were not built when the play is set, and concluding 'his picture is of his own Elizabethan city, not of the early fifteenth-century London of Simon Eyre and Sir Roger Otley'.[93] Significantly, it is through topography that Dekker makes his use of anachronism known, highlighting this as an area of interest, as discussed in more detail in chapter four.

History plays may have been popular because they avoided puritan disapproval, but they would not have continued to flourish in a competitive market unless the audience had found them entertaining and perhaps informative.[94] Ian Archer suggests that one of the most important developments in popular appreciation of the past was the 'explosion of

---

[87] Bevington, 'Literature and the Theatre', p.441.
[88] Thomas Heywood, *If You Know Not Me, You Know Nobody Part I and Part II* (Oxford: Benediction Classics, 2008).
[89] Wright, *Middle Class Culture,* p.621.
[90] David Nicol, 'The Peaceable King, or the Lord Mendall A Lost Jack Cade Play and its 1623 Revival', *Early Theatre*, 19.1 (2016), 137-145, and Igor Djordjevic, "No chronicle records his fellow": Reading "Perkin Warbeck" in the Early Seventeenth Century', *Renaissance and Reformation,* 40.2 (2017), 63-102.
[91] Nicol, 'The Peaceable King', p.33, and Paul Whitfield White, 'The Admiral's Men, Shakespeare, and the Lost Arthurian Plays Of Elizabethan England', *Arthuriana*, 24.4 (2014), 33-47 (p.33).
[92] Brian Walsh, 'Performing Historicity in Dekker's *The Shoemaker's Holiday', Studies in English Literature 1500-1900,* 46.2 (2006), 323-348.
[93] W.K. Chandler, 'The Topography of Dekker's "The Shoemaker's Holiday", *Studies in Philology*, 26.4 (1929), 499-504 (p.499).
[94] Nova Myhill and Jennifer Low in particular argue that the presence of the audience imposes certain obligations on playwrights and theatre companies to provide the audience with plays they find appealing. See Myhill, and Low, 'Audience and Audiences', p.5.

history plays from the 1580s', which, if Chartier's argument is valid, suggests that these plays were sought after by the audience.[95]

Many of these history plays were focused on the deeds of monarchs. However, this study analyses the select genre of plays which were set in London, or recounted events from London's past. Jean Howard's *Theater of a City,* argues that the theatre was crucial in 'shaping how people of the period conceptualised or made sense of the fast-changing urban milieu' and suggests that representations of the history of London on stage would have served such a purpose.[96] Howard's main focus is on city comedies written between 1598 and 1615 which dealt with urban settings and the sort of people who live in them. However, I would suggest the importance of London history plays in performing a similar function should not be overlooked. This is a theme discussed fully in chapter five. Rebecca Tomlin develops Howard's argument but does focus slightly more on historical depictions of London, suggesting the description of neighbourhood in works such as Heywood's *Edward IV* served to inculcate a sense of belonging in the audience, who would have recognised that their familiarity with the locales depicted marked them as Londoners.[97] This idea of the topography of London being a key element of the plot of several plays set in London, particularly those with a historical focus, is developed in chapter four.

The plays that best exemplify these ideas, and form the main, though not exclusive, focus of my research are George Peele's 1593 *The Famous Chronicle of King Edward the First*, in particular the subplot, outlined in the subtitle 'the sinking of Queen Elinor, who sunck at Charingcrosse, and rose againe at Pottershith, now named Queenehith'; *The Shoemaker's Holiday or the Gentle Craft* by Thomas Dekker, first performed in 1599; *Edward IV*, commonly attributed to Thomas Heywood and also entered into the Stationers' Register in 1599; and *If You Know Not Me, You Know Nobody II,* written in 1605, also by Heywood. All these plays were published and performed within ten years of each other, at the height of the popularity of history plays and public theatre attendance. Thus they represent, in all probability, performances which would have been experienced by a sizeable number of Londoners. Several of these plays saw frequent re-printing. Heywood's *If You Know Not Me, You Know Nobody II* was reprinted in 1606, 1608, 1610, 1613, 1623, 1632, and 1639,

---

[95] Archer, 'Discourses of History', p.214.
[96] Howard, *Theater of a City,* p.2. See also Andrew Griffin, 'Thomas Heywood and London Exceptionalism', *Studies in Philology,* 10.1 (2013), 85-114.
[97] Rebecca Tomlin, 'I trac'd him too and fro' Walking the Neighbourhood on the Early Modern Stage', *Early Theatre*, 19.2 (2016), 197-208 (p.199). See also Angela Stock, 'Stow's Survey and the London Playwrights', in *John Stow and the Making of the English Past,* ed. by Ian Anders Gadd and Alexandra Gillespie (London: British Library, 2004), pp.89-98.

reinforcing the conclusion that such plays were highly popular and the events recounted within were likely to have become familiar to the London audience.

There is also evidence that some of these plays were performed in multiple theatres, further broadening their reach. *The Shoemaker's Holiday* was first performed by the Admiral's Men, probably in Henslowe's Rose Theatre. However, Henslowe had interests in other theatres, including the Fortune (built in 1600) and the play may well have been shown there too. Heywood's *If You Know Not Me, You Know Nobody II* was most likely written for and performed by Queen Anne's Men to whom Heywood was attached, and thus performed at the Curtain, the Red Bull and, after 1617, the Cockpit. The higher prices and exclusivity of this venue suggest the play was popular with a broad social range of Londoners. *Edward IV* was, according to the title page, first acted by the Earl of Derby's Men who were also known as Lord Strange's Men and associated with the Admiral's Men. These troupes performed at The Theatre, and perhaps at the Curtain as well. Reprints in 1600, 1605, 1613, 1619, and 1626 further suggest the widespread appeal and popularity of the play. Less is known about the performance history of *The Famous Chronicle of King Edward the First.* The only copy, dating from 1593, is highly corrupt but this copy shows that a reviser has altered the text by adding other passages, particularly in the scenes vilifying Queen Eleanor, which at least tells us this element of the play, the part relevant to this study, was a sub-plot with enough recognised appeal to bother adapting.[98]

In conclusion, plays performed at the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth centuries, such as those identified above, can be said with reasonable certainty to have been seen by a large and socially broad group of Londoners. These would have included wealthier citizens, artisans, apprentices and significantly, also women, all of whom, the evidence suggests, frequented the theatre in large enough numbers to make the inclusion of plays an important element of this research. The plays identified above were also performed at what could be considered the height of the popularity of the public playhouses, and the frequent moving of the companies they were first associated with to several different theatres, ensured their performances reached an even broader group of the city's inhabitants. The re-printing of some of these plays also suggests longevity and popularity, enhancing their value as a source for analysis.

[98] Dora Jean Ashe, 'The Text of Peele's "Edward I", *Studies in Bibliography,* 7 (1955), 153-170.

Pageants

Civic pageantry, and in particular the annual Lord Mayor's Show, is another format in which London's history was presented to a broad range of Londoners without the need for literacy to access, making it an integral part of my research. The Shows further benefitted from the fact that unlike the theatre they were completely free, and so available to all Londoners. However, the Lord Mayor's Show is in an anomalous position since so much of the available evidence for the Shows comes to us through the printed pamphlets; and there is little doubt that these are not exact reproductions of the actual day. The Grocers' accounts, for example, show payment for an 'Iland' that has no mention in the accompanying pamphlet.[99]

The purpose and circulation of the produced pamphlets is unclear. Print runs were normally between 300-800 copies, with the average at around 500. The limited numbers produced suggests that they may have been given to members of the company responsible for the Show, perhaps as a souvenir, and there is some correlation between the variation in print run numbers and the numbers of livery members of that particular company. The pamphlets contain a lot of explication that was clearly not read out on the day, but it remains unclear whether the pamphlets were printed before the Show, and therefore acted as a type of programme, or whether they were produced afterwards. The evidence is further confused by the fact that the pamphlets were printed in a relatively cheap manner, mostly in quarto form and published unbound, which explains their low survival rates. On the other hand there is some evidence that for some Shows, different editions of the pamphlets were printed, suggesting commercial sale and more care taken by the publishers. Another factor to consider is that the surviving pamphlets do not seem to show much signs of being read. One copy of the 1639 *Londini Status Pacatus* for example was left uncut for a substantial period, and clearly not read by its original owner.[100]

Nonetheless, the pamphlets do give a sense of the shape of the pageants, and whilst they may not be an entirely accurate picture, they certainly make it clear which characters appear, and the overall message of the Show in question. Equally, though the pamphlets themselves may not have reached a wide audience, they are the best record we have of what the much larger audience for the performed Shows saw and heard, and so warrant investigation.

---

[99] Hill, *Pageantry and Power*, p.217.
[100] Hill, *Pageantry and Power,* p.257.

The Lord Mayor's Show celebrated the annual inauguration of the new mayor of London. Held on 29 October each year, the Show was primarily paid for by whichever of the great twelve livery companies the new mayor belonged to. The origins of the Show are unclear; early records suggest some kind of celebration when the new mayor took his oath. The public spectacle part of the Shows may lie in the thirteenth century, when the new mayor and sheriffs processed from London to Westminster, where they were accepted by the monarch into their new office.[101] The Shows evolved over the years into something much more elaborate, and 'flourished most opulently' in the early seventeenth century.[102] This growth is reflected in the escalating cost, growing, for example, from £151 in 1561 to £747 in 1602.[103]

Several reasons for this change have been suggested by historians. Michael Berlin argues that the Shows became much more ceremonial in the early fourteenth century, and thus emphasised the power and authority of the incoming mayor, as a reaction to the popular disturbances in London's governance immediately prior to this.[104] Tracey Hill argues the Shows became more elaborate slightly later as a response to the loss of the Midsummer Watch, which seems to have tailed off after 1540 with a few brief unsuccessful revivals afterwards. Another reason for the loss of the Watch may have been the association of this traditional event with pre-Reformation practices; and so the birth of the Lord Mayor's Shows in their current form may have been deliberate to differentiate them from religiously influenced ceremonies that had previously been more usual.[105] This factor may have been particularly prevalent in London, with its unique civic and arguably more radical religious position, and as the 'great Corpus Christi cycles in the provinces' developed, 'London concentrated on civic triumphs'.[106] It is notable that between Elizabeth's coronation in 1559 and James's official entry into London in 1604, there were no major street entertainments presented for the sovereign, and given Charles I's preference for the masque, which excluded the public, an even greater gap was left in the market, hence the Lord Mayor's Show may well have become more elaborate in order to fill this void.

---

[101] David Bergeron, 'The Elizabethan Lord Mayor's Show', *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900,* 10.2 (1970), 269-285.
[102] Kristin Deiter, "What Citadels, what Turrets, and what Towers": Mapping the Tower of London in Thomas Heywood's Lord Mayors' Shows', *Comparative Drama*, 47.4 (2013), 473-503 (p. 475).
[103] Bergeron, 'The Elizabethan Lord Mayor's Show', p.269.
[104] Michael Berlin, 'Civic Ceremony in Early Modern London', *Urban History Yearbook,* 13 (1986), 5-27 (p.15, p.18).
[105] Hill, *Pageantry and Power*, p.28.
[106] Gordon Kipling, 'Triumphal Drama: Form in English Civic Pageantry', *Renaissance Drama, New Series,* 8 (1977), 37-56 (p.37).

By the early seventeenth century the Shows had reached a relatively regular format. The day began with a procession by the mayor from his house to the Guildhall, then a larger procession to the Thames. The mayor, with members of the leading companies, travelled to Westminster by barge. After taking his oath in Westminster, the mayor returned through London to the Guildhall. During this journey the real pageantry took place, with 'an eclectic mixture of extravagantly staged emblematic tableaux, music, dance and speeches, together with disparate crowd-pleasing effects such as fireworks and giants on stilts'.[107] After a feast at the Guildhall, the mayor attended a service at St Paul's, and the day concluded with a final pageant and a speech. The pamphlet containing an account of the pageants and speeches was usually printed, as discussed, either just before or after the Show at the expense of the new mayor's company and sold or distributed to commemorate the event.

Records of the contents of the shows before the first surviving pamphlet from 1585 are fragmentary; usually drawn from company accounts, or from rare eyewitness testimony. The first reference in company records is to the Show of 1540, when the Drapers' records reveal payments for musicians.[108] The diary of Henry Machyn refers to the Show of 1561 for the inauguration of Sir William Harper, Merchant Taylor, which contained a pageant 'gorgeously made' and a range of other entertainments.[109] This was also the first Lord Mayor's Show for which a record of the speeches survive in company records.[110] The first reference to a commemorative pamphlet is from the records of the Ironmongers on the appointment of Sir Christopher Draper in 1566, though no copies of this pamphlet are extant. 1585 is significant as the first time the printed pamphlet has survived to give a sense of what sort of content the speeches contained.[111] Pamphlets are very likely to have been a permanent fixture of the Shows after this, though they do not always survive, as shown by the Merchant Taylors' accounts for 1602 which records that the pageant's author Anthony Munday was paid 30s 'for printing the books of speeches', though no pamphlets survive.[112]

All accounts suggests the pageants were highly attended, drawing a 'vast audience'.[113] The early seventeenth-century letter writer John Chamberlain was a clearly an attendee, beginning letters both in 1621 and 1622 with the fact that he had recently seen the

---

[107] Hill, *Pageantry and Power*, p.1.
[108] Hill, *Pageantry and Power*, p.30.
[109] Machyn, *A London Provisioner's Chronicle*, f.143r.
[110] Bergeron, 'The Elizabethan Lord Mayor's Show', p.271.
[111] Bergeron, 'The Elizabethan Lord Mayor's Show', p.280.
[112] Bergeron, 'The Elizabethan Lord Mayor's Show', p.282.
[113] Hill, *Pageantry and Power*, p.118.

pageant. In 1621 he begins one letter with the news that he has 'nothing to write except of my new lord mayors pageants'.[114] Samuel Pepys records in his diary in 1660 his excitement at attending the Show, observing he was 'up early, it being my Lord Mayor's day', and visited friends house to get a good view, ensuring he 'had a very good place to see the pageants, which were many, and I believe good'.[115] The pageants clearly attracted a huge audience, with these authors making it clear that they had made plans to attend the Show and thought of it as a excellent day out. The Shows are thus one of the most useful sources through which to explore how Londoners would have been presented with references to the history of the city

Historiography of the Shows has tended to focus on their purpose. Michael Berlin, following the work of Charles Phythian-Adams, argues civic ceremonies like the Shows formed 'a symbolic thread which helped bind together the social fabric of the town' by presenting an idealised vision of a homogenous and content community.[116] In London, since history was often an element of the entertainment presented in pageants, this suggests the Show's creators believed this urban history was a factor which helped 'bind together' their disparate audience. Valerie Pearl and Steve Rappaport suggest the Shows enhanced stability by emphasising the prestige of London's governing class.[117] They did so by using ritual and ceremony to encourage support for authority, and so shaped perceptions of the elite amongst Londoners and acted to 'legitimate the civic elite''.[118] The variety of ways in which the Shows used history to present a certain image of the civic elite is discussed in more detail in chapter six. History was therefore potentially deployed for different purposes within the Shows, but the consequence was to consistently present selected historical events and characters to the audience, providing the disparate groups of people living in the city with the same curated and reiterated version of London's past.

Many historians also comment on the role the Lord Mayor's Show may have played in articulating and shaping the city's relationship with the Crown. David Bergeron argues that the Shows functioned partly 'to praise and compliment the sovereign'.[119] The escalation of

---

[114] Chamberlain, *Letters of John Chamberlain,* p. 405 and 461.
[115] Samuel Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys* (Vol.1: 1660), ed. by Robert Latham and William Matthews (London: Harper Collins, 1971), p.490.
[116] Berlin, 'Civic Ceremony in Early Modern London', p.16.
[117] Rappaport, *Worlds Within Worlds* and Pearl, 'Change and Stability in Seventeenth Century London'.
[118] Vanessa Harding, 'Recent Perspectives on Early Modern London', *The Historical Journal*, 47.2 (2004), 435-450 (p.443) and Daryl Palmer, 'Metropolitan Resurrection in Anthony Munday's Lord Mayor's Shows', *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900*, 46.2 (2006), 371-387 (p.373).
[119] Bergeron, 'The Elizabethan Lord Mayor's Show', p.478. See also Ann Lancashire, *London Civic Theatre: City Drama and Pageantry from Roman Times to 1558* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p.479.

elaborate and expensive pageantry in the 1580s seems to suggest the Corporation was not above using the Show to both remind the Crown of London's financial and military utility and of subtly suggesting that the loyalty and support of London was somewhat contingent on the Crown's respect for her ancient liberties.[120] These themes are discussed much more fully in chapter six. Recent historiography has also focused on how the Shows were received by the public, and how the messages that the Show's designers and sponsors may have intended were not necessarily what audiences received or understood; suggesting that even if the deployment of history was intended by the creators of the Shows to convey a certain message, this does not preclude a range of other meanings being perceived by the audience.[121]

The content and topics of Lord Mayor's Shows may have been initially more focused on religion, as suggested by Machyn's mention of a pageant of St. John the Baptist in the mayoral pageant he observed in 1553.[122] However, in the changes brought about by the Reformation, religious connotations in civic pageantry were gradually phased out in favour of history, mythology, and allegory. The focus of my research is on the historical content of the Lord Mayor's Shows and unquestionably, history was a main theme in many Shows.[123] As the Shows were the genre which was most directly created for polemical purposes, this means representations of London history within are particularly valuable in ascertaining the messages the civic elite wished the large London audience to receive from historical accounts, and the figures and incidents selected to deliver these messages.

Another important consideration is that the Shows were performed on the streets of London, with the route taken by the procession including many key London landmarks. The use of location, and the ways in which the Shows linked historical figures to landmarks and infrastructure that Londoners could see is discussed more fully in chapter four; Tracey Hill agrees that references to figures from the history of London would not have been an effective element of the Shows if the audience could not place them into geographical context, and she suggests the siting of particular pageants at key sites in which actors could

---

[120] Manley, *Literature and Culture,* p.270.
[121] Hill, *Pageantry and Power*, p.13.
[122] Machyn, *A London Provisioner's Chronicle*, f.24v.
[123] For a fuller discussion of the role of history in the mayoral Shows see Bergeron, 'The Elizabethan Lord Mayor's Show'. See also Woolf, *The Social Circulation of the Past,* p.314, Robert Tittler, 'The Cookes and the Brookes: Uses of Portraiture in Town And Country Before the Civil War', in *The Country and the City Revisited,* ed. by Gerald Maclean, Donna Landry and Joseph Ward (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp.58-73 (p.67).

have pointed to buildings or physical features was crucial in tangibly linking the past to the present and shaping the audience's understanding of London's history.[124]

Overall, civic pageantry, in particular the Lord Mayor's Show made frequent allusion to historical themes and figures. As it was free, mobile, and thus on display for a longer time to a wider audience, and didn't require literacy to access, it is a significant genre to assess in trying to investigate popular history and its availability to London audiences.

Popular Authors

I have considered the genres discussed above separately. However, there were strong links between many of these texts and performances. This is unsurprising since in most cases they were produced by a small group of authors who knew each other and in several cases worked collaboratively, making it understandable that so many of the same themes, stories and figures appeared in their works.

The core group of authors whose work accounts for most sources used in this thesis are George Peele, Anthony Munday, Thomas Dekker, Thomas Heywood, Thomas Middleton, Thomas Deloney and Richard Johnson. These men all produced works which included elements of London's history in the city at the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth centuries. There are striking similarities in the lives of these men. Johnson, Dekker, Middleton, Peele and Munday were all born in London, with Deloney possibly born in Norwich, but certainly living in London by 1586 when the baptism of his son was recorded at St Giles-without-Cripplegate. Thomas Heywood was born in Lincolnshire but moved to London after the death of his father in 1593 when he was twenty. As far as is known, they lived and worked in close proximity to each other. George Peele had moved to St Olave Jewry by 1562, Munday lived in the parish of St Giles Cripplegate as did Deloney, with Thomas Heywood living in St Saviour's parish in Southwark.[125]

---

[124] Hill, *Pageantry and Power*, p.11.

[125] Reid Barbour, "Peele, George (bap. 1556, d. 1596), poet and playwright" ODNB, (2022), <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-21768>.
David Bergeron, "Munday, Anthony (bap. 1560, d. 1633), playwright and translator" ODNB, (2022), <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-19531>
John Twyning, "Dekker, Thomas (c. 1572–1632), playwright and pamphleteer" ODNB, (2022), <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-7428>
David Kathman, "Heywood, Thomas (c. 1573–1641), playwright and poet" ODNB, (2022), <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-13190>.

These men were all professional writers, making their living from their work, and came from broadly the same social milieu. Munday, Deloney, Johnson, Peele and Middleton were citizens, or at least the sons of citizens, with Munday a member of the Drapers' Company by patrimony, and possible translating to the Merchant Taylors at some point.[126] Thomas Middleton's father was a prosperous member of Company of Tilers and Bricklayers, although he had his coat of arms certified by the Garter king of arms in 1558, making his son Thomas 'a gentleman born'.[127] Richard Johnson described himself as 'a poore freeman' of the city in 1603, though he never names his company.[128] There is no evidence that Thomas Dekker or Thomas Heywood held the freedom, but Heywood had received a Cambridge education, and seemed to be relatively similarly placed socially.[129] Peele and Middleton were both educated at Oxford.[130] Deloney and Dekker seems to have been the least well placed socially and economically, suggested by the fact that Dekker spent seven years in prison from 1612 due to a debt of £40 to the coach maker John Webster (the playwright's father).[131] Deloney also seems to have struggled financially, being the only one of the writers in this group who seem to have practiced a trade outside of writing. Indeed John Carpenter suggests that Deloney's decision to turn to ballad writing was 'financially inspired' after facing hardship in the 1590s, as is evidenced by his involvement in political protests by the London weavers about French and Dutch encroachment into their craft, for which he spent time in jail.[132] In 1596 Deloney also faced condemnation from the mayor for writing a ballad (now lost) about the scarcity of grain in England, suggesting this was a shortage causing an element of personal difficulty.[133]

There is copious evidence these men knew each other, worked together, and in several cases collaborated. Of the thirty-three pageants written for the Lord Mayor's Show between 1585 and 1639, George Peele, Anthony Munday, Thomas Dekker, Thomas

---

Gary Taylor, "Middleton, Thomas (bap. 1580, d. 1627), playwright" ODNB, (2022), <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-18682>.
Paul Salzman, "Deloney, Thomas (d. in or before 1600), silkweaver and writer" ODNB, (2022), https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-7463.
Richard Proudfoot, "Johnson, Richard (fl. 1592–1622), writer" ODNB, (2022), <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-14909>.

[126] Bergeron, 'Anthony Munday' ODNB.
[127] Taylor, 'Thomas Middleton', ODNB.
[128] Naomi Liebler, 'Elizabethan Pulp Fiction: The Example of Richard Johnson', *Critical Survey*, 12.2 (2000), 71-78 (p.72).
[129] David Kathman, 'Thomas Heywood, ODNB.
[130] Barbour, 'George Peele', ODNB and Taylor, 'Thomas Middleton', ODNB.
[131] Twyning, 'Thomas Dekker', ODNB.
[132] John Carpenter, 'Placing Thomas Deloney', *Journal of Narrative Theory* , 36.2 (2006), 125-162 (p.135).
[133] Salzman, 'Thomas Deloney', ODNB.

Heywood and Thomas Middleton were responsible for twenty-nine. According to company records Munday was also responsible for the mayoral Show of 1602, though no text survives.[134] There is also much evidence of direct collaboration between these writers. In 1623 the Drapers' accounts suggest that Anthony Munday and Thomas Middleton collaborated on the mayoral pageant.[135] Probably the best example of such collaboration is the 1593 play *Sir Thomas More.* Never staged as far as can be ascertained but written for Lord Strange's Men and the Admiral's Men, the manuscript, which remains at the British Library, is commonly accepted to be the work of Anthony Munday with additions by Dekker and Heywood. Shakespeare too is often considered to have made some additions.[136] The links between these authors and John Stow are also clear, with Anthony Munday bequeathed the task of revising and adding to Stow's *Survey of London* after the death of the chronicler in 1605. Munday completed this task in 1618 when the new edition of the *Survey* was published. As with the other genres discussed in this chapter, many plays with a historical theme also openly acknowledge their debt to Stow.[137]

Even when no evidence of direct collaboration exists, it is clear that the works of these men were indebted to each other. Thomas Deloney's 1597 *The Gentle Craft* was the main source for Dekker's 1600 *Shoemaker's Holiday*. Richard Johnson was responsible for writing, or at least editing and collecting, the ballads *A Song of Sir Richard Whittington,* and *A Courtly new Song of the Princely wooing of the faire Maide of London by K. Edward.* Thomas Deloney also wrote a ballad '*containing the Lamentation of Shore's Wife, who was sometimes Concubine to King Edward the Fourth; setting forth her great Fall, and withal her most miserable and wretched end'.* These ballads are highly likely to have been amongst the sources used by Thomas Heywood in his play *Edward IV* and his prose work *The Famous and Remarkable History of Sir Richard Whittington.* Richard Johnson's popular *Nine Worthies Of London* popularised the figure of William Walworth, potentially encouraging Anthony Munday to foreground him in the mayoral pageant of 1616, *Chrysanaleia.* These are just a few of the direct links between the works of these authors, which do not include the similarities in tone and message, which will be explored in later chapters.

---

[134] Bergeron, 'Anthony Munday', ODNB.
[135] Hill, *Pageantry and Power,* p.67.
[136] Thomas Merriam, 'The Misunderstanding of Munday as Author of Sir Thomas More', *The Review of English Studies,* 51.204 (2000), 540-581 (p.543).
[137] Griffin, 'Thomas Heywood and London Exceptionalism', Howard, *Theater of a City,* and Walsh, 'Performing Historicity in Dekker's *The Shoemaker's Holiday'.*

Conclusion

In conclusion, whilst it is impossible to establish what early modern Londoners read or saw in more than a few isolated cases, it is clear that the best approach in attempting to ascertain Londoners' interest in, and access to, the history of their city is to consider a wide range of genres. Ballads and almanacs as the cheapest and most accessible texts may indicate the basis for further research, however, as this chapter has outlined, a more rounded picture can be gathered using other genres. The main sources I have identified as being most valuable are chronicles, plays and civic pageantry, particular the Lord Mayor's Show. Chronicles are of particular value as the evidence suggests they were read widely and sold well. However, they were certainly more expensive than ballads or almanacs, required a high level of literacy, and as such are problematic if defined as 'popular' texts in the same way as ballads or almanacs. The particular significance of the chronicles is their function as a source for most other texts, plays and pageants appearing in the next three chapters. Therefore, a comparison of the information contained in the chronicles alongside its deployment in cheaper, more widely sold or accessible sources can be highly useful in identifying which parts of London history became truly 'popular' in the sense of commonly known. Plays and pageants as I have explained required low or no literacy to access, and whilst theatrical prices rose in the seventeenth century they remained accessible for a much broader social range of London's inhabitants than the chronicles did. Evidence also suggests that the theatres catered to a broad range of Londoners, with accounts of women, apprentices and those who lived in the suburbs frequently attending. Indeed, the placement of the theatres outside the city walls may have encouraged a wider attendance and ensured writers kept the plays offered relevant to their local audience. Pageantry, in particular the Lord Mayor's Show was free, and since eyewitness accounts suggest it was a spectacular and entertaining experience it seems likely that attendance would have been high. It is more difficult to establish whether the records of the pageants as available to us in the pamphlets produced reflect the experience of the audience. Nonetheless, with actors portraying historical figures and brightly painted imagery on constant and moving display, we must assume some of the information included was registered by the audience. The following chapters include examples from a broad range of sources which include poems, sermons, chorographical works and various other texts, with the genres assessed above by no means exclusively used. However, the three genres identified account for a large proportion of the sources used and as such it is valuable to outline their presence and popularity in London by the early seventeenth century.

4: The Importance of Place: Topography in Popular London History

Place in Popular History

The first topic appearing frequently enough in ballads and almanacs to qualify as 'popular' history was the past of London's topography. This was the strongest trend that could be identified in the almanacs, in which the most frequent inclusions in the chronological tables were the dates at which the landmarks and buildings of London were constructed, damaged or repaired. This chapter will explore this topic in popular print and performance, identify the individual places and buildings which were most frequently referred to and draw some conclusions as to why this was the case.

The chronological tables in almanacs, as outlined in chapter two, make many references to the history of London places. The events referenced most often were the foundation of the city (included sixty-three times between 1617 and 1640), the building of St Paul's Cathedral (forty-one inclusions between 1618-1640) and its subsequent loss of steeple in 1561, which is the most frequent inclusion, with 120 entries beginning in 1604.[1] Also often mentioned was London bridge, with its construction meriting sixty-four inclusions in several almanacs, beginning in 1618. Moreover, Perkins' almanacs which contain the longest and most detailed chronological tables included further entries on the history of the bridge, outlining its original construction in timber and describing a fire which took place in the reign of King John shortly after it was completed.[2] Other events dated in the tables are the building of the Royal Exchange (thirty-six inclusions, beginning in 1621) and, though technically not in London, the construction of Westminster Hall which is mentioned fifty-five times beginning in 1619. Another London landmark mentioned in these tables was Ludgate, the construction of which is included six times in the almanacs. The supposed re-building of London by King Lud also features. Other events with fewer mentions, such as tiling first appearing in London and the paving of Smithfield, may not be quite so frequently included, but their presence still serves to reinforce the impression of interest in London's physical development.

Many of these references are found in the almanacs of Samuel Perkins, available from 1625. Perkins made a special feature of his chronological tables which, as Capp noted, are

[1] See table 2.1 in chapter 2 for a detailed analysis of the almanac chronological tables, and appendix 1 for full almanac citations.
[2] Perkins, (1627).

substantially more detailed that those of any other almanac.[3] The chronological table in Perkins' almanacs were seven pages long in 1625 and had grown to eleven pages by 1640. No other almanac has more than a double page of chronology. Perkins therefore incorporated several unique events in his almanacs. By 1640 these included the fire on London bridge already mentioned (1212), the building of Ludgate, an early fire in St Paul's Cathedral (1086), tiling first used in London (1247), a second fire in St Paul's (1443), the creation of a 'New River' in 1613, which piped drinking water from Amwell to London and repairs undertaken to St Paul's in 1633. Perkins' almanacs were therefore exceptional, but they do illustrate that when more space was given to the chronological table, the amount of London topographical information included rose proportionally.

Ballads do not have so much focus on London's historical topography, because the form was not so suited to the description of place. Yet the history of London's places and spaces *is* still present. The anonymous (and badly preserved - with even the title unclear) 1633 ballad *pitty, to all people that shall heare of it in [?]ull fire that hapned on London-Bridge,* refers to a fire found in 'the Chronicle of Stowe' that happened on the bridge several centuries ago, and compares it to a more recent fire.[4] The ballad *Cheapsides Triumphs, and Chyrones Crosses Lamentation* describes the Eleanor Cross found on Cheapside and the decay into which it has fallen over time.[5] Other ballads with historical themes also mention specific places as part of their narrative, such as *The lamentable fall of Queene Elnor, who for her pride and wickednesse, by Gods judgment, sunke into the ground at Charing crosse, and rose up againe at Queene hive* and *Londons Glory, and Whittingtons Renown* which refers to Richard Whittington's bequests to various London institutions and his foundation of Whittington college.[6] Though the *focus* of these ballads was not solely on London's topography, the presence of London place names and buildings suggests that the ballad authors believed the appeal of their work was enhanced by references to existing landmarks, and supports the frequent mention of place found in almanacs.

I have argued that the historical content found in ballads and almanacs represents the most distilled version of London history because of the small space they had available, which forced their authors to be highly selective. However, as argued in chapter three, to have reached a large enough audience of Londoners to be considered common knowledge, this

[3] Capp, *Astrology and the Popular Press*, p.33.
[4] Ballad 16.
[5] Ballad 2.
[6] Ballad 10 and Ballad 9.

content must have also been present in a range of other genres. This was certainly the case with London's historical topography. Chronicle plays often enacted key episodes from the history of London and identified their location using place names to ensure the audience were aware of *where* events took place. *The Book of Thomas More* (c.1591) is credited as the first play to make specific use of London's landscape as an intrinsic element of the plot rather than as an undifferentiated backdrop.[7] Cheapside, for example, is deployed as the location at which rioters are about to be hanged.[8] Other key locations where conflict in the play occurs included St Mary's hospital, Paternoster Row and Panyer Alley. The anonymous *The Life and Death of Jack Strawe* (1593) also makes use of London's topography, placing action at the Tower, London bridge and Smithfield. The play locates the 1381 rebel attack on London and the discussions of Richard II and his advisors in the city by using surviving landmarks, allowing the audience to understand the routes taken by the rebels.[9] In Heywood's *Edward IV* (1599) the action of the play is also intrinsically tied to specific locations in London throughout. For example, the rebel Captain Spicing sends his men to Cheapside and encourages the rebels to loot it:

> SPICING: You know Cheapside? There are mercers' shops,
> Where we will measure velvet with our pikes,
> And silks and satins by the street's whole breadth.[10]

Similarly, the Royal Exchange, the building of which is frequently mentioned in the almanac chronological tables, has its construction included as a significant element of the plot in Thomas Heywood's *If You Know Not Me, You Know Nobody II.* More typically chronicle plays focused on the deeds of kings and courtiers, so the foregrounding of this plot line suggests playwrights like Heywood perceived a desire in the audience to know something about the history of London's buildings, or at least a desire to know *where* key events from London's past happened.

Plays were not the only genre which featured London's topography. Isabella Whitney's 1573 poem *Will and Testament* is written in the form of a will, in which the author is dying and leaves all her worldly goods to the city. Though the poem contains no historical

---

[7] Rowland, *Thomas Heywood's Theatre*, p.30.
[8] Anon, *The Book of Sir Thomas More* (Oxford: Malone Society, 1911), III. 1. 7-8.
[9] Anon, *The Life and Death of Jack Straw, a notable Rebell in England: who was kild in Smithfield by the Lord Maior of London* (London: by John Danter, and are to be solde by William Barley at his shop in Gratious-street over against Leaden-Hall, 1593), ESTC S111285.
[10] Thomas Heywood, *The First and Second Parts of King Edward IV*, ed. by Richard Rowland (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005), I. 2. 67-69.

references, it is significant that Whitney constructs the poem topographically, beginning her list of bequests:

> I first of all to London leave,
> because I there was bred,
> Brave buildings rare, of churches store,
> and Paul's to the head.[11]

She goes on to mention many of the key locations included in the almanacs and other sources considered in this chapter, including St Paul's again and Cheapside.

Whitney's choice to arrange her work as a tour around the city is reminiscent of the most famous and influential text focused on the history of London's buildings and streets, John Stow's *Survey of London,* a key source which underpins and exemplifies the popularity of the history of London's topography in print. Though not 'popular' in the sense of cheap or mass produced like ballads or almanacs, the *Survey* was an extremely popular work, re-printed with additional material in 1603 and 1618. The *Survey* contains much of the same historical content as Stow's chronicles, but uniquely it ties the events in the chronicles to London's streets and landmarks, rather than offering a chronological narrative. The entire text overtly performs the same function as chronicle plays and pageants, by explaining London's history to its readers, but with the focus kept firmly on place, with the 'where' prioritised over the 'when'. Ian Archer argues that this was the great appeal of the *Survey* for Londoners, allowing them to develop a sense of 'place, physically and in time', as its description of the history of London's landscape encouraged readers to locate themselves spatially and chronologically in the city.[12] The impact of the *Survey* cannot be underestimated, as it was the clearest articulation between the link Londoners perceived between history and place.

The *Survey* was a text which offered an overview the streets and buildings in all of London's wards. However, perhaps more interesting is that typically, it was the *same* relatively few locations which were cited across these genres. The rebuilding of London by King Lud and his construction of Ludgate is one example of this process. The connection was first made by Geoffrey of Monmouth, and this myth then continued to appear in a range of different texts, alongside being reinforced by the placement of Lud's statue atop the gate. Though the origin of the name Ludgate is far more likely to derive from the

[11] Whitney, *A Sweet Nosgay, Or Pleasant Posye*.
[12] Archer, 'Discourses of History', p.211.

Saxon *hlidgeat* or *hlydgeat* which means postern, Londoners were frequently told that the gate was linked to King Lud in popular print. Lud's rebuilding of London and construction of Ludgate were included in Perkins' almanacs, which asserts that in 69 BC 'Lud began to reign in this land and repaired the City and built a gate on the west part thereof and after his own name called it Ludgate'.[13] Ludgate is also the first London landmark mentioned in Stow's *Survey,* which identifies London as being founded by Brute, and then within a few lines explains its re-building by Lud, singling out Ludgate as a 'strong gate' built and named 'for his own honour'.[14] The *Survey* was such a widely read text in terms of linking location and history in early modern London, that the significance of identifying Ludgate as the only existing structure etymologically linked to the man who was believed to have given London his name must have marked the gate out for Londoners as special.

The link also appeared on the stage; It is probably the aforementioned statue of Lud which Simon Eyre refers to as 'The Lord of Ludgate' in his frequently uttered oath in Dekker's *The Shoemaker's Holiday* (1599).[15] The statue is likely also being rhetorically addressed in the poem *The Cries of Ludgate*:

> Noble King Lud, long heare hast thou stood,
> Not framed of wood,
> But of stones;
> Stones sure thou art, like our creditors heart,
> Which cares not a —For our grones.[16]

Thomas Dekker's *The Dead Tearme* which describes Westminster during the summer vacation outlines the evolution of the city and includes Ludgate. Dekker also includes the building of the city wall under Lud, who 'made he for me a Gyrdle, strong for defence, which being made of Turffe and other such stuffe, trenched rounde about, served in the Nature of a Wall or Rampyre, to keepe and defende off the assaulting enemies'; the Romans then 'adorned my body, and apparrelled it rounde about with stone'.[17] Richard Johnson's treatise *The Pleasant Walkes of Moore-fields* was probably intended as both a compliment to the City officials responsible for the beautification of Moorfields, and a persuasive reminder to his readers that continued funding and care are needed for its maintenance. Yet here as well Ludgate is named, with Johnson including an outline of

---

[13] Perkins, (1630).
[14] Stow, *Survey of London,* (1603), p.1.
[15] Thomas Dekker, *The Shoemaker's Holiday: A comedy,* ed. by Karle Warnke and Ludwig Proescholdt (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1886).
[16] Anon, *A Description of love with certaine epigrams, elegies, and sonnets: and also Johnsons answer to Withers: with the Crie of Ludgate and the Song of the begger* (London: Printed by Edw. Griffin, 1620), ESTC S91696.
[17] Thomas Dekker, *The dead tearme.*

London's origin and history which involved the rebuilding under king Lud, who 'did shape a second frame'.[18]

The construction of Ludgate is only one example of a focus on the history of a select range of London's streets and buildings which frequently featured in a wide range of genres in early modern London. The etymology of place names and the location of key events from London's past were also topics of interest. There are several possible factors suggested below which may have increased the appeal of this historical theme and explain why it was so popular.

The Importance of Place in Contemporary London

If, as most historians of popular culture agree, audience demand was crucial in shaping content, Londoners must have been interested in the history of the capital's topography for so many authors to continue to include this detailed information in their wide-ranging works. One possible reason for this interest was the belief that a knowledge of the capital's history was helpful in conceptualising the *contemporary* cityscape.

By the 1640s London had become a metropolis. The original city remained, partly surrounded by Roman and medieval walls and governed by the Corporation of London. The wall was broached by gates like Ludgate, Aldgate, and Aldersgate, all of which were refurbished in lavish style in the period. But demographic growth and the resultant building explosion that London began to see in the seventeenth century filled in many of the empty spaces that had lain to the east of the city and between London and Westminster, where the Strand and Covent Garden were developed. The skyline of London was still dominated by church steeples, and although the 468-foot spire of St Paul's was destroyed in 1561, the cathedral remained the largest and most dominant feature of the cityscape. However, new building work meant St Paul's and the old churches had many new rivals. A major addition was the building of purpose-built theatres both in the city and on the south bank such as the Globe, the Fortune and the Boar's Head. The Royal Exchange, built in 1566 marked the changing nature of commerce in the city.

The massive changes London underwent in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries meant that the city had become so complex, diverse and heavily populated that no individual could have a working familiarity with all of it; particularly the large number of

[18] Richard Johnson, *The pleasant walkes of Moore-fields Being the guift of two sisters, now beautified, to the continuing fame of this worthy citty* (London: By W. Jaggard for Henry Gosson, and are to be sold at the signe of the Sun in Paternoster Row, 1607), ESTC S109194.

migrants drawn to London each year. These new Londoners experienced 'a diverse collection of social and cultural experiences woven throughout city and suburbs' and any sort of social cohesion was undoubtedly hard to achieve.[19] In this environment, London locations and landmarks began to be used in popular culture to represent the activities which traditionally took place there. In this way, the frequent references to place in popular sources gave new Londoners a swiftly acquired familiarity with key locations through the city and a basic understanding of the purposes which they served, helping them to acclimatise to life in the metropolis more quickly. This socially utilitarian presentation of space sparked what Chris Kyle refers to as 'a growing early modern addiction to landmarks, reference points by which the city was navigated and consumed'.[20] There is no doubt therefore that 'place' in London mattered, and that certain locations became recognised by Londoners as having symbolic associations, reinforced by frequent references delivered in popular print and performance. I would argue that these symbolic functions were reinforced by Londoners being offered added information on the *past* of these locations. This also worked in the opposite direction, with historical accounts being reinforced by situating events in locations with symbolic meanings that Londoners already understood.

The appearance of the Royal Exchange in popular culture is a good example of this process. Perhaps not many of the 400,000 people who lived in London by the mid seventeenth century spent much time in the Royal Exchange, but the location was used in popular texts and performances to symbolise growing consumerism, wealth and increasing foreign trade, and presentations of the building's past reinforced this. For example, the ballad a *Merry Discourse betweene Norfolke Thomas, and Sisly Standtoot his Wife*, by Edward Ford (c.1638) takes the form of a conversation between a couple from Norfolk as they wander through London. The reader is asked to imagine the couple are 'about the Exchange', when they see:

> A world of people fine,
> That do in Silks and Satins shine.[21]

The association of the Exchange with wealth and consumerism is clearly drawn. Likewise in the anonymous *Deaths Dance* (c.1625) the Exchange is highlighted as a place where:

---

[19] Chris Kyle, 'Afterword: Remapping London', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 71.1 (2008), 243-253, (p.244).
[20] Kyle, 'Remapping London', p.244.
[21] Ballad 25.

> They do worldly buy and sell,
> To make their markets good.[22]

In *Dice, Wine and Women* (c.1623) the Exchange is similarly referenced:

> My purse and I did freely range,
> Whereas a new beginner sold,
> Strong waters new, and Tobacco old.[23]

Ballads which took contemporary London as their focus thus often referenced this key location, and reinforced it in the mind of the reader as intrinsically linked to luxury, wealth and commerce. The Exchange was presented in the same way on stage; Crystal Bartolovich suggests that interactions staged within the Royal Exchange in plays such as *Englishmen for My Money* helped Londoners come to terms with the perceived encroachment of foreign merchants in London's economy by highlighting the wealth this created.[24] It is therefore understandable why the building of the Exchange would be thought noteworthy enough to include in almanacs purchased by Londoners, and why playwrights like Heywood would assume an interest in the story behind its construction and how it was designed to fulfil this role, which Heywood provides in his *If You Know Not Me You Know Nobody II* which presents an account of Gresham's construction of the building.

Cheapside was another location featured in popular literature as a place of wealth and conspicuous consumption. The largest open space within the city walls, around four hundred yards long and fifty wide, Cheapside is described in Stow's *Survey* in great detail, with all the monuments and amenities within listed, alongside accounts of events such as jousts and executions which had taken place there.[25] However, Stow also highlights the wealth of the areas, describing Goldsmith's row which ran along the western edge of Cheapside as 'the most beautiful frame of fayre houses and shoppes, that bee within the Walles of London, or elsewhere in England'.[26] Alongside Goldsmith's Row, other expensive shops lined the pavements which contained around four hundred shops and four thousand plots, employing 'enough people to populate a market town of considerable size'.[27] Cheapside held multiple associations for inhabitants of London that were reflected, and partly created, by how it was presented in popular culture. Like the Exchange, the

---

[22] Ballad 4.
[23] Ballad 5.
[24] Crystal Bartolovich, ''London's the Thing': Alienation, the Market, and *Englishmen for My Money*', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 71.1 (2008), 137-156, and Howard, *Theater of a City*.
[25] Stow, *Survey of London,* (1603), p.262.
[26] Stow, *Survey of London,* (1603), p.345.
[27] Karen Newman, "Goldsmith's ware": Equivalence in *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside*', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 71.1 (2008), 97-113 (p.104).

association of Cheapside with wealth was obvious to anyone walking down it, but for someone new to the city the link was also drawn for them in popular entertainment. Cheapside, like the Exchange, was frequently referenced in ballads on life in contemporary London to symbolise wealth and luxury. The 1616 *Pleasant new Songe of a joviall Tinker* describes how:

> In Cheapside then full lightly,
> hee beat upon his Kettle:
> Where when the Gold he did behold,
> he wisht it had been such mettle.[28]

An early seventeenth-century ballad *There's nothing to be had without money*, explicitly groups Cheapside and the Exchange together:

> All parts of London I have tride
> Where merchants wares are plenty,
> The Royall Exchange and faire cheapeside
> With speaches fine and dainty.[29]

Consumers of ballads, of which as chapter two explains there were many, therefore were frequently told that these locations were inextricably linked to wealth and luxury. Also like the Exchange, Cheapside is also used in several contemporary plays to symbolise the wealth of London. In *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside* (1613) much of the action takes place in the shop and home of Goldsmith Yellowhammer, whose wealth allows him to betroth his daughter to a Knight, emphasising the affluence represented by the street. *Eastward Hoe,* first performed in 1605, also locates much of the action in Cheapside, with apprentice Quicksilver singing that Cheapside was 'famous for gold and plate'.[30] Given the wide reach of ballads and plays discussed in previous chapters, it is therefore highly likely that to the majority of those living in the city, these locations had instant connotations with wealth and luxury, and accounts of any historical events situated there were then coloured by this.

Cheapside also contained several separate landmarks, as described by Stow, some with their own associations that featured in popular representations. One was Cheapside cross, originally one of the Eleanor crosses erected in the thirteenth century by Edward I to mark the staging posts of his Queen's funeral procession. Also situated in Cheapside were the Standard and the Little and Great Conduits, which 'ran Claret wine very plenteously' on

---

[28] Ballad 14.
[29] Ballad 19.
[30] George Chapman, Ben Jonson and John Marston, *Eastward Ho*, in *The Roaring Girl and other City Comedies,* the Oxford English drama series (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), V.5.49.

festive occasions, as described by Stephen Harrison who was responsible for constructing the triumphal arches used during James I's entry into London in 1604.[31] The Standard in particular had clear associations with public order and punishments were often undertaken there for symbolic value, a fact Stow draws attention to in the *Survey*.[32] This association with order, power and ceremony was reinforced by Cheapside's use as one of the key staging posts in civic pageantry. The available space meant that the most lavish mayoral pageants and elaborate scenery were deployed on Cheapside. For example, John Taylor's 1634 *Triumphs of Fame and Honour* describes:

> A Pageant in the forme of a Tower, which doth import a Tower of Honour, on the top of which Tower sits one in royall robes, with a majestique Impalement on his head, a scepter in one hand, and a Ball in the other.[33]

This was positioned 'at the upper end of Cheapside neere the little Conduit' from which 'he that sits highest in the place and person of Honour speakes'.[34] Cheapside was also the street through which English and visiting monarchs entered or progressed; when King James made his official entry to London it was from a platform constructed in front of the Eleanor cross on Cheapside that he was addressed by the City's Recorder Sir Henry Montague.[35] The staging of the most elaborate and undoubtedly expensive elements of civic pageantry on Cheapside was partly due to practical considerations given the size of the open space available. Nonetheless this choice would have underlined to any observer that Cheapside was where London presented the best of itself, and if London had a centre, it was there. To authors writing about London history, it was therefore an obvious choice to use Cheapside as a location that various rebels invariably plan to occupy and loot, thus using the contemporary symbolism Londoners were familiar with to add authenticity to their accounts and allow the audience to better understand and identify with the story.

---

[31] Stephen Harrison, *The Arch's of Triumph Erected in Honor of the High and Mighty Prince James. the First of that Name. King, of England and the Sixt of Scotland at His Maiesties Entrance and Passage through His Honorable Citty & Chamber of London. Upon the 15th. Day of March 1603. Invented and Published by Stephen Harrison Joyner and Architect And Graven by William Kip* (London: by John Windet, printer to the honourable citie of London, and are to be sold at the authors house in Lime-street, at the signe of the Snayle, 1604), ESTC S122021.
[32] Vanessa Harding, 'Cheapside: Commerce and Commemoration', *Huntington Library Quarterly,* 71.1 (2008), 77-96 and Stow, *Survey of London,* (1603), p.269
[33] John Taylor, *The Triumphs of Fame and Honour, Or, the Noble Accomplish'd Solemnity, Full of Cost, Art and State, at the Inauguration and Establishment of the True Worthy and Right Nobly Minded Robert Parkhurst, into the Right Honourable Office of Lord Maior of London the Particularities of Every Invention in all the Pageants, Shewes and Triumphs both by Water and Land, are here Following Fully Set Downe, being all Performed by Loves, Liberall Costs, and Charges of the Right Worshipfull and Worthy Brother-Hood of the Cloth-Workers the 29 of October 1634 Written by John Taylor* (London: [n.pub.], 1634), ESTC S5206.
[34] Taylor, *The Triumphs of Fame and Honour*.
[35] Richard Dutton, *Jacobean Civic Pageants* (Bodmin: Keele University Press, 1995), p74.

Like Cheapside, the Tower of London also featured on ceremonial occasions and in civic pageantry. Unlike Cheapside, the Tower had an ambivalent place in popular culture, representing royal power and authority. In ballads, pageantry and plays, the Tower often stood for the coercive power of the crown; in particular it was often presented in its role as a prison and place of punishment. This is how it appears in *A lamentable Ditty composed upon the Death of Robert Lord Devereux, late Earle of Essex, who was beheaded in the Tower of London*, and *A Sorrowfull Song, Made upon the murther and untimely death of Sir Thomas Overbury Knight, who was poysoned in the Tower of London*.[36] The Tower also appears in this sinister guise on stage, as in Shakespeare's *Richard III* (entered into the Stationers' Register in 1597) where the Tower is the place Richard III carries out the tyrannous murders of Lord Hastings and his nephews. In *The Book of Thomas More* c.1591 the Tower is the site of More's imprisonment and death. As an emblem of royal authority, the Tower was also celebrated in a less forbidding sense in civic pageantry, particularly in royal entries as the place the monarch began their procession through London.

Kristin Deiter has presented the counter-intuitive argument that the Tower was often presented in an oppositional sense in pageantry, plays and contemporary ballads, and that Thomas Heywood in particular often used the Tower to symbolise resistance to acts of royal injustice.[37] Nonetheless, for a symbol to be re-interpreted as oppositional suggests its original symbolism was widely understood, and whilst Heywood's works may have subtly criticised monarchical abuse of power, the more obvious symbolism of the Tower as representative of royal authority to Londoners is probably the one most Londoners would have identified with. Again, this symbolism could be best understood through a knowledge of aspects of the Tower's history, and conversely, the contemporary symbolism of the Tower meant that when used as a location in historical accounts, the London audience had a clearer expectation of the sort of events that were likely to be most often depicted.

Ludgate, as mentioned above, also held particular symbolism for Londoners and was also frequently mentioned in popular texts, probably because of Lud's association with the name of London. John Stow credited Geoffrey of Monmouth with the story of Lud's re-building of the city, explaining 'Our Chroniclers write, that London tooke the name of

---

[36] Ballad 8 and Ballad 18.

[37] Kristin Deiter, 'Building Opposition at the Early Tudor Tower of London: Thomas More's "Dialogue of Comfort", *Renaissance and Reformation,* 38.1 (2015), 27-55 and Deiter, "What Citadels, what Turrets, and what Towers'', p.473.

this Lud, and was called Ludston. He was buryed nere to the same Ludgate, in a Temple whiche he there buylded'.[38] Described in Stow's *Survey* as the sixth gate in the wall surrounding the city of London, Ludgate was the most highly decorated entranceway, featuring the aforementioned statue of King Lud, visually linking the man who provided London's name with a tangible landmark.[39]

Ludgate was also highlighted by Stow as a place at which London was both defended and attacked. During the Barons' War 1215-1217 Ludgate was hastily repaired by the Barons to hold London. In 1554 it again marked a barrier when closed against the Wyatt rebels. By 1586, the gate was taken down and rebuilt at a cost of over £1500, and a statue of Elizabeth I added on the west side, demoting the statue of Lud to the eastern side.[40] This decoration was both a consequence and cause of Ludgate's presence in civic pageantry as the symbolic entrance to London where monarchs traditionally entered the city, as Elizabeth did in 1559 and James I in 1604. This imagery reinforced the image presented in popular texts, that to enter through Ludgate was truly to enter London.

Ludgate also featured in popular culture in its other guise, as a debtors' prison. It was first converted to this use in 1378 by Richard II, and as such features in a ballad from c.1623 *A merry progresse to London* where London is described ironically:

> Ludgate ha's nere a bankrupt
> that can, but will not pay:
> The Counter nere a Prodigall,
> that turnes the night to day.[41]

It is also in this guise Ludgate is featured in the plaintive *Crie of Ludgate*, where King Lud is addressed:

> Within thy gates, the cry at thy grates,
> Though it moves the states of this City:
> Our calling, our bawling, our yawling it moves not,
> Our Creditors hearts unto pitty.[42]

Again, an association is made that to address King Lud is to address London as a whole, and though most Londoners would hopefully not spend time in Ludgate prison, such references

[38] Stow, *Summarie*, (1565), p.18.
[39] Stow, *Survey of London*, (1603), p.38.
[40] Stow, *Survey of London,* (1603), p.39.
[41] Ballad 12.
[42] Anon, *A Description of Love*.

in popular print fixed its presence into the shared understanding of the city's inhabitants as a key part of London's landscape.

Perhaps the most iconic aspect of London's topography was St Paul's Cathedral, whose dominance of the London skyline may have been challenged by the 1561 loss of its steeple, but whose function as the largest and most central church in London still placed it at the centre of Londoners' cultural consciousness. The church dated back to Anglo-Saxon times, built in 604 by King Ethelbert. It burned down and was rebuilt frequently over the following centuries, being renovated between 1156-75, and again in the thirteenth century. By 1283 major building work had been completed, and whilst Bishops and Kings attempted to maintain the building (for example in 1320, Bishop Richard Newport ordered that collections taken from all churches within the see be given to repair of the bell tower) by the fourteenth century St Paul's was falling into disrepair. In 1561 a lightning bolt struck the steeple, igniting a massive fire and destroying the tower, an event cited more frequently than any other in the almanac chronological tables. It was also one of the first events from London history to appear in the tables, first being included in Pond and Gresham in 1604.[43] No other event from London history appears in an almanac table until 1607, and arguably this event could be considered more as news, being the 'coming of James to London'.[44]

Moreover, the loss of the steeple is the only event from London history which makes an appearance in almanacs explicitly targeted elsewhere, with Gresham's almanacs produced for York.[45] Also interesting is the reference to the height of Paul's steeple in the c.1630 ballad *A Whetstone for Lyers:*

> From the top of Paul's Steeple,
> In the sight of all people,
> To throw my selfe headlong
> I hold but a toy.[46]

This suggests that despite the steeple's destruction in 1561, its height remained a cultural reference point, and together these references clearly signal the importance St Paul's held for Londoners, and indeed nationally, despite the relative neglect of the building. It was not until the 1630s that Inigo Jones added an impressive new portico to the west front of the Cathedral and in 1633 he began resurfacing the existing building with 'antique ornament'

[43] Pond, (1604), and Gresham, (1604).
[44] Bretnor, (1607).
[45] Gresham, (1604).
[46] Ballad 21.

to symbolise the Stuart renewal of the 'golden age', this refurbishment further reinforcing the continuing importance and centrality of the cathedral to Londoners.[47]

St Paul's was a place of worship, but the cathedral was also a centre of trade and socializing and the churchyard was the main location for book selling. Official proclamations were read out and sermons preached both in and outside the church. The centrality of St Paul's was reinforced through civic pageantry, in which processions moved to St Paul's from Baynard's Castle, and the churchyard was the usual space for one of the pageant stations in the mayoral shows. St Paul's was also where the mayor attended the religious service which formed an element of the day. As one would expect, St Paul's was frequently mentioned in popular literature, much of which was printed and sold in the church-yard, such as *Delia and Rosamond Augmented Cleopatra* by Samuel Daniel, or *The dead tearme* by Thomas Dekker, both of which state that the location of their intended sale on the title page.[48]

References to St Paul's are often off-hand in ballads focused on contemporary London, such as in the ballad *There's nothing to be had without money*:

> For my contentment once a day
> I walkt for recreation,
> Through Paul's, Ludgate, & Fleet-street gay.[49]

This simple inference here being that these are the most iconic locations through which one represents a stroll through London, and the places one would typically expect a visitor to go. Also noticeable is that many of the references to St Paul's refer to the other purposes the cathedral served. In the ballad *Death's Dance* (probably referencing the mural painted in the north cloister of St Paul's representing the Danse Macabre, destroyed in 1549) there is an implied criticism of the use of St Paul's as a place to promenade and socialise:

> If Death would take the paines,
> to go to Paul's one day,
> To talke with such as there remaines,
> to walke and not to pray.[50]

---

[47] Vaughan Hart, 'Inigo Jones's Site Organization at St. Paul's Cathedral: "Ponderous Masses Beheld Hanging in the Air", *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 53.4 (1994), 414-427 (p.414).
[48] Samuel Daniel, *Delia and Rosamond Augmented Cleopatra* (London: James Roberts and Edward Allde for Simon Waterson, and are to be sold in Paules Church-yarde at the signe of the Crowne, 1594), ESTC S105172. and Dekker, Thomas, *The dead tearme,* which is described on the title page as 'printed by W. Jaggard and are to be sold by John Hodgets at his house in Pauls Churchyard'.
[49] Ballad 19.
[50] Ballad 4.

Likewise in Shakespeare's *Richard III*, the pulpit of St Paul's' is the place the despotic Richard uses to disseminate propaganda:

> SCRIVENER: This is the indictment of the good Lord Hastings,
> Which in a set hand fairly is engrossed
> That it may be this day read over in Paul's.
> And mark how well the sequel hangs together.[51]

As with the other locations discussed, the contemporary image of the cathedral as a hub of news and central gathering gives the historical account in the play added immediacy for Londoners who would have known that the pulpit remained the place government messages were announced.

Another key piece of London infrastructure frequently referenced in popular print was London Bridge. As the only way to cross the river on foot, Londoners cannot have failed to be aware of the significance of the Bridge. But apart from its obvious importance as an amenity which allowed Londoners to work, trade, and seek entertainment on the south side of the river, John McEwan has suggested that the bridge was also a great symbol of civic pride. The bridge was re-built in stone in the twelfth century; this massive undertaking similar in scale to the building of a castle or cathedral in terms of money, time and resources.[52] Though it was little used in the Lord Mayor's Show, the bridge featured regularly in royal entries and occasions involving the monarchy.[53] The use of the bridge as a place where Londoners welcomed in royal visitors underlined the sense of ownership the city authorities felt over the bridge, and indeed the city.

Like Ludgate, London bridge also served on stage as a point of entry to London, by which Londoners were both vulnerable to attack, and capable of mounting a defence. In Shakespeare's *Henry VI* the bridge is the point at which Cade's crossing represents his temporary victory:

> MESSENGER: Jacke Cade hath gotten London-bridge.
> The Citizens flye and forsake their houses:

---

[51] William Shakespeare, *King Richard III,* ed. by Janis Lull (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), III.6.1–4.
[52] John McEwan, 'Charity and the City: London Bridge, c.1176–1275', in *Medieval Londoners: Essays to Mark the Eightieth Birthday of Caroline M. Barron*, ed. by E. New and C. Steer (University of London Press: Institute of Historical Research, 2019).
[53] Vanessa Harding, 'Pageantry on London Bridge', in *London Bridge: 2000 years of a river crossing,* ed. by Bruce Watson, Trevor Brigham and Tony Dyson (Suffolk: Lavenham Press, 2001), p.115.

Then slightly later:

> SCALES: How now? Is Jacke Cade slaine?
> 1. CITIZEN: No my Lord, nor likely to be slaine:
> For they have wonne the Bridge,
> Killing all those that withstand them.[54]

Similarly in Heywood's *Edward IV*, London Bridge is one of the locations from which the citizens mount their defence during Falconbridge's attack, as Urswick, the Recorder tells the mayor:

> RECORDER: The streets are chain'd,
> the bridge well-mann'd and every place prepar'd.[55]

Again, contemporary understanding of the symbolic as well as practical purpose of the bridge provide a shorthand by which historical accounts would have been better understood by the London audience, who would immediately grasp that defending the bridge was to defend the whole city. Thus, the inclusion of a relatively large amount of detail on the bridge in the almanac tables of Perkins, and its frequent appearance in many of the other almanac tables is entirely understandable.

London was therefore full of places which held symbolic meaning for Londoners, of which the above are just some examples. These meanings were partially created and then reinforced by references in popular literature, performance and pageantry. Many historians, including Jean Howard, Crystal Bartolovich, Rebecca Tomlin and Lawrence Manley have argued that as London grew, these references to places and their functions became increasingly educational in an informal way. They suggest that as migration caused the population to grow, these allusions to landmarks became a kind of quick, instructional guide by which new inhabitants could more rapidly orient themselves in the city, or at least present the appearance of having done so. It is therefore understandable that the *history* of these locations, presented to Londoners in almanacs, ballads and other popular sources, may have aided this process further, informing Londoners *how* these places acquired their symbolic and practical functions, and conversely, meaning that accounts of London history could be better understood and have more dramatic impact for a London audience when linked to an existing location.

---

[54] William Shakespeare, *Henry VI: part II,* ed. by Norman Sanders (London: Penguin classics, 2015), IV.4.50-51 and IV.5.1-6.
[55] Heywood, *Edward IV*, I.3.47-48.

The Accessibility of Topographical History

If it was the case there was desire for information on the history of London's topography, a necessary condition for its promulgation was that the creators of popular texts were able to access such information readily, and so include this detail in their works without laborious amounts of research. The popularity of chronicles and similar works of history, especially in an epitomised form as discussed in chapter three, provided authors of popular works with easily accessible source materials. Therefore it was not difficult for these authors to find topographical information they could then use to add credibility and depth to their work by setting events in existing places. Moreover, the popularity of chronicles and other historical writing may have reassured these authors that there *was* a desire for this type of topographical information in the frenetic market for cheap print, an impression which must have been confirmed for publishers by the popularity of Stow's *Survey,* unquestionably a work with a historical focus linked intrinsically to location.

Stow's chronicles, the best-selling of the period, were also readily available to provide the topographical information included in almanac tables and other popular works (alongside the *Survey,* which was undoubtedly a key source). Furthermore, in their abridged form, such chronicles were easily accessed. For example, the information on King Lud's re-building of London and the construction of Ludgate is included by Stow in all his works. The 1565 *Summarie* records:

> Lud the eldest son of Hely […] repayred the Citie of London then called Troynovant, with fayre buildyngs and walles: and buylded on the west part therof of, a strong gate, whiche unto this time retaineth the name of hym, and is called Ludgate.[56]

Perhaps even more importantly Stow retains this information in the abridged *Summarie* of 1566, even though the space devoted to pre-conquest history shrunk by eleven pages.[57] The building of Ludgate was also included in Holinshed's 1577 Chronicles, a text which did not follow the fashion for shorter, more accessible chronicles, but potentially expanded the reach of this information to a different kind of readership, suggesting that the acceptance of this apocryphal story was not confined to those only able to access the cheapest forms of print and had a broad social reach.[58]

---

[56] Stow, *Summarie*, (1565), p.18.
[57] John Stow, The summarie of English chronicles (lately collected and published) nowe abridged and continued tyl this present moneth of Marche, in the yere of our Lord God (London: [n.pub.], 1566), STC ESTC S124615, p.16.
[58] Raphael Holinshed, *The firste [laste] volume of the chronicles of England, Scotlande, and Irelande conteyning the description and chronicles of England, from the first inhabiting unto the conquest : the description and chronicles of Scotland, from the first original of the Scottes nation till the yeare of our Lorde 1571 : the description*

The supposed origin of Ludgate was retained by Howes in his 1618 edition of the *Summarie,* though abbreviated to *'*Lud repaired the city of new Troy, and builded on the west part thereof, Ludgate', with the addition 'London tooke the name of Lud, and was called Ludstowne'.[59] Though the 1618 edition of the *Summarie* is a much longer work, the section on pre-Norman history is only thirty-seven pages, and much of the early Galfridian history formerly included is discarded. For example, the building of Billingsgate is attributed to King Belyne in the 1565 edition of the *Summarie*, but Howes removed this from the 1618 edition.[60] This suggests that the link between Lud and Ludgate was by this point so commonly accepted in a that Howes felt obliged to retain it, since etymology was a subject of great interest for Londoners, and it seemed unacceptable not to provide a reason for the naming of London, such a crucial part of the city's history. This perhaps also reflects the influence of popular tastes on which elements of London history 'made the cut' in popular culture which suggests different genres could reflect and reshape each other, a phenomenon discussed in later chapters.

Almanac writers tended to include specific, dateable events from the history of London's landmarks, like the destruction of St Paul's steeple or the building of the bridge. This perhaps explains why the construction of Cheapside, an open space with a collection of landmarks added at different points within, is not mentioned in the almanacs, despite its importance. Nonetheless, such information was available in the chronicles, with chroniclers including the building of the Great Conduit of Cheapside, as Stow does in every edition of the *Summarie,* the 1565 *Summarie Abridged,* and the 1580 *Chronicles*.[61] Holinshed also includes the building of the Conduit, alongside the building of Cheapside's Eleanor cross, as does Stow's editor Howes in 1618.[62] Though unsuitable for easy inclusion in the almanac tables, Cheapside's symbolism in connection with public order *was* underlined by Perkins, who includes the Cheapside location of William Hacket's execution in all his almanacs from 1625.[63] The standard was a traditional place for public executions, with Stow's *Survey* listing several executions which had taken place there since 1293, including that of Jack Cade.[64] Perkins therefore perhaps recognised that by naming Cheapside as the location of

---

and chronicles of Yrelande, likewise from the first originall of that nation untill the yeare 1571, faithfully gathered and set forth by Raphaell Holinshed (London: Imprinted for John Hunne, 1577), ESTC S3985, p.34.

[59] Stow, *Abridgement*, (1618), p.12-13.

[60] Stow, *Summarie*, (1565), p.14.

[61] Stow, *Summarie*, (1565), p.164, Stow, *Summarie Abridged*, (1566), p.131 and Stow, *Chronicles,* (1580), p.302.

[62] Stow*, Abridgement*, (1618), p.107 and Holinshed, *Chronicles*, (1577), p.799.

[63] Perkins, (1625-1640).

[64] Stow, *Survey of London,* (1603), p.269.

Hacket's punishment he underlined the seriousness of the event for Londoners, Hacket having been executed for denying Elizabeth was the Queen.

A further example of the ready availability of information in the chronicles reflecting inclusion of topographical detail in popular works was the construction of London bridge, a highly popular inclusion in the chronological tables, with even more detail on its evolution present in Perkins' almanacs.[65] Like the building of Cheapside and Ludgate, this information was easily found in the chronicles and therefore available to almanac writers; the building of the bridge in the reign of John is included in every edition of Stow's *Summarie,* full and abridged, in Stow's *Chronicles* and in the chronicles of Holinshed.

A fire that took place in 1212 on the bridge referred to in Perkins' almanacs is an interesting example of the way that material from the chronicles appeared in other texts. It is likely that this fire is the one mentioned in the ballad *pitty, to all people that shall heare of it in [?]ull fire that hapned on London-Bridge:*

> As I have read the Chronicle of Stowe,
> One thousand one hundred thirty sixe yeeres agoe
> The Bridge then being builded all of wood,
> Was burned every sticke and stake as't stood.
>
> And many people then was burned too,
> Because out of the fire they could not goe,
> O Lord I wish the like may nere be knowne,
> As this prospect, for which all sigh and groane,
>
> At that same time was burnd aboundance more,
> The fire then the City ran halfe ore,
> From London-stone to Aldgate, and to Paul's,
> It did consume goods, timber, worke, and walls.[66]

The ballad specifically identifies its source as Stow, reinforcing the importance of the chronicles as a source for popular texts. However, whilst Stow's 1565 *Summarie* and 1566 abridged *Summarie* mention 'a great part of Southwark was brent: and in the moneth of August next folowyng, was much harme done in London by fyre', there is no direct mention of London bridge.[67] It is only in the 1580 *Chronicle* and in Holinshed that this fire is identified as damaging the bridge. In the 1580 edition Stow gives the much fuller account included here in full:

---

[65] Perkins, (1640).
[66] Ballad 16.
[67] Stow, *Summarie*, (1565), p.79.

> The Citie of London upon the South side of the River of Thamis, with the Church of our Lady of the Chanons in Southwarke being on fire, and an excéeding great multitude of people passing the Bridge, eyther to extinguish and quoth each, or else to gaze, behold suddaynely the North part, by blowing of the South winde was also set on fire, and the people whiche were even now passing the Bridge, perceyving the same, would have returned, but were stopped by fire, and it came to passe, that as they stayed, or protracted time, the other ende of the Bridge also, namely the South ende was fired, so that the people thronging themselves betwixt the two fires, did nothing else exspect or looke for than death: then came there to ayde them many Shippes and Vessels, into the which, the multitude so undiscretly pressed, that the Shippes being drowned, they all perished, it was sayde, through the fire and the Shipwracke, that there were destroyed aboute thrée thousand persons'.[68]

Holinshed, much more briefly, states:

> The same yeare, the Church of S. Mary Overys, & all the buildings upon London bridge on both sydes the same, were consumed with fyre, whiche was judged to be a signification of some mishap to follow.[69]

It is likely therefore that these authors found the story in Stow's *Survey*, where it also features (although here the dating of 496 AD is a bit questionable) rather than in one of Stow's Chronicles.[70] Nonetheless, the many references to this event demonstrate the interest that the authors of the almanac and ballad believed was felt by Londoners in the history of the bridge, and once again reinforces the link between the chronicles and more popular (in the sense again of accessible and numerous) texts.

The example above was, as stated, probably found in Stow's *Survey,* despite the author's failure to differentiate between the *Survey* and Stow's chronicles. This reinforces that the impact of Stow's *Survey* on linking history with the buildings and streets of London cannot be overstated. Richard Rowland fully credits the *Survey* with the specific use of location in *Edward IV,* a play he argues was inspired by Stow's work.[71] Angela Stock goes as far as to argue William Haughton's 1598 *Englishmen for my Money* is in part a parody of the *Survey*; a joke that only works if the book had by this point achieved 'a measure of notoriety' amongst Londoners, reinforcing the idea that Stow's work was widely known amongst the audience in its own right, and not just a text consulted by prolific writers like Haughton, Heywood and Dekker.[72]

---

[68] Stow, *Chronicles*, (1580), p.251.
[69] Holinshed, *Chronicles*, (1577), p.574.
[70] Stow, *Survey of London, (1603),* p.24.
[71] Rowland, *Thomas Heywood's Theatre,* p.24.
[72] Stock, 'Stow's Survey and the London Playwrights', p.97.

Historians frequently use the word 'nostalgia' when describing the *Survey*.[73] Stow's motives for his frequent digressions into the past when describing London's landmarks and streets may have been his personal taste, but other factors may include his religious conservatism or a desire to inspire his more affluent readers to undertake more charitable giving, which he feared had diminished post-Reformation.[74] Arguably, in many ways the *Survey* served the same function that Jean Howard attributes to city comedies, and that whilst many have commented on the nostalgia and sense of disquiet present in the *Survey* at the pace of change and growth of London, Stow still presents the city as a place with a long and distinguished history, the evolution of which is clear and generally positive. In doing so, Stow connects his readers to London's civic traditions and so 'made London's unprecedented phenomena less troubling and more familiar'.[75]

Whatever Stow intended his readers to infer from his work, his unique style of presenting London clearly had an impact. Though not a chronicle, the *Survey* acted in much the same way in terms of providing information in an accessible form, as is clear from the way popular authors like the one responsible for the ballad *pitty, to all people that shall heare of it in [?]ull fire that hapned on London-Bridge* mined it for dramatic historical anecdotes. The *Survey* was an unusual hybrid, in which historical narrative was derived from 'classical topographia'.[76] The wards of London were used as an organisational tool, but fundamentally the *Survey* was a work of history, with the contents of each section arranged chronologically. As such, its influence in forcing readers to consider topography and history as inextricably linked, and one as the lens through which to consider the other, was highly influential, cementing an interest in the past of London's topography as a popular element of London history. William Walworth, for example, who is discussed in more detail in chapter five, was a figure who appeared numerous times in accounts of London's history, and has several mentions in the *Survey,* but the most detail is given in the chapter on Candlewick Street Ward, because this was the location of his grave, in the church of St Michael's which he founded.[77] Walworth's story was therefore intrinsically linked to a place contemporary Londoner's could see and visit. This link was clearly recognised by contemporary Londoners, Henry Machyn, when recording in his diary the refurbishment of

---

[73] Patrick Collinson, 'John Stow and Nostalgic Antiquarianism', in *Imagining Early Modern London: Perceptions and Portrayals of the City from Stow to Strype, 1598-1720,* ed. by Julia Merritt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp.27-51 (p.28).
[74] Collinson, 'John Stow and Nostalgic Antiquarianism', p.28.
[75] Bonahue, 'Citizen History: Stow's Survey of London', p.62.
[76] William Hall, 'A Topography of Time: Historical Narration in John Stow's "Survey of London", *Studies in Philology*, 88.1 (1991), 1-15 (p.1).
[77] Stow, *Survey of London,* (1603), p.219.

Walworth's tomb in 1562, gives a brief outline of Walworth's exploits alongside a description of the newly 'freshened' gilt work, linking the story inextricably with a surviving location.[78]

The Growth of 'Citizen History'

Another reason for the appearance of so much topographical material in popular texts was the growing popularity of 'citizen history'.[79] Through the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries there was a growing body of literature and entertainment aimed at the 'middling sort' in London, a group increasing in economic and social significance as discussed in chapter one.[80] These texts offered a challenge to the previous characterisation of merchants found in medieval literature as grasping usurers, and instead praised members of the merchant class as civic worthies who selflessly served the city. Many historians across the last forty years have written about the popularity of texts, plays, pageants and other forms of entertainment which glorified London and its wealthier citizens, articulating what Ian Archer calls 'the growing self-importance of the capital'.[81] Historians have analysed particular elements of this new genre such as the use of anachronistic 'chivalric' language in which merchants were praised.[82] These stories borrow from the medieval tradition and contain the 'implicit conventions of romance', that service, loyalty and chivalry are recognised and rewarded.[83] These new representations served the dual purpose of entertaining the middling sort and civic elite, who undoubtedly enjoyed such flattering representation, but also reinforcing to those of a lower social and economic status the virtues and benevolence of London's governors, thus encouraging an acceptance of their power and authority.

Stow's *Survey* was again, in many ways a key example of such a text, including an entire chapter on the 'Honor of Citizens and worthinesse of men', alongside frequent references to benefactions and contributions by leading citizens in the chapters on the city's wards, such as the 'faire almes houses' in Portsoken ward contributed by Richard Hils, former Master of the Merchant Taylors', or the 'landes and Tenements for the use of the

---

[78] Machyn, *A London Provisioner's Chronicle*, f.150v
[79] Bonahue, 'Citizen History: Stow's Survey of London', p.61
[80] Wright, *Middle Class Culture.*
[81] Ian Archer, 'The Nostalgia of John Stow', in *The Theatrical City: Culture, Theatre and Politics in London 1576-1649*, ed. by David Smith, Richard Strier and David Bevington (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp.17-34 (p.19).
[82] Stevenson, *Praise and Paradox*, p.1, and Ralph Hanna, 'Images of London in Medieval English Literature', in *The Cambridge Companion to the Literature of London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp.19-33.
[83] Daryl Palmer, 'Edward IV's Secret Familiarities and the Politics of Proximity in Elizabethan History Plays', *English Literary History*, 61.2 (1994), 279-315 (p.302).

Comminaltie' contributed by former mayor John Rainwel in Billingsgate ward.[84] Texts like the *Survey*, and other works praising the civic elite, such as Johnson's *Nine Worthies of London* (1592) were probably not aimed at the lower end of the market. Nonetheless, the messages and content within can also be detected in more 'popular' literature such as the ballad *The Honour of a London Prentice,* and in chapbooks featuring London heroes with 'rags-to riches' stories like Richard Whittington and is highly likely to also have influenced what was included in the almanac tables and in ballads. [85]

The impact of such literature is discussed in more detail in chapter five, as it also had a profound impact on how figures from London's past were presented in popular print and performance. Nonetheless, this growing genre was also influence the way London's topography was presented. For example, one way of providing London's wealthiest and most influential citizens with 'a dignified history' was through the publicization of their contributions to the creation and upkeep of the infrastructure and landmarks that Londoners could see around them.[86] Drawing attention to the financial contribution of past benefactors to the buildings and amenities Londoners could see and use was a highly effective way of demonstrating wealth, benevolence and civic virtue, reinforcing the existence of a glorious history for the civic elite, and reinforcing their position. An example of sort of approbation was exemplified by the portrayal of the city's water conduits in popular sources. Mark Jenner argues the refurbishment of the conduits was a frequent inclusion in the chronicles, and the conduits were frequently used in civic pageantry as staging points where they were deliberately highlighted by the city's governors to 'construct a civic community' by drawing attention to the generosity of those who funded this crucial civic amenity.[87]

Potentially this also explains the frequency with which the building or repair of London landmarks are included in the almanacs, in particular London bridge. By the mid 1620s the building of the bridge was one of the most frequent inclusions in the almanac tables, featuring in Perkins, Pond, Ranger and White. Whilst the Corporation was not the main financial contributor to the building of the bridge, it took over its administration and upkeep in the thirteenth century, and contemporary Londoners probably credited it with

---

[84] Stow, *Survey of London,* (1603), p.122, p.206.
[85] Ballad 6.
[86] Stevenson, *Praise and Paradox,* p.6.
[87] Mark Jenner, 'From Conduit Community to Commercial Network? Water in London, 1500-1725' in *Londinopolis: Essays in the Cultural and Social History of Early Modern London,* ed. by Paul Griffiths and Mark Jenner (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), pp.250-272 (p.254).

the bridge's creation. When the bridge was returned to civic authority in 1275, after it was given to Queen Eleanor by Henry III in a bid to assert his authority over the city, this restoration symbolically marked the growing 'power, influence and complexity' of civic government.[88] It is possible elements of this dispute are echoed in the ballad *The lamentable fall of Queene Elnor*, which presents a composite evil queen as having a particular dislike of London and Londoners and is discussed more fully in chapter six.[89] Perkins' almanacs, as mentioned above, include many unique entries about various repairs undertaken to the bridge, strongly suggesting it was one of the clearest symbols of civic pride.[90]

A similar process can be perceived in the description of the city's walls found in Stow's 1580 *Chronicles.* In the reign of Henry III, Stow is clear that when flood damage occurred *'*The King caused the walles of the Citie of London, whiche were sore decayed, and destitute of Bulwarkes, to be repaired in more seemely wise than afore they had bin'.[91] However, by the fourteenth century, in the reign of Henry IV, credit for repairs and renovations to London's walls and gates was increasingly given to prominent London citizens, such as 'Thomas Fawconar Maior, caused to breake the wall of London, neere to the ende of Colmanstreete, and made there a Gate upon the moore side, where was none before'.[92] This is a trend that continues. For example, in the reign of Edward IV it is Sir John Crosby who 'By the diligence of this Maior the Wall about London was newe made betwixte Aldgate and Creplegate' and who also gave £100 to the 'repayring of London Wall' in his will. *[93]* Similarly *'*Edmond Shaw, new builded Creplegate of London*,* from the foundation, which gate in old time had bene a prison'.[94] This information is also included in Stow's *Survey*, increasing the chances of it reaching a wider audience. Interestingly, Crosby is mis-identified as the heroic mayor in Heywood's *Edward IV,* perhaps suggesting that Heywood noted a prominent name from the chronicles and decided it would reinforce the messages presented in his play. As with London bridge, the pattern of frequent reminders to readers of the *historical* benevolence of London's governors in chronicles, almanacs and even

[88] McEwan, *'*Charity and the City: London Bridge', p.241.
[89] Ballad 9.
[90] Listed in detail in chapter two.
[91] Stow, *Chronicles*, (1580), p.276.
[92] Stow, *Chronicles*, (1580), p.587.
[93] Stow*, Chronicles*, (1580), p.726 and p.746.
[94] Stow, *Chronicles*, (1580), p.750.

ballads must have helped create a favourable impression of contemporary civic government.

Probably the most famous example of this trend was the attention drawn to Gresham's construction of the Royal Exchange, mentioned thirty-six times between 1604 and 1640 in the almanac tables. Whilst the almanacs do not directly credit Gresham with the construction of the Exchange, Heywood's popular *If You Know Not Me, You Know Nobody II,* with its first three acts revolving around Gresham's building work, suggest the link was well known. This is reinforced by the throwaway reference in Fletcher and Beaumont's 1607 *Knight of the Burning Pestle*, in which an unnamed Citizen exclaims:

> CITIZEN: why could not you be contented, as well as others,
> with "The legend of Whittington," or "The
> Life and Death of Sir Thomas Gresham, with
> the building of the Royal Exchange".[95]

This example is also significant as it demonstrates the attention given to the contribution of wealthy and influential citizens to the infrastructure Londoners saw around them had migrated from the chronicles to the stage, as well as print, further reinforcing the positive image of London's civic worthies to an even wider audience.

Ballads, also occasionally feature this kind of topographical celebration. The best example is the anonymous *Cheapsides Triumphs, and Chyrones Crosses Lamentation,* which credits the 'Brave Citizens of worthy London' with the preservation and ornamentation of the Cheapside cross.[96] The ballad directly credits Londoners with preserving the cross, whose:

> Shining beauty,
> Showes the Cities duty
> and tender care:
> To preserve their rich & sumptuous buildings,
> in stately manner,
> such cost upon her
> they bestow with honour,
> Such is the love they beare.[97]

Lest there be any doubt, the anonymous author tells us:

> How well the Citie,
> With care and pitie,
> respects her owne:

---

[95] Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, ed. by F.W Moorman (London: J.M Dent and Sons, Aldine House, 1913), I.1.20-26.
[96] Ballad 2.
[97] Ballad 2

Moreover, London is compared favourably with other places:

> Put downe faire Oxfordshires chiefe beauty
> Abingtons faire Crosse
> was never grac't thus,
> as is bright Cheaps Crosse,
> Now shining faire and bright,
> whose excellent splendor
> Gives the city light.[98]

Whilst few ballads are so explicitly focused on London's topography, *Londons Glory, and Whittingtons Renown* (c.1640) celebrates Richard Whittington by drawing attention to his contribution to London's upkeep:

> Whittingtons Colledge is
> one of his Charities,
> And a fair Church he built
> to lasting memories.
> New-gate he builded fair,
> for Prisoners to lye in;
> Christs Church he did repair,
> Christian love for to win.[99]

Economic circumstances in the city at the end of the sixteenth century may have also created an environment in which the celebration of historical contributions to London by eminent citizens was further encouraged by the livery companies. Whilst the status of the companies was still high at this point, the Reformation unquestionably caused them to re-consider their role.[100] The companies' economic functions were challenged by the suburban growth of London. Though the later growth that really began to 'cripple late seventeenth-century urban regulation' had not quite developed yet, the steady growth of suburban areas beyond the companies' control, and the supporting stream of migration caused tension.[101] Joseph Ward argues many Londoners felt threatened by those who worked in London but avoided regulation because they lived outside the city, a tension probably felt even more strongly by members of the companies who believed their livelihoods and privileges were under threat.[102] The 'custom of London' probably exacerbated this issue, as

---

[98] Ballad 2.
[99] Ballad 10.
[100] Patrick Wallis, 'Controlling Commodities: Search and Reconciliation in the Early Modern Livery Companies', in *Guilds, Society and Economy in London, 1450-1800,* ed. by Ian Anders Gadd and Paul Wallis (London: Centre for Metropolitan History, 2002), pp.85-100 (p.87).
[101] Wallis 'Controlling Commodities', p.87.
[102] Joseph Ward, 'Imagining the Metropolis in Elizabethan and Stuart London', in *The Country and the City Revisited: England and the Politics of Culture 1550-1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp.24-40 (p.25).

shown by the example of the Drapers, who at the beginning of the seventeenth century had 528 members, of whom only twenty-five were practising drapers.[103]

The companies' utilisation of history in their defence is discussed more fully in chapter six, but it clearly had an impact on the presence of London's topographical history in popular print and performance. As the companies sought ways to protect and enhance their positions, it was often as philanthropic organisations that they primarily re-invented themselves. A clear and easy way to signal and remind Londoners of benevolence enough to justify continued existence was to draw attention to landmarks and infrastructure in London created and financially supported by the companies. The one genre of popular entertainment most easily influenced by the companies and free and accessible to all Londoners was the Lord Mayor's Show.[104] This may explain the frequent attention drawn to the contribution of wealthy members to London's physical history in civic pageantry. For example, the 1616 Mayoral pageant *Chrysanaleia* by Anthony Munday reminds those present of the Goldsmiths' contribution to:

> Our famous Metropolis London, building the Wall and two North Gates therein, Moore-gate, and Criple-gate, as yet their Armes and Memories on them do sufficiently testifie'. The one performed by Thomas Faulconer, Fishmonger, and the other by William Shaw Goldsmith.[105]

Likewise, the 1617 *Tryumphs of Honor and Industry*, praises *'*Sir Thomas Knoles*,* Grocer, who begunne at his owne charge that famous building of Guild-hall in London'.[106]

References to the building of London found in almanacs and ballads were therefore reflective of an emphasis on this information found in chronicles and texts which celebrated civic worthies by drawing attention to their contributions to the city. As those who created and updated these tables were likely to be inhabitants of London, literate and affluent enough to be able to access the popular chronicles, probably present at the mayoral Shows and in all likeliness attendees at plays and readers of popular literature, it is highly probable that this encouraged them to include references to London's topography in their work. This decision was not only due to the frequent exposure to this information

---

[103] Stevenson, *Praise and Paradox*, p.36.
[104] Hill, *Pageantry and Power*, p.28.
[105]Anthony Munday, *Chrysanaleia: The Golden Fishing: or Honour of Fishmongers* (London: by George Purslowe, 1616), ESTC S112982.
[106] Thomas Middleton, *The Tryumphs of Honor and Industry A Solemnity Performed through the City, at Confirmation and Establishment of the Right Honorable, George Bowles, in the Office of His Maiesties Lieuetenant, the Lord Mayor of the Famous Citty of London. Taking Beginning at His Lordships Going, and Proceeding After His Returne from Receiuing the Oath of Maioralty at Westminster, on the Morrow Next After Simon and Judes Day, October 29. 1617* (London: Printed by Nicholas Okes, 1617), ESTC S112598.

they experienced, but also by the awareness that their potential audience had also experienced the same thing and would thus appreciate and expect the inclusion of this information.

Imitation of Elite Literature: Antiquarianism and Chorography

The growing popularity of works which praised London's civic elite was one reason for the presence of historical topography in popular entertainment. However, a similar but distinct contributing factor for this popularity may have been an attempt by popular authors to imitate themes that were beginning to appear in more elite literature. It is clear that a great deal of popular culture 'took its cues' from above and the interests of the political, and in London, civic elites were well represented in cheap print.[107] The interest shown in the past of London's landscape in cheap print may therefore reflect the growing interest in antiquarianism and the genre of chorography in more expensive and exclusive literature which began in the late sixteenth century, produced with a socially wider urban audience in mind.

Interest in the history of the physical environment, the visible remains of the past and the origin and evolution of place names was growing in Europe as a whole, but particularly in England during this period. This can be seen in the popularity of Camden's *Britannia*, originally published in 1586. This text went through eight Latin editions and several continental versions before appearing in translation in 1610. *Britannia* was, to use the contemporary term, a 'chorographical' work, incorporating elements of history and geography to describe place with reference to its history. Camden's text is well known, but there was a range of other chorographical works published at the time. William Lambarde is credited with producing the first chorographical text, the 1576 *Perambulation of Kent*, and the *Britannia* was built on the scholarship of men such as William Harrrison and John Leland, whose *Itineraries* provided source material for Camden. In terms of the history of London, undoubtedly the most influential work of chorography was of course Stow's *Survey,* published in 1589 and frequently reprinted. Stow himself acknowledges his debt to Lambarde in the 1603 edition of the *Survey.*[108]

The popularity of chorography was partly a consequence of the rise of antiquarianism which developed at the same time as chorography.[109] The Society of Antiquaries received

[107] See Bayman, 'Printing, Learning, and the Unlearned', p.76.
[108] Stow, *Survey* (1603), pp.xcvii.
[109] F.J. Levy, 'The Making of Camden's Britannia', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 26.1 (1964), 70-97 (p.76).

its royal charter in 1751, but the movement began earlier in the circle of scholars surrounding Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury between 1559-1575. Antiquarianism continued to flourish in the 1580s and 1590s, with the first known meeting of the Society in November 1590. The increasing interest in the field can perhaps be detected through the amount of satire aimed at the pastime, which, Wyman Herendeen suggests 'shifts tellingly' from the historian to the antiquarian.[110] The movement included scholars such as Fleetwood, Lambarde, Harrison, Camden, and of course Stow, most of whom produced works or conducted research with a chorographical or antiquarian focus. The work of William Fleetwood, for example, demonstrating the growing interest in etymology which is one of the hallmarks of antiquarian works, as evidenced by the extended focus on Saxon and Danish origins of place names in his 1575 treatise on the Duchy of Lancaster.[111]

Although antiquarianism and chorography may have been closely intertwined, they were considered separate disciplines from history in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Antiquarian research tended to have a narrower focus, made greater use of original manuscript sources and displayed more willingness to use material remains to look at the past more critically, a fashion which strongly influenced portrayals of London's topography in print.[112] Historians tended to be more focused on producing narratives, often collated from existing historical works with a return to original sources not considered necessary or indeed as desirable as a polished narrative. John Stow differentiated his historical work in the *Summarie* and his *Chronicles* from his antiquarian work and most contemporaries also saw them as very different.[113] Camden draws attention to the distinction between the two by referring to himself deprecatingly as 'of the lowest fourme in the schoole of Antiquitie', rather than as a historian, and in doing so emphasises that *Britannia* is a work of chorography, and a study of antiquities, not a history.[114]

---

[110] Wyman Herendeen, 'William Camden: Historian, Herald, and Antiquary', *Studies in Philology*, 85.2 (1988), 192-211 (p.195).
[111] J.D. Alsop, 'William Fleetwood and Elizabethan Historical Scholarship', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 25.1 (1994), 155-176 (p.169).
[112] Christina DeCoursey, 'Society of Antiquaries (act. 1586–1607), ODNB, https://www-oxforddnb-com.ezproxy.lib.bbk.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-72906.
[113] Oliver Harris, 'Stow and the Contemporary Antiquarian Network', in *John Stow and the Making of the English Past,* ed. by Ian Anders Gadd and Alexandra Gillespie (London: British Library, 2004), pp.27-35.
[114] William Camden, *Britannia, or A chorographicall description of the most flourishing kingdomes, England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the ilands adjoyning, out of the depth of antiquitie beautified with mappes of the severall shires of England: written first in Latine by William Camden Clarenceux K. of A. Translated newly into English by Philémon Holland Doctour in Physick: finally, revised, amended, and enlarged with sundry additions by the said author* (London: Printed by F. Kingston, 1637), unnumbered page, ESTC S2550.

Camden's antiquarian rather than historiographical focus is clear from his preference for explaining London's topography with reference to existing remains, and only then blending this with the written record, an approach Stow emulates. For example, in Camden's discussion on the walls of London he explained that part of the wall 'is by the continuall flowing and washing of the River fallen downe and gone. Yet there appeared certaine remaines thereof in King Henry the Seconds time, as Fitz-Stephen, who then lived, hath written'.[115] Likewise in his description of St Paul's, Camden fuses what he has observed with the written record:

> The East part of this Church, which seemeth to bee the newer and curiously wrought, having under it a very faire Arched Vault, which also is
> Saint Faithes Church, was begunne of the ruines of that Palatine Castle (which I speake of) by Maurice the Bishop; about the yeare of our Lord 1086. when as before time it had beene consumed by a woefull accidentall fire: whereof William of Malmesbury writeth.[116]

Camden also looked for historical explanations for the presence of landmarks, rather than accepting more fantastical ones or repeating uncritically existing traditions. His treatment of London stone is a good example. Referred to in popular culture as a point which marked both ownership and the boundary of London, the stone is mentioned in Shakespeare's *Henry VI* as the place from which Jack Cade assumes command over the city:

> (*Enter Jacke Cade and the rest, and strikes his staffe on London stone*).
> CADE: Now is Mortimer Lord of this City,
> And heere sitting upon London Stone,
> I charge and command, that of the Cities cost
> The pissing Conduit run nothing but Clarret Wine
> This first yeare of our raigne.[117]

This suggests some sort of central, symbolic role for the stone, an idea reinforced by its oversized representation on the Agas map, alongside the naming of the adjacent church, 'St Swithin *at* London stone' for its proximity.[118] The origins and purpose of the stone are in fact obscure, with some suggestion that the stone had been considered 'London's talisman or palladium' since the medieval period.[119] Both Camden and Stow keep their explanations much more prosaic. Stow describes the stone and explains 'The cause why this stone was

---

[115] Camden, *Britannia,* p.423.
[116] Camden, *Britannia,* p.425.
[117] Shakespeare, *Henry VI: part II,*, IV. 6. 1-5.
[118] Ralph Agas, 'Plan of London', c. 1560-1570, *British History Online*. <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/london-map-agas/1561/map>. [accessed 10 May 2021].
[119] John Clark, 'London Stone: Stone of Brutus or Fetish Stone—Making the Myth', *Folklore* , 121.1 (2010), 38-60 (p.38).

there set, the verie time when, or other memory hereof, is there none', though he goes on to offer some theories:

> Some have saide this stone to have beene set, as a marke in the middle of the cittie within the walles: But in truth it standeth farre nearer unto the river of Thames, then to the wall of the city, some others have saide the same to bee set for the tendering and making of paymentes by debtors to their creditors, at their appointed daies, and times, till of later time, paymentes were more usually made at the font in Pontes church, and now most commonly at the Royall Exchange, some againe have imagined the same to bee set up by one John or Thomas Londonstone dwelling there against, but more likely it is, that such men have taken name of the stone, rather than the stone of them.[120]

Camden explains the presence of the stone as 'a Milliary, or Milemarke, such as was in the Mercate place of Rome'.[121] This attempt to explain the topography of the city through an investigation of written and material remains, rather than the acceptance of myth and tradition, is a clear mark of the genre, and perhaps can be linked to the chronological tables in almanacs assigning precise dates to the construction or destruction of the landmarks they include, suggesting a more archaeological focus than is found in other popular representations.

This preference for archaeology rather than myth may also explain why Stow was so sceptical about the existence of giants, a common belief elsewhere in England.[122] The only reference to giants in the *Survey* was in a description of a house in Bredstreete ward where a forty-foot pole, said to be the lance of Gerrard the giant was preserved. Stow however was clearly uncomfortable with this explanation, writing that an explanation for the pole:

> could the master of the Hostrey give me none, but bade me reade the great Chronicles, for there he heard of it: Which aunswere seemed to me insufficient, for he meant the description of Britaine, for the most part drawne out of John Leyland his Comentaries, (borrowed of myselfe) and placed before Reyn Wolfes Chronicle, as the labours of another (who was forced to confesse he never travelled further, then from London to the University of Oxford) he writing a chapter of giants or monstrous men, hath set down more matter then troth, as partly against my will, I am enforced here to touch.[123]

Stow's clear distaste for this story, which he felt 'enforced' to include, reflects his antiquarian focus and distrust of myth, but Stow's scepticism about giants was perhaps also a consequence of the urban environment. Whereas in many villages 'the exploit of a giant readily accounted for huge features in the landscape, either natural or man-made', in

---

[120] Stow, *Survey of London,* (1603), p.225.
[121] Camden, *Britannia,* p.423.
[122] Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture,* p.239.
[123] Stow, *Survey of London,* (1603), p.350.

London the landscape was mostly built over, and as such there were few visible landmarks that did not already have a documented history or existing archaeological explanation.[124] Stow's *Survey* usually attempts to some historical record for the landmarks he describes, even if it was inaccurate. The building of the Tower, for example, was erroneously attributed to Julius Caesar, although even here Stow makes it clear this 'hath beene the common opinion: and some have written (but of none assured ground)'. [125] Sources like the London Chronicles, discussed in chapter three meant that even the oldest buildings in London usually had some written antecedents that removed the need for an invented mythological history.

The closest Stow comes to accepting myth is in his description of Brute's founding of the city, but even here, Stow excuses the fantastical nature of the story by claiming:

> Antiquitie is pardonable, and hath an especial priviledge, by interlacing divine matters with humane, to make the first foundation of Cities more honourable, more sacred, and as it were of greater majestie.[126]

Alongside an interest in material remains of the past rather than an acceptance of myth, a growing interest in the etymology of place names was a major aspect of antiquarian and chorographical studies in the sixteenth century. A desire to explain how places were named was not a new phenomenon, Geoffrey of Monmouth also expressed an interest in the etymology of place names and was one of the first to identify London as originally called Trinovantum (or Troynovant) then explain its name change with reference to King Lud.[127] As discussed above, this link possibly explains the focus on Ludgate found in so many popular sources, in particular the almanac tables, where authors clearly found it hard to resist linking the founder who gave the city his name to a supposedly surviving landmark.

Adam Fox makes the interesting argument that the desire to explain the naming of places by linking them to famous figures from the past was common throughout England, offering the examples of the village of Nesting, so-called according to inhabitants because King Alfred found a child in an eagle's nest there, or Halifax, which locals explained to William Camden was named after the 'holy hair' of a virtuous local maiden, beheaded by a lustful clergymen who placed her head in a tree from where local people took the hair as a relic.[128] It is therefore easy to see how it was felt desirable to provide the capital with a similar

---

[124] Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture,* p.239
[125] Stow, *Survey of London,* (1603), p.44.
[126] Stow, *Survey of London,* (1603), p.1.
[127] Given-Wilson, *Chronicles,* p.129.
[128] Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture,* pp.231- 232.

story, and indeed, such stories were also often presented about locations *within* London, such as Shoreditch, discussed in more detail below.

Lud of course was only believed to have *re*-named London. It seems inconceivable that there can have been anyone living in the city who had managed to avoid hearing the supposedly original name of Troynovant, claimed by Geoffrey of Monmouth for London, along with the natural corollary that London was founded by the Trojan refugee Brutus. This event (alongside the subsequent re-naming by Lud) features in all of Stow's chronicles, including the later editions by Howes, and in Holinshed.[129] A consistent proponent of this story, through which the name was probably repeated most frequently to Londoners, was the Lord Mayor's Show. Thomas Dekker's 1612 *Troia-Nova Triumphans* references the supposed original name in the actual title, but the vast majority of Shows allude to this story and use the name.[130] The earliest extant Show text, Peele's 1585 *Device of the Pageant Borne before Wolstan Dixie* tells us 'New Troye I hight whome Lud my Lord surnam'd, London'.[131] This information is repeated in the 1591 *Decensus Astraeae*, and then with great regularity, all the way till the 1637 *Londini Speculum*, which again describes London's origin in detail:

> Her Antiquity she deriveth from Brute […] cald by him Trinovantum, or Troynovant, New Troy, to continue the remembrance of the old, and after, in the processe of time Caier Lud, that is, Luds Towne, of King Lud, who not onely greatly repaired the City, but increased it with goodly and gorgeous buildings; in the West part whereof, he built a strong gate, which hee called after his owne name Lud gate, and so from Luds Towne, by contraction of the word and dialect used in those times, it came since to be called London.[132]

---

[129] Stow, *Summarie*, (1565), p.9, p.18, Stow, *Summarie Abridged*, (1566), p.8, p.16, Stow, *Chronicles*, (1580), p.18, p.32, Holinshed, *Chronicles,* (1577), p.39, p.34.

[130] Thomas Dekker, *Troia-Nova Triumphans London triumphing, or, The solemne, magnificent, and memorable receiving of that worthy gentleman, Sir John Swinerton Knight, into the citty of London, after his returne from taking the oath of maioralty at Westminster, on the morrow next after Simon and Judes day, being the 29. of October. 1612. All the showes, pageants, chariots of triumph, with other devices, (both on the water and land) here fully expressed. By Thomas Dekker* (London: Printed by Nicholas Okes, and are to be sold by John Wright dwelling at Christ Church-gate, 1612), ESTC S105286

[131] George Peele, *The Device of the Pageant Borne before the Woolstone Dixi Lord Maior of the Citie of London. an. 1585* (London: By Edward Allde, 1585), ESTC S100368.

[132] Thomas Heywood, *Londini Speculum: Or, Londons Mirror Exprest in Sundry Triumphs, Pageants, and Showes, at the Initiation of the Right Honorable Richard Fenn, into the Mairolty [Sic] of the Famous and Farre Renowned City London. all the Charge and Expence of these Laborious Projects both by Water and Land, being the Sole Undertaking of the Right Worshipful Company of the Habberdashers* (London: [n.pub.], 1637), ESTC S106211.

The founding of Troynovant, and the explanation for the name change, is also frequently referred to in a wide range of other texts, suggesting that this information was a commonly held belief in the city. Dekker's *The Dead Tearme* explains that London, originally named Troynovant, was at the instigation of King Lud renamed 'Ludstone'.[133] Likewise Richard Johnson's *The Pleasant Walkes of Moore-fields* identifies London's original name as Troynovant, and the change to London is again ascribed to Lud who 'called this Luds Towne by his princely name'.[134]

This information is also ubiquitous in chorographical works, of which, given the popularity of the genre in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, there are many examples. *Albions England, Or historicall map of the same island* (1586) by William Warner tells the reader that:

> Brute buyld up his Troy-novant, inclosing it with wall:
> Which Lud did after beautifie, and Luds-towne it did call
> That now is London: evermore to rightfull Princes trewe,
> Yea Prince and people still to it as to their Storehouse drewe.[135]

The name also features occasionally in ballads, such as the 1635 *The witty westerne lasse*:

> Incontinent to Troynovant,
> for my content Ile thither hie me,
> Where privately, from company,
> obscurely Ile lye, where none shall descry me.[136]

Despite this ubiquitous story, the popularity of chorography and the rise of antiquarianism led to, or certainly coincided with, a growing scepticism about the Trojan origin of Britain. Yet even when the myth is being treated with suspicion, its wide reception is clear. For example, in John Weever's 1631 *Ancient Funerall Monuments,* the argument is made:

> Fabuled from Brute Troynovant, from Lud Ludstone; but by more credible writers; Tacitus, Ptolemy, and Antonine, Londinium; by Amianus Marcellinus for her successive prosperitie, Augusta, the greatest title that can be given to any.[137]

---

[133] Dekker, *The dead tearme.*
[134] Johnson*, The Pleasant Walkes of Moore-fields,* p.14-15.
[135] William Warner, *Albions England Or historicall map of the same island: prosecuted from the lives, actes, and labors of Saturne, Iupiter, Hercules, and Æneas: originalles of the Brutons, and English-men, and occasion of the Brutons their first aryvall in Albion. Continuing the same historie unto the tribute to the Romaines, entrie of the Saxones, invasion by the Danes, and conquest by the Normaines. With historicall intermixtures, invention, and varietie: proffitably, briefly, and pleasantly, performed in verse and prose by William Warner* (London: by George Robinson and R. Ward for Thomas Cadman, dwelling at the great north-doore of S. Paules Church at the signe of the Byble, 1586), ESTC S111586.
[136] Ballad 26.
[137] John Weever, *Ancient funerall monuments within the United monarchie of Great Britaine*.

Even amongst works which seem to be appealing to the historical record, and from which we might expect a less accepting approach, the myth had its defenders. The 1588 *Light of Britayne. A Recorde of the Honorable Originall and Antiquitie of Britaine* by Henry Lyte defends the historical reality of Brutus, claiming:

> We have a multitude of most glorious Recordes and Chronicles, written, and printed, confirmed by the testimonie of Julius Caesar, by Elutherius Pope: by Parliament holden at Norham uppon Twede: and at Lyncolne in the time of King Edward the first, who by his Letters sent from Lyncolne to Pope Boniface, dooth approve Brutes Historie to bee no fable… Thus, the name 'Troia nova, nowe called London.[138]

Richard Harvey also defends the myth and re-affirms the original name in his 1593 *Philadelphus, or a defence of Brutes, and the Brutans history,* writing:

> Brute the first named this Iland Brutanie of his owne Noble and famous Name: He built a fortunate Cittie by the Tems, and called it Troy-new in perpetuall honour of his owne Countrey.[139]

Later, Harvey again recounts that 'Lud would have the City of Troy new called Caerlud by his owne name'.[140]

Seemingly then, scepticism did not dent the popular belief in the myth, which continued to be deployed in the Lord Mayor's Shows, chronicles, chorographical and historical texts which vigorously defended the story. Indeed, the sceptics, in drawing attention to the debate, potentially further entrenched the story in the public consciousness, and any wariness shown by scholars does not seem to have made much difference to popular belief. So prevalent was the name and attached myth that it appeared in different and unexpected contexts. For example, in the 1638 *Artachthos or A new booke declaring the assise or weight of bread* by John Penkethman, the origin of different ways of weighing bread is explained:

> There are two sorts of Weights with us most in use and allowed, the one is called Troiae pondus Troy weight, or Libra and uncia Troiana of old Troy, or of Troynovant, as the Citty of London was called of old.[141]

---

[138] Henry Lyte '*The Light of Britayne. A Recorde of the Honorable Originall & Antiquitie of Britaine* (London: printed by J. Charlewood, 1588), ESTC S125490.
[139] Richard Harvey, *Philadelphus, or a Defence of Brutes, and the Brutans History Written by R. H* (London: by John Wolfe, 1593), ESTC S125405.
[140] Harvey, *Philadelphus, or a defence of Brutes, and the Brutans History.*
[141] John Penkethman, *Artachthos or A new booke declaring the assise or weight of bread not onely by troy weight, according to the law, but by avoirdupois weight the common weight of england at what price soever, not exceeding five pound the quarter of wheate, shall be sold in the market and conteining divers orders and articles made and set forth by the right honourable the lords and others of his majesties most honourable privie councell, for the making and assising of all sorts of bread lawfull and vendible, within this realme ... whereunto is prefixed a briefe and plaine introduction to the art of numeration ... and lastly hereunto is added. A true relation or collection of the most remarkeable dearths and famines which have happened in england since the comming in of william*

However, though the building of London is included sixty-three times in the almanacs, none of them use the name Troynovant, or refer to Brutus in relation to London. Here perhaps the impact of antiquarianism can be detected. It is possible the growing scepticism about the Trojan story amongst antiquaries and scepticism in works of chorography may have discouraged almanac writers from including an event that was increasingly seen as a myth in their tables. Also interesting is that the strongest proponent of the name and the link to Brutus by the seventeenth century were the Lord Mayor's Shows, sponsored by the livery companies, who had a vested interest in promoting London's link to a supposedly ancient republic, from which the structure of London's civic government could be said to have derived, as is discussed in more detail in chapter six.

The temptation may therefore have been to place more focus on Lud, as the existence of the supposedly material remains of Ludgate and the eponymous link to the city were probably seen as more attractive than to claim veracity for the more distant and mythological name. That said, the story was clearly too widely accepted to be completely discarded, and Brutus' arrival in England is included 105 times in the almanac tables, with the founding on London always dated to the same year or the following one. So, the link to Brutus, even without the name, was retained.

The naming and re-naming of London is the strongest indicator of a growing interest in the etymology and evolution of placenames, but it is not only London itself which is given this treatment. Individual places and landmarks within the city were also the object of speculation. Camden's *Britannia* has countless examples of this desire to explain the evolution of London placenames. For example, Camden tell us 'Lucius Gallus was slaine by a little brookes side, which ran through the middle almost of the City, and of him was in British called Nant-Gall, in English Walbrooke: which name remaineth still in a Street'.[142] Stow's *Survey* is also full of such explanations, such as explaining that Smithfield was so-called because it was originally a clear or 'smooth' field.[143] Sometimes Stow makes it clear he is hazarding a logical guess, as when he identifies Lime Street Ward as being named this because of 'the making or selling of lime there, as is supposed'.[144] Lena Orlin also remarks

---

the conquerour, as also the rising and falling of the price of wheate and other graine, with the severall occasions thereof (London: Printed by Edward Griffine and R. Bishop and are to be sold at ye stationers shops, or at ye chamber of John Penkethman in Simonds Inn in Chancerie lane according to the direction in the frontispiece, 1638), ESTC S114433.

[142] Camden, *Britannia*, p.423.

[143] Stow, *Survey of London*, (1603), p.79.

[144] Stow, *Survey of London*, (1603), p.150.

that John Stow devoted substantial time in the *Survey* to explaining the opaque taxonomy of the city, in which place names no longer matched the purpose for which the name was originally given.[145]

Another popularly held belief was that Shoreditch was so named as it was the death place of Jane Shore, mistress to Edward IV. In the c.1620 ballad *The wofull lamentation of Mistris Jane Shore*, the story is referenced:

> Within a ditch of lothsome sent,
> where carrion dogs do much frequent·
> Which Ditch now since my dying day,
> Is Shore-ditch cald, as Writers say.[146]

This explanation was widely known. It is also mentioned in the 1616 *An exposition of the proper Psalmes used in our English liturgie* by Felix Kyngston, as a cautionary tale in which:

> She who whileom had stretched her selfe on beds of downe, and was frolike with Princes in ivorie pallaces, ended her dayes in open streete, even in a dirtie ditch, and nomina fecit aquis, as some thinke Shorditch is so called as it were Shores ditch.[147]

The popularity of Jane Shore's story in early modern London is discussed fully in chapter five, but the example of the naming of Shoreditch is typical of attempts to find historical explanations for London place names.

For Parker and the circle of scholars he inspired, interest in antiquarian research was stimulated by a desire to establish a historical tradition for the Anglican church that did not rely on Rome. To this end Parker encouraged historians to look at records of the Anglo-Saxon church for evidence of historical independence from Rome, leading to seminal works of religious history like his own 1572 *De Antiquitate Britanniae Ecclesiae* and Foxe's 1563 *Actes and Monuments*. Men like Parker and Foxe, whilst motivated by religion, fuelled a trend towards a more national 'patriotic history', inspired by the events of the Reformation and encouraged by the Elizabethan and early Stuart governments. David Cressy points out the changes in the calendar of celebration in England, and how it was historicised through the addition of state mandated celebrations on historical anniversaries such as 'Crownation day' and 'Gunpowder Treason Day'.[148] This new interpretation of history, as a unifying force

---

[145] Lena Orlin, 'Temporary Lives in London Lodgings', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 71.1 (2008), 219-242 (p.219).
[146] Ballad 22.
[147] John Boys, *An Exposition of the Proper Psalmes used in our English Liturgie* (London: Imprinted by Felix Kyngston, for William Aspley, 1616), ESTC S106193.
[148] David Cressy, 'The Protestant Calendar and the Vocabulary of Celebration in Early Modern England', *Journal of British Studies*, 29.1 (1990), 31-52.

which enhanced the authority of the ruling dynasty, underpins the popularity of works like George Carleton's *Thankfull Remembrance of God's mercy*, which recounted the events of the 1605 gunpowder plot. This text went through four editions between 1624 and 1630, and whilst in many ways a religious text, was fundamentally also a work of history.[149]

This focus on national history, encouraged by central government, reached the general population through 'almanacs and sermons, precepts, proclamations, and unwritten instructions'.[150] The key events highlighted then formed historical landmarks in the development of an English Protestant national memory. This potentially explains why as the seventeenth century progressed, a trend in almanac chronology tables was the inclusion of more and more British history, to the detriment of biblical and 'classical' history. For example, Pond's almanac for 1602 has a short table featuring only three events which could be called British history, such as the Viking invasions and the conquest of 1066.[151] The rest of the table is primarily biblical history, featuring events such as Noah's flood, the Israelites departing Egypt and the desolation of the Temple. Other inclusions are the births of Alexander the Great and Julius Caesar. In 1610, Pond retains the biblical history, but in a longer table, has another thirteen events from British history, such as the destruction of St Paul's steeple in 1561 and a 'general earthquake in England' in 1580.[152] By 1640 Pond has discarded most events from the bible, even using a different type setting to separate out this much smaller section, and the rest of the table is primarily focused on British and European history.[153] Likewise White's almanacs included less and less biblical history as the seventeenth century progressed, with White featuring the birth of Abraham, the reign of Nebuchadnezzar and the departure of the Israelites from Egypt in 1620, all of which are dropped by 1640, where only the biblical flood remains as an event not from British or European history.[154]

The growing popularity of British history may then help explain the presence of so much topographical information in ballads and almanacs. As the focus on British history, as opposed to biblical or classical history grew, this stimulated the popularity of antiquarianism which encouraged engagement with physical and material remains and so

---

[149] George Carleton, *A Thankfull Remembrance of Gods Mercy. in an Historicall Collection of the Great and Mercifull Deliverances of the Church and State of England, since the Gospell Began here to Flourish, from the Beginning of Queene Elizabeth. Collected by Geo: Carleton, Doctor of Divinitie, and Bishop of Chichester* (London, [n.pub.], 1624), ESTC S107513.
[150] Cressy, 'The Protestant Calendar and the Vocabulary of Celebration', p.37.
[151] Pond, (1602).
[152] Pond, (1610).
[153] Pond, (1640).
[154] White, (1620) and White, (1640).

led to a vogue for chorographical works. Whilst antiquarianism and chorography may have been fashions which originated in elite circles amongst university educated men like Parker and Foxe, it is clear that these trends in more expensive literature aimed at an elite audience found their way into cheaper and more accessible texts, trickling down, as fashions tend to do. Camden's *Britannia,* for example, originally published in Latin, was made more accessible through the addition of county maps in 1607, and then translation into English in 1610.

Linked to this phenomenon was what Daniel Woolf identifies as a new 'articulation of a sense of period and the acquisition among a greater proportion of the population […] of a historical mental map'.[155] Woolf suggests that the later sixteenth century marked a transition towards a greater understanding of historical periodisation and the ability amongst readers to relate events from wider world history to one another in a continuous chronology. This may explain why almanac authors believed that their readers would be interested in the fundamental information the tables provided which was 'how long ago' things happened - In this case, the construction of London landmarks. Readers of Sofford's almanacs, for example, were informed that (in 1620) London was founded 2728 years ago, but St Paul's then built a mere 534 years ago.[156] Given a greater understanding of broad chronology in humanist inspired political histories, almanac authors clearly believed their audience would appreciate this tool to help construct a mental map of London's past.

Though many of the texts discussed above were not 'popular', in the sense of cheap and widely available, most writers of popular historical works in the seventeenth century were from the 'middling sort', such as Thomas Deloney, Richard Grafton and Anthony Munday. This background makes it likely these authors were aware of fashions in more elite literature, and when producing their own works of popular history were likely to deploy these trends in a way the believed the wider public wanted.[157] Printers and publishers too, whose business allowed them to see trends in the market were important in popularising history. In the case of almanacs in particular, where authorial complaints against publishers meddling with their product attests to the publisher's responsiveness to public demand in a crowded market. The selection of events like the building of London landmarks clearly demonstrates this process. Publishers, as members of the Stationers, and so involved in the rudimentary process of censorship through registration, were aware of what types of

[155] Daniel Woolf, 'From Hystories to the Historical: Five Transitions in Thinking about the Past 1500–1700', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 68. 1-2 (2005), 33-70 (p.38).
[156] Sofford, (1620).
[157] Raymond, 'Introduction' in *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture*, p.7.

history would be looked on favourably by the government, with, for example, the play *Sir Thomas More* undergoing substantial censorship to remove scenes of rebellion and apprentice disorder.[158] It is possible this self-censorship led to the quick removal of the 'death of Thomas Becket', which appeared only three times in Perkins's almanacs between 1625 and 1627 before disappearing again, commemoration of Becket problematic since the Reformation.[159]

There may also have been an element of cyclicality involved. Thus, the increasing focus on Britain's past in civic pageantry and on the stage, alongside a 'patriotic' history pushed through the creation of new celebrations, meant that the audience had a growing awareness of and therefore appetite for history of this kind. Publishers therefore provided historical content for their consumers because it was what they believed the audience wanted; and in doing so, created and fostered this growing interest in their increasingly well-informed audience.

Conclusion

In conclusion, ballads and almanac tables distilled many references to famous landmarks and features of London's topography from a range of other genres for several reasons. Firstly, because such information was easily accessible in the popular chronicles which, particularly in their abridged form, made dating events such as the building of London bridge or St Paul's easy to find. The growing interest in establishing a broad sense of chronology may also have made not only the inclusion, but the information about 'how long ago' these buildings and landmarks were constructed of interest.[160] A new interest in London's historical topography was also created through the attempt to imitate themes and topics found in more expensive, elite literature. The increasing popularity of chorography and antiquarianism led to these becoming a feature of popular entertainment. The practical outcome of this was that there were many relatively cheap and easily navigable texts available to busy authors and playwrights, who then took advantage of this and produced even more historical content. A growing interest in national history, inspired initially by the Reformation and encouraged by the war with Catholic Spain which continued through the 1590s gave further impetus to this trend.

---

[158] Janet Clare, 'Greater Themes for Insurrection's Arguing': Political Censorship of the Elizabethan and Jacobean Stage', *The Review of English Studies,* 38.150 (1987), 169-183.
[159] Perkins, (1625, 1626, 1627).
[160] Woolf, 'From Hystories to the Historical'.

The growth of the new genre of 'citizen history' was also a factor in explaining the popularity of this topic. Books, plays and pageants which celebrated London and its citizens were increasingly popular at the beginning of the seventeenth century. One aspect of this celebration was to praise the physical development of the city and the benefactors who made it possible. This new genre grew in popularity as it was consumed by the growing middling sort, who enjoyed this portrayal of the merchant classes to which they belonged, and was also likely to have been promoted by these same members of the civic elite because of the values it promoted of respect and gratitude for citizen worthies who formed London's ruling class.

It is important to acknowledge that whilst these reasons were undoubtedly important in explaining the presence of so much topographical information in popular historical works, there is a convincing argument than many historical references in popular literature and plays had far more to do with contemporary concerns and events than historical ones. Vanessa Harding has argued that the scenes of rebellion in Heywood's *Edward IV* are far more a commentary on the tensions present in the London of the 1590s than with Cade's actual rebellion.[161] Likewise, Kristin Deiter argues that representations of the Tower in plays and pageants in the mid seventeenth century 'underscored and deepened the conflict between London and the Crown as England moved toward civil war', as opposed to the desire to represent actual historical events which took place at the Tower.[162] Likewise, Thomas Heywood's portrayal of Thomas Crosby in *Edward IV*, as a foundling provided for by Christ's Hospital who later bequeaths it £100 per year has in all likelihood much less to do with the 1470s than with the tensions present in London in the 1590s.[163] Richard Rowland goes as far as to suggest that the placing of conflict in specific locations in the *Book of Thomas More* was so provocative that the Elizabethan censors prevented the play being staged after its original performance.[164]

Nonetheless, whilst authors may have chosen to make their political commentary less inflammatory by giving their work a historical setting, and thus more likely to avoid censorship through the refusal of a license for printing by the Stationers' Company, they clearly perceived their work to be enhanced through linking it to the past of London's buildings and streets. A consequence of this was that in print and performance, Londoners were frequently presented with the history of the landscape around them. Therefore, if the

[161] Harding, 'Cheapside: Commerce and Commemoration'.
[162] Deiter, 'Mapping the Tower of London', p.479.
[163] See Rowland, *Thomas Heywood's Theatre 1599-1639,* p.47.
[164] Rowland, *Thomas Heywood's Theatre 1599-1639,* p.34.

representation of place in popular culture served the purpose of socialisation that Howard, Manley and others describe, providing Londoners with a simple guide to the history of their city may have served the same purpose.

The combined outcome of these factors was that an inhabitant of London, even one who had arrived in the capital recently, was surrounded by media through which they could learn about the history of London's topography; from the cheapest genres like almanacs and ballads, to plays and pageants and for the more affluent, many other books. Some of these forms did not even require literacy, like pageants and plays. The Lord Mayor's Show was free, and ballads, read aloud or sung, made this history even more accessible. It therefore seems highly likely that every inhabitant of London would have had some awareness of the history of the buildings around them, an awareness that was shared, perhaps in differing levels of depth, between all Londoners, potentially creating some sense of shared identity.

5. Figures in London's Popular History

A second topic identified from my initial research on ballads and almanacs was an interest in stories about selected figures from London's past. This was a theme found more in ballads than almanacs, since ballads, with their narrative form were more appropriate for stories of individual lives or episodes. The full details on the appearance of figures from London's past in the ballad sample can be found in table 2.2. In brief, the story of Jane Shore was very popular, being the focus or a passing reference in seven of the ballads. The second Londoner featured most heavily was Richard Whittington who was the subject of two surviving ballads, and the final historical figure with two mentions in the ballads was William Walworth.

Though the almanac chronologies do not make mention of any particular figure from London's past by name, Richard Whittington and William Walworth were former mayors of London and the creation of the mayoralty in London, an event which was frequently included in the almanac tables, suggests an interest in the office and its past incumbents. Furthermore, the almanac tables include twenty-five references to 'the coming of James' to London in 1604 thus reinforcing the connection between monarch and city.[1] This association between London and the monarchy is also highlighted in the stories of notable Londoners who in some way had contact with the monarch, another feature the ballads and almanacs share, as will be developed later.

This chapter explores why these stories were popular in early modern London. It looks at the appearance of each figure in print and performance and identifies features which these stories share. I also suggest that these shared features led to these stories becoming 'common knowledge' in London, and as such, a method by which shared values were formed and a sense of identity as a Londoner constructed. The focus in this chapter will be on the three individuals identified above. However, a broader study of other genres in which the stories of individuals are frequently used widens this select group. Simon Eyre is one example of a character who achieved some popularity in print and on stage. Cases such as this will be discussed comparatively; but the three figures who appear in the ballads remain the focus.

Deployment of a character, historical or even fictional, to enhance or create a sense of identity was not unique to London, but part of a wider national phenomenon. As discussed

[1] See table 2.1 in chapter 2 and appendix 1.

in chapter four, David Cressy has argued that one of the consequences of the Reformation and the break with the past that this entailed was the development of a new calendar that helped create 'a mythic and patriotic sense of national identity'.[2] This growing sense of national identity had an impact on portrayals of London's topography, but it was even more influential in the renewed or enhanced interest in figures from England's past (or imagined past) that began to more frequently appear in popular literature and entertainment. One of the clearest examples of this process was the widespread popularity and political interest in "Arthurianism" which emerged at the end of the sixteenth century.[3] Interest in King Arthur grew greatly in the late sixteenth century, possibly because Arthur was one of the only English traditional heroes famous enough to appear in European romances and stories. Indeed, Arthur was the only English figure to appear in the original Nine Worthies, as first established in the early fourteenth century by Jacques de Longuyon in his *Voeux du Paon* (1312).[4] The fascination with Arthur continued to develop in the Elizabethan period and, not confined to literature, can be linked to the growing interest in chivalry apparent in London in the later sixteenth century. One example of this trend was the establishment of archery societies which flourished in London in the 1570s (one named King Arthur's Men) which continued to be popular into the seventeenth century.[5]

Another interesting example is the story of Guy of Warwick. Tales of Guy seem to have originated in France in around 1200, but the character migrated from Anglo-Norman romances to ballads, chapbooks and the stage by the early modern period, becoming a 'legendary English hero'.[6] Guy was usually described in these texts as a son of the steward of the Earl of Warwick, who fell in love with the Earl's daughter Felice and embarked on a series of adventures, including slaying dragons, to win her hand. He then undertook a pilgrimage to Jerusalem where he fought and killed a Saracen giant called Amarant. On returning home he helped defend England against the Danes, fought another giant called Colbrand and then retired to Warwick to live as a hermit.[7] Like the figures from London's history discussed in this chapter, Guy's tale appears or is referenced in multiple ballads

---

[2] David Cressy, *Bonfires and Bells: National memory and the Protestant Calendar in Elizabethan and Stuart England* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1989), p. xi.
[3] Whitfield White, 'The Admiral's Men, Shakespeare, and the Lost Arthurian Plays Of Elizabethan England', p.33.
[4] Whitfield White, 'The Admiral's Men, Shakespeare, and the Lost Arthurian Plays Of Elizabethan England', p.34. See also James Carley, 'Polydore Vergil and John Leland on King Arthur: The Battle of the Books', *Interpretations*, 15.2 (1984), 86-100.
[5] Jim Ellis, 'Archery and Social Memory in Sixteenth-Century London', *Huntington Library Quarterly* , 79. 1 (2016), pp.21-40.
[6] Annaliese Connolly, 'Guy of Warwick, Godfrey of Bouillon, and Elizabethan Repertory', *Early Theatre*, 12.2 (2009), 207-222 (p.207).
[7] Connolly, 'Guy of Warwick, Godfrey of Bouillon, and Elizabethan Repertory', p.208.

such as *A pleasant Song of the Valiant Deeds of Chivalry Atcheiv'd by that Noble Knight, Sir Guy of Warwick: Who for the Love of fair Phillis became a Hermit, and died in a Cave of a Craggy Rock, a Mile distant from Warwick***,** which seems to have been popular, given the number of surviving copies.[8] He is also referred to in *Cupids wanton wiles* and *Truths Integrity: Or A curious Northerne Ditty, called, Love will finde out the way*.[9] Ronald Crane argues that the popularity of the story of Guy had begun fading by the mid sixteenth century. However, at the beginning of the seventeenth century it took on a new life, appearing in ballads which showed a 'revival of interest in chivalrous romance and the legends of the Middle Ages which characterized the later years of the sixteenth century'.[10] Like King Arthur, Guy's popularity can be linked to his English origins, with Guy viewed as 'a fully accredited part of that glorious past of which all Englishmen were coming to be so proud'.[11] Guy's importance in the national consciousness was reinforced by the fact he replaced Godfrey of Bouillon in some versions of the Nine Worthies series in the 1580s.[12] Like the London figures, there may well also have been an element of local identity and pride in Guy's popularity, as he was particularly celebrated by people from the county in which the story was set, who 'had not forgotten that Guy had been one of the most celebrated of their Earls' and celebrated the survival of his sword and armour in Warwick Castle.[13]

Although the accuracy of the information in the almanac tables is at times questionable (particularly early events such as the founding of London and the construction of Ludgate) it is in the accounts of famous historical figures found in ballads such as Arthur and Guy of Warwick, that the line between history and fiction is most blurred. Indeed, there is an argument to be made that even ballads featuring unquestionably real historical figures are still better characterised as fiction than history. Margaret Spufford makes this argument, suggesting that historical content in chapbooks and ballads was invariably set in 'a vague and idealised version' of the past, rather than a specific historical period.[14] Indeed, she goes so far as to argue that the appeal of this sort of story 'is that it is useless'; in the sense of

---

[8] Ballad 15.
[9] Ballad 20.
[10] Ronald Crane, 'The Vogue of Guy of Warwick from the Close of the Middle Ages to the Romantic Revival', *PMLA*, 30.2 (1915), 125-194 (p.142).
[11] Crane, 'The Vogue of Guy of Warwick', p.142.
[12] Richard Lloyd, *A brief discourse of the most renowned actes and right valiant conquests of those puisant princes, called the nine worthies wherein is declared their severall proportions and dispositions, and what armes everie one gave, as also in what time ech of them lived, and how at the length they ended their lives* (London: By R. Warde, dwelling at the signe of the Talbot neere unto Holburne Conduit, 1584), ESTC S119668.
[13] Crane, 'The Vogue of Guy of Warwick', p.135.
[14] Spufford, *Small Books,* p.219.

only intended as a form of entertainment, owing more to medieval romances than to chronicles or other works of history.[15]

Spufford may be correct in her assertion that history as presented in cheap print was intended to provide no educational value when the figures in question have little or no basis in reality, such as Robin Hood or Guy of Warwick. Real historical figures like Henry VIII and Henry II, the only monarchs named in the chapbooks she analyses also appear as a model of the 'ideal king' rather than as a historical personage; their interaction with various commoners and craftsmen they encounter has little basis in reality.[16] However, in terms of the three characters on which this chapter focuses there is more of a case to be made that, as Paulina Kewes puts it, the account is intended to both 'teach and delight'.[17] Most historians agree that the growing middle class audience demanded that even cheap and popular works like ballads 'serve some useful end', such as providing a cautionary tale or model of virtuous behaviour.[18] This does not mean the ballads in question are historically accurate, or intended solely as tools through which history was to be taught, but it does suggest they are not as disposable as Spufford argues.

Moreover, authors required these stories to be entertaining if they were to be effective in delivering any sort of message. A more likely interpretation than Spufford's 'useless' history is therefore that authors presenting historical accounts often borrowed from the romances 'formula, cliché, homage and reiteration' to make their work appealing, yet still provide the audience with something useful.[19] The advantages of blending entertainment with accuracy and utility were also recognised by authors producing more overtly 'historical' texts, with Chroniclers frequently utilised seemingly trivial anecdotes to enliven their work. The appeal of the anecdote was apparent in the earliest medieval chronicles, with William of Malmesbury adding humanising detail to make his history more readable, such as his inclusion of the favourite oaths of medieval kings.[20] The importance of keeping history readable and offering the reader moments of light relief was not something early modern authors were afraid to defend. This aim was overtly stated by writers such as Abraham Fleming, Thomas Heywood and even John Foxe, who were clear in the prefaces to their

[15] Spufford, *Small Books,* p.249. See also Liebler, 'Elizabethan Pulp Fiction' and Kewes, 'History and its Uses'.
[16] Spufford, *Small Books,* p.224.
[17] Kewes, 'History and its Uses', p.7.
[18] Liebler, 'Elizabethan Pulp Fiction', p.77.
[19] Liebler, 'Elizabethan Pulp Fiction', p.73.
[20] Given-Wilson, *Chronicles*, p.164. See also Beer, 'English History Abridged' ,and Burke, 'Popular History'.

works that readers should understand the reasons behind the balance of more superficial interpolations and serious history within.[21]

The balladeers' intentions may have been to produce entertaining stories, with moral or political messages attached to actual historical characters for added impact. However, a consequence, as with historical topography and civic government discussed in chapters four and six, was the recurrence of the same stories and people in multiple ballads, plays, pageants and other texts. The multiple references to the three figures mentioned in the ballads highlighted, meant that early modern Londoners were highly likely to know their stories and their place in London's history, making these figures a part of 'popular' history and ensuring that a knowledge of their lives was a factor which Londoner's shared.

In the ballads, the figures of William Walworth, Jane Shore and Richard Whittington are treated slightly differently, with William Walworth in particular featuring mainly through his confrontation with Wat Tyler in 1381, whereas the others tend to have ballads devoted to their whole lives. Clearly the details of their stories differ. However, there are also some common factors that the three narratives share which are suggestive of what the early modern audience found appealing.

Jane Shore

Samuel Pratt observed that 'to the Elizabethans the story of Jane Shore evidently held inexhaustible charm'.[22] Jane Shore is referred to in numerous texts, both historical, literary and popular. Six of the thirteen ballads found featuring episodes and characters from London history focus on her, a remarkable number which demonstrates her widespread appeal. The ballad *The wofull lamentation of Mistris Jane Shore* was particularly popular, meriting five entries in the Stationers' Register between 1603 and 1630.[23] This ballad also formed part of the ballad stock of the Company, maintaining its popularity into the second half of the seventeenth century.[24] Jane Shore also appears as a brief allusion in *The Wandring Jews Chronicle,* one of very few inclusions of historical figures who were not monarchs:

---

[21] Burke, 'Popular History', p.444.
[22] Samuel Pratt, 'Jane Shore and the Elizabethans: Some Facts and Speculations', *Texas Studies in Literature and Language*, 11.4 (1970), 1293-1306 (p.1293).
[23] *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London 1554-1640,* ed. by Edward Arber (London: Privately printed, 1875), vol. III. (p.97), vol IV, (p.93), (p.145), (p.171), (p.245).
[24] James Harner, ''The Wofull Lamentation of Mistris Jane Shore": The Popularity of an Elizabethan Ballad', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 71.2 (1977), 137-149 (p.138).

> I in the Gold-smiths Shop have seen,
> Fourth Edwards famous Concubine,
> whose name was fair Jane Shore.[25]

By 1600 the tune of the *Wofull Lamentation* was popular enough for a range of other ballads to be sung to it; and in 1631 it also provided the tune for the setting of psalm 109 in a book of Psalmes written by William Slatyer, suggesting it was well known amongst Londoners.[26]

The main source for the life of Jane (or Elizabeth) Shore was Thomas More's *History of Richard III.* More is likely to have originally written his *History* between 1514-1518, but it was first published in 1543 by Richard Grafton as part of his continuation to the *Chronicle of John Hardyng*.[27] Edward Hall also included More's text in his *Union of the two noble and illustre famelies of Lancastre and Yorke* published in 1548 with a second edition in 1550. William Rastell was the first to publish More's work alone in 1557.[28] These versions vary, which Alison Hanham attributes to More's 'assiduous revision' alongside interventions by his editors.[29] However, in all variations More's inclusion of a surprising amount of detail on Jane Shore remains. The *History* has been described as 'an intermediate stage between medieval didacticism and a realistic and amoral view of history', and More is often described as writing 'Tudor propaganda'.[30] Certainly the text is as much concerned with conveying lessons on morality as it is a work of history.[31] More may have written about Jane Shore in detail because of the lessons that could be drawn from her story; however, in doing so he provided later writers with a 'fully developed tragic heroine', whom he characterised in a way which was both 'intelligent and sympathetic', an interpretation made more meaningful by the likelihood that More knew Jane in the 1520s.[32]

More tells us Jane Shore was the wife of a London Goldsmith, William Shore, who became a long-standing mistress of King Edward IV. Under Edward she seems to have had influence at court and gained a reputation for interceding for worthy petitioners. Her marriage to William Shore was annulled in 1476. When Edward died in 1483, she became caught up in

---

[25] Ballad 31.
[26] William Slatyer, *Psalmes, or Songs of Sion* (London: Printed by Robert Young, 1631), ESTC S113750.
[27] David Womersley, "Sir Thomas More's 'History of King Richard III': A New Theory of the English Texts', *Renaissance Studies*, 7.3 (1993), 272–90 (p.272).
[28] Alison Hanham, 'The Texts of Thomas More's 'Richard III." *Renaissance Studies*, 21.1 (2007), 62–84 (p.62).
[29] Hanham 'The Texts of Thomas More's 'Richard III'', p.62.
[30] Elizabeth Story Donno, 'Thomas More and Richard III', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 35.3 (1982), 401- 447 (p.408).
[31] Barbara Brown, 'Sir Thomas More and Thomas Churchyard's 'Shore's Wife'', *The Yearbook of English Studies*, 2 (1972), 41-48 (p.43).
[32] Brown, 'Sir Thomas More and Thomas Churchyard's 'Shore's Wife'', p.42.

political conspiracies against Richard III, and was made to do public penance, imprisoned, and impoverished. She died in 1526 and though it is unclear if Jane remarried the King's solicitor Thomas Lynom in the mid 1480s, or remained unmarried and in poverty, it seems unlikely she died in a London ditch as some chroniclers describe.[33]

Richard Whittington

The second Londoner mentioned in the ballads is Richard Whittington. He is the subject of two of the surviving ballads: *A Song of Sir Richard Whittington, who by strange fortunes, came to bee thrice Lord Maior of London, with his bountifull guifts and liberallity given to this honorable Citty* which features in Johnson's 1612 *A Crowne Garland of Goulden Roses,* and *Londons Glory, and Whittingtons Renown,* c.1640.[34] These two ballads are almost identical, though the latter features an extra stanza at the beginning. Though not mentioned in quite so many ballads as Jane Shore, Whittington's tale was also frequently included in chronicles, plays and other texts, suggesting his story had enough resonance to place him in the same category as a figure from London's past who had become a part of 'popular' history whose story was well known to Londoners.

Richard Whittington was born around 1350 in Gloucestershire. A resident of London by 1379, he established himself as a successful mercer and royal financier, making a substantial fortune. He had an illustrious civic career, firstly becoming common councilman for Coleman Street Ward in 1384. In March 1393, he was elected alderman for Broad Street Ward, and in September 1393, he became sheriff. In 1397, he was chosen by Richard II to replace the deceased mayor of London Adam Bamme and served out his term of office. He was then elected mayor in the traditional manner a further three times (1397-8, 1406-7, 1419-20).[35] When he died in 1423 Whittington left sizeable legacies. These included funds for the re-building of Newgate gaol, the building of a gate at St Bartholomew's hospital and the establishment of a library at the Guildhall. By far the largest and best known of his establishments was the foundation of Whittington College and the Whittington alms-houses.[36]

---

[33] Rosemary Horrox, "Shore [née Lambert], Elizabeth [Jane] (d. 1526/7?), royal mistress", ODNB,.(2022) <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-25451>.

[34] Ballad 10 and Johnson, *A Crowne Garland of Goulden Roses.*

[35] Anne Sutton, Whittington, Richard [Dick] (c. 1350–1423), ODNB (2022), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-29330>.

[36] Alan Seymour Lamboll, 'Richard Whittington', Guildhall Historical Association Paper (1979), https://guildhallhistoricalassociation.files.wordpress.com/2017/01/8-richard-whittington.pdf.

William Walworth

The final character referred to explicitly in the London history ballads was William Walworth. Walworth did not have a ballad focused solely on his story, unlike Jane Shore and Richard Whittington, but he was referred to in ballads which recount the slaying of Wat Tyler and Walworth's defence of the King. In the 1626 ballad *A brave warlike Song Containing a briefe rehearsall of the deeds of Chivalry, performed by the Nine Worthies of the world, the seaven Champions of Christendome, with many other remarkable Warriours,* Walworth is highly praised:

> Walworth Mayor of London
> in second Richards dayes,
> By killing of Wat Tyler
> did win eternall praise,
> In middest of his army
> the Rebell bold he tam'de,
> For which all his Successors be
> Lord Mayors of London nam'de.[37]

In the slightly later ballad, *The Wandring Jews Chronicle* the eponymous narrator tells us:

> I know Wat Tyler and Jack Straw,
> And I the Mayor of London saw,
> in Smith-field which him slew.[38]

Born in Darlington, Walworth seemed to have moved to London early and was apprenticed to John Lovekyn, Fishmonger and four-time mayor of London. Walworth succeeded Lovekyn as alderman of the Fishmongers' ward of Bridge after his death in 1386 and quickly became prominent in London politics, being elected mayor of the Westminster staple in 1369. He was clearly wealthy and in 1370 was the third highest contributor to the city's loan to the king. During the 1381 Peasants' Revolt Walworth helped gather the London militia within the city, and when the king met the rebels at Smithfield on 15 June it was Walworth who killed Wat Tyler before riding off to fetch the militia. He was knighted by Richard II for this deed with three other aldermen and subsequently helped to restore order in London, Kent and Middlesex. It was this incident which was the focus of all Walworth's appearances in widely available texts in the sixteenth and seventeenth

[37] Ballad 1.
[38] Ballad 31.

centuries. Walworth died, probably in January 1386, and was buried in St Michael Crooked Lane.[39]

The three figures above were clearly familiar names to the vast majority of Londoners, and their stories seem to have 'captured the popular imagination throughout the sixteenth century'.[40] What is more interesting is *why* they were so frequently called upon by ballad writers, playwrights and other authors. The three figures were presented and perceived differently in a variety of texts and their presentation potentially served various purposes. However, their appearances also share many characteristics, which are discussed below.

Ready Availability of Material

As with the topographical detail discussed in chapter four, key information about the three figures identified appeared in all the popular chronicles of the time, suggesting a reason for their frequent appearance in popular print was partly a question of convenience. Though a relatively obscure royal mistress, Jane Shore's story was repeated in all printed chronicles of the period. Thomas More's account of her life, following its publication by Richard Grafton and then in Hall's 1548 *History of the Wars of the Roses*, also appeared in the works of Holinshed and Stow.[41] The story even makes an appearance in Foxe's *Book of Martyrs* with Jane being cited as an example of the sin of 'wrongfull accusations brought agaynst many innocent persons', in her case:

> In the time of king Edward the 5. whiche was layd to the charge of the Queen, and Shores wife by the Protectours, for inchaunting and bewitching of his withered arme which to be false, all the world doth know, and but a quarell made, only to oppresse the life of the L. Hastings and L. standley.[42]

---

[39] Pamela Nightingale, "Walworth, Sir William, merchant and mayor of London."), ODNB, (2003), <https://www-oxforddnb-com.ezproxy.lib.bbk.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-28660>.

[40] Corrigan, 'The Merry Tanner, the Mayor's Feast, and the King's Mistress', p.37.

[41] Edward Hall, *The Union of the Two Noble and Illustre Famelies of Lancastre and Yorke, Beeyng Long in Continual Discension for the Croune of this Noble Realme with all the Actes done in Bothe the Tymes of the Princes, Bothe of the One Linage and of the Other, Beginnyng at the Tyme of Kyng Henry the Fowerth, the First Aucthor of this Devision, and so Successiuely Proceadyng to the Reigne of the High and Prudent Prince Kyng Henry the Eight, the Undubitate Flower and very Heire of both the Sayd Linages* (London: In officina Richardi Graftoni typis impress, 1548), ESTC S121062, p.16 and Richard Grafton, *A Chronicle at Large and Meere History of the Affayres of Englande and Kinges of the Same Deduced from the Creation of the Worlde, Unto the First Habitation of Thys Islande: And so by Contynuance unto the First Yere of the Reigne of our most Deere and Souereigne Lady Queene Elizabeth: Collected Out of Sundry Aucthors, Whose Names are Expressed in the Next Page of this Leafe* (London: by Henry Denham, dwelling in Paternoster Rowe, for Richarde Tottle and Humffrey Toye, 1569), ESTC S121210, p.784 and Holinshed, *Chronicles,* (1577), p.1372. Stow, *Chronicles,* (1580), p.792.

[42] John Foxe, *Actes and Monuments of Matters most Speciall and Memorable, Happenyng in the Church with an Uniuersall History of the Same, Wherein is Set Forth at Large the Whole Race and Course of the Church, from the Primitive Age to these Latter Tymes of Ours, with the Bloudy Times, Horrible Troubles, and Great Persecutions Agaynst the True Martyrs of Christ, Sought and Wrought as Well by Heathen Emperours, as Nowe Lately Practised by Romish Prelates, especially in this Realme of England and Scotland. Newly Revised and Recognised, Partly also*

Jane Shore continued to appear in later chronicles, featuring in John Speed's *History of Great Britaine* and his *Theatre of Empire* both published in 1611, and her story was included in works of history into the middle of the seventeenth century, such as John Trussel's 1636 A *continuation of The collection of the history of England*.[43]

Richard Whittington likewise is mentioned briefly in Stow's *Chronicles,* the *Summarie, Summarie Abridged* and in the *Survey of London.* In these texts the years of his mayoralties are identified, though the focus Stow gives is on his charitable works. For example, the 1580 *Chronicle* tells us:

> Richard Whittington, with his goodes builded Whittington Colledge in London, and a great part of the Hospitall of Saint Barthelmew in Smithfielde. He builded the Library of the Grey Friers, and the East end of the Guild Hall in London, with divers small conduites, called Bosses, and the Weast Gate of London called Newgate.[44]

This same detail is again included in Stow's *Survey* in the chapter on the 'Honour of Citizens, and Worthiness of Men'.[45] Like Jane Shore's persecution, Whittington's benefactions are also briefly included in Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*. Foxe does not give much detail, but, alongside the rebuilding of Newgate, includes 'the hospital of S. Bartholmew by Smithfield was founded, by meanes of a Minstrell belonging to the K. named Raier, and was after finished by Richard Whittington, Alderman, and Mayor of London'.[46]

Similarly, the balladeers did not have to search far for the details of William Walworth's story. The incident at Smithfield is found in all the most popular chronicles. Holinshed's *Chronicles* (1577) includes the story in detail, describing Walworth as 'a man of incomparable boldnesse'.[47] Stow's 1580 *Chronicles* recounts the events of the 1381 revolt and the death of Wat Tyler before concluding 'The rude multitude being thus dispersed, the King made William Walworth Maior, Nicholas Brember, John Philpot and Robert Lande

---

Augmented, and Now the Fourth Time Agayne Published and Recommended to the Studious Reader, by the Author (through the Helpe of Christ our Lord) John Foxe, which Desireth Thee Good Reader to Helpe Him with Thy Prayer (London: Imprinted by John Daye, dwellyng over Aldersgate beneath S. Martins, 1583), ESTC S122167, p.728.

[43] John Speed, *The history of Great Britaine under the conquests of ye Romans, Saxons, Danes and Normans, (London: by William Hall and John Beale and are to be solde by John Sudbury & Georg Humble, in Popes-head alley at ye signe of ye white Horse, 1611),* ESTC S117937, p.705 and John Speed, *The theatre of the empire of Great Britaine*, (London: by William Hall 1611 and are to be solde by John Sudbury & Georg Humble, in Popes-head alley at ye signe of ye white Horse, 1612), ESTC S117937, p.704, John Trussel, *A continuation of The collection of the history of England* (London: Printed by M. Dawson for Ephraim Dawson, and are to bee sold in Fleet-street at the signe of the Rainebowe neere the inner Temple-gate, 1636), ESTC S107345, p.220.

[44] Stow, *Chronicles*, (1580), p.567

[45] Stow, *Survey of London,* (1603), p.108-9.

[46] Foxe, *Actes and Monuments,* p.149.

[47] Holinshed, *Chronicles*, (1577), p.1025-1033.

Aldermen of London Knights in Smithfield'.[48] The same account features in Stow's *Summarie* of 1565, the *Summarie Abridged* of 1566 and is retained in the 1618 edition of the *Summarie* edited by Howes.[49] The story is also mentioned several times in Stow's 1598 *Survey,* most fully in the section entitled 'Honour of citizens and worthiness of men', in which Stow explains that though many sources credit Walworth with killing Jack Straw, it was Wat Tyler who was killed at Smithfield.[50] Stow then repeats and abbreviated version of the tale in the chapter on Candlewick Street Ward, reinforcing Walworth's link to London by informing the readers where he is buried. Anthony Munday retains the story and the explanation about the Wat Tyler/Jack Straw confusion in full in the 1633 edition.[51] This confusion about who Walworth actually killed is apparent in Machyn's diary for 1562. Machyn records the refurbishment of Walworth's tomb, and states 'when he was mayor he killed Jack Cade in Smithfield before the King'.[52] This is totally inaccurate, but it does suggest that important point that Machyn remembers about Walworth is his defence of the city, and all attackers, Tyler, Straw and Cade (all of whom appear in popular print and performance as rebels who attack the city as mentioned in previous chapters) are interchangeable. Machyn had clearly heard of all of these men though, and it is tempting to speculate that Machyn had encountered the stories of London's defence against all of these aggressors in print or performance with enough frequency that he had mixed them up.

Walworth's story, like that of Jane Shore, is repeated in many other works of history throughout the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. It is briefly retold in, amongst others, the 1597 *Theatre of Gods Judgements or, a collection of histories out of sacred, ecclesiasticall, and prophane authours concerning the admirable judgements of God upon the transgressours of his commandements* by Jean de Chassanion, and the *History of*

---

[48] Stow, *Chronicles,* (1580), p.481-484.
[49] Stow, *Summarie,* (1565), p.126-127, *Abridgement,* (1618), p.142-143, *Summarie Abridged* (1566), p.100-101.
[50] Stow, *Survey of London,* (1603), the account of Walworth defending the King is mentioned in the chapter on Bridgewarde within, (p.211-216), also in the chapter on Candlewicke streete warde, (p.216-223), also in the Honour of citizens and worthinesse of men, (p.104-117).
[51] John Stow, *Survey of London containing the original, increase, modern estate and government of that city, methodically set down : with a memorial of those famouser acts of charity, which for publick and pious uses have been bestowed by many worshipfull citizens and benefactors : as also all the ancient and modern monuments erected in the churches, not only of those two famous cities, London and Westminster, but (now newly added) four miles compass begun first by the pains and industry of John Stow, in the year 1598 ; afterwards inlarged by the care and diligence of A.M. in the year 1618 and now compleatly finished by the study & labour of A.M., H.D. and others, this present year 1633; whereunto, besides many additions (as appears by the contents) are annexed divers alphabetical tables, especially two, the first, an index of things, the second, a concordance of names,* (London: printed for Nicholas Bourn, and are to be sold at his shop at the south entrance of the Royal-Exchange, 1633), ESTC S4459, p.52-54.
[52] Machyn, *A London Provisioner's Chronicle*, f.150v

Great Britaine by William Slatyer (1621).[53] It is included by John Speed in his *History of Great Britaine* and *Theatre of the empire of Great Britaine* (1611-12) in which Speed refers to Walworth as *'*that renowned Lord Maior of London, William Walworth*'*. He also credits Walworth as being 'the most worthy of all Londoners' and includes Walworth's reward of a knighthood from the King.[54] The fact that when Henry Machyn records in his diary the refurbishment of Walworth's tomb in 1562, as mentioned above, he goes on to recount the details of Walworth's actions, explaining 'Sir William Walworth, knight and fishmonger of London and mayor and made knight by King Richard II for killing of Jack Cade and Will Wall that came out of Kent' suggests that Walworth's story was well known amongst Londoners, and the frequent mentions of Walworth in print and in pageantry had indeed made his name and exploits 'common knowledge'.[55]

Jane Shore, Richard Whittington and William Walworth are also similar in that they are mentioned or referred to in a range of texts far beyond those best characterised as works of history. Jane Shore in particular was a ubiquitous presence in literary works. Thomas Churchyard's 'Shore's Wife' in the popular 1563 *Mirror for Magistrates* appears to be the first main literary treatment of her story.[56] This poem was so well known that it is referred to in several other sources, such as *Pierces supererogation or A new prayse of the old asse* by Gabriel Harvey and *The apologie of Pierce Pennilesse* by Thomas Nashe (both published in 1593) in which Churchyard is told 'Shores wife is yong, though you be stept in yeares, in her shall you live when you are dead'.[57] Churchyard himself refers back to his poem in *Churchyards Challenge* in 1593 and in his 1592 *A handeful of gladsome verses, given to the Queenes Majesty at Woodstocke this prograce,* he claims 'I have as yet, some tragedies in

[53] Jean De Chassanion, *The theatre of Gods judgements: or, a collection of histories out of sacred, ecclesiasticall, and prophane authours* (London: printed by Adam Islip, 1597), STC (2nd ed.)/1659 and William Slatyer, *The history of Great Britaine* (London: printed by W: Stansby, for Rich: Meighen, and are to be sold at his shop at St. Clements Church, 1621), ESTC S117415.
[54] Speed, *The history of Great Britaine*, p.595, Speed, *The theatre of the empire of Great Britaine.*
[55] Machyn, *A London Provisioner's Chronicle*, f.150v
[56] Thomas Churchyard, 'Howe Shores Wife Kinge Edwarde the fowerthes Concubine, was by king Richard despoyled of al her goodes, and forced to doe open pennaunce', in *The Last Part of the Mirour for Magistrates Wherein may be Seene by Examples Passed in this Realme, with Howe Greenous Plagues, Vyces are Punished in Great Princes & Magistrats, and How Frayle and Unstable Worldly Prosperity is Founde, Where Fortune Seemeth most Highly to Favour* (London: In Fleetstreete, neere unto Sainct Dunstanes Church, by Thomas Marsh, 1578), pp.176-184, ESTC S104935.
[57] Gabriel Harvey*, Pierces supererogation or A new prayse of the old asse*, (London: Imprinted by John Wolfe, 1593), ESTC S103117 and Thomas Nashe*, The apologie of Pierce Pennilesse. Or, strange newes, of the intercepting certaine letters* (London: by John Danter, dwelling in Hosse-Lane neere Holburne Conduit, 1593), ESTC S103899.

store That like Shores wife, in verses shal be tolde', using the popularity of his work to advertise future output.[58]

Whether inspired by Churchyard's work, or because Jane's story was already so well known, it became a remarkably frequent allusion in poems, sermons and pageants. These included *Licia, or Poemes of love* by Giles Fletcher, *Beawtie dishonoured* by Anthony Chute and *Delia and Rosamond augmented* by Samuel Daniel in the 1590s.[59] In the seventeenth century, Shore was mentioned in varied works such *as An antilogie or counterplea to an epistle published by a favorite of the Romane separation, and one of the Ignatian faction* by Andrew Willet (1603), Dekker's *Newes from Hell* (1606), *Essayes of certaine paradoxes* by William Cornwallis (1616) and *England's jubilee, or Irelands joyes Io-paean, for King Charles his welcome* by Stephen Jerome in 1625.[60]

Jane's story also featured on stage. She is a major character in Heywood's 1599 *Edward IV*; indeed James Harner argues the ballad *The wofull lamentation of Mistris Jane Shore* was probably composed to capitalise on the popularity of the play's sub-plot featuring Jane and Matthew Shore.[61] She also appeared in the anonymous 1594 *True tragedie of Richard the third*, which is sub-titled 'wherein is showne the death of Edward the fourth, with the smothering of the two yoong princes in the Tower: with a lamentable ende of Shores wife, an example for all wicked women'.[62] Shore also features as a minor character in Shakespeare's *Richard III,* written c.1592-4 and was clearly enough of a presence on stage to be jokily included in the satirical 1607 *Knight of the Burning Pestle* in which the character of the citizen's wife asks:

---

[58] Thomas Churchyard, *Churchyards Challenge* (London: printed by John Wolfe, 1593),), ESTC S104961 and Thomas Churchyard, *A handeful of gladsome verses, given to the Queenes Majesty at Woodstocke this prograce* (Oxford: Printed by Joseph Barnes, printer to the Universitie, 1592), ESTC S112587.

[59] Anthony Chute, *Beawtie dishonoured written under the title of Shores wife* (London: Imprinted by J. Windet for John Wolfe, 1593), ESTC S116495 and Giles Fletcher, *Licia, or Poemes of love* (Cambridge: Printed by John Legat, 1593), ESTC S105618 and Samuel Daniel, *Delia and Rosamond Augmented Cleopatra*

[60] Andrew Willet, *An antilogie or counterplea to An apologicall (he should have said) apologeticall epistle published by a fauorite of the Romane separation, and (as is supposed) one of the Ignatian faction* (London: Printed by Richard Field and Felix Kingston for Thomas Man, 1603), ESTC S120023 and Thomas Dekker, *Newes from hell* (London: Printed by R. Blower, S. Stafford, and Valentine Simmes for W. Ferebrand, and are to be sold at his shop in Popes head Alley, neere unto the Royall Exchaunge, 1606), ESTC S105254 and William Cornwallis, *Essayes of certaine paradoxes* (London: Printed by George Purslowe for Th. Thorp, 1616), ESTC S105004 and Stephen Jerome, *Englands jubilee, or Irelands Joyes Io-paean, for King Charles his welcome* (Dublin: Printed by the Society of Stationers, 1625), ESTC S103354.

[61] Harner, *Wofull Lamentation*, p.139.

[62] Anon, *The true tragedie of Richard the third* (London: printed by Thomas Creede, and are to be sold by William Barley, at his shop in Newgate Market, neare Christ Church doore, 1594), ESTC S111104.

> WIFE: By your leave Gentlemen all, Im'e somthing troublesome,
> Im'e a stranger here, I was nere at one of these playes as they say, before;
> but I should have seene Jane Shore once, aud my husband hath promised me any
> time this Twelve-moneth to carry me to the Bold Beauchams,
> but in truth he did not.[63]

In other texts Shore is presented as an example of a famous beauty, such as in *A helpe to discourse, or a miscelany of merriment* by William Basse (1619) which suggests:

> For Beautie, the Scriptures make mention of Vashti, Esther, and others, and our Chronicles of Rosamond, Matilda, Shores wife, and others, all liked and approoved of by Kings.[64]

Likewise in the ballad *An excellent new medley* c.1625 by Martin Parker, Jane is referenced:

> A pretty woman was Jane Shore.
> Kicke the base Rascalls out o'th doore.[65]

Whittington's story also seems to have been a ubiquitous cultural reference point. Alongside the ballads discussed, a version of Whittington's tale was registered with the Stationers in February 1605 by Thomas Pavyer.[66] This was followed by *The vertuous Lyfe and memorable Death of Sir Richard Whittington, mercer, sometyme Lord Maiour* in July 1605.[67] Though both these texts are lost, there is a reference to Whittington in Thomas Heywood's *If You Know Not Me, You Know Nobody II*, published in 1606. This play also features the citizen hero Thomas Gresham, and, like many ballads, mingles historical characters and fictional adventures. Whittington is also mentioned in Beaumont's *Knight of the Burning Pestle*.[68] The story continued to be well known into the middle of the seventeenth century, as suggested by its mention in James Shirley's 1640 play *The Constant Maid, or Love Will Find Out the Way*:

> NIECE: Six bells in every steeple,
> And let them all go to the City tune,
> Turn again, Whittington, and who they say
> Grew rich, and let his land out for nine lives,
> 'Cause all came in by a cat.[69]

---

[63] Shakespeare, *King Richard III,* 1. 49-54.
[64] William Basse, *A helpe to discourse. Or, A miscelany of merriment* (London: printed by Bernard Alsop for Leonard Becket, and are to be sold at his shop in the Temple, neere the Church, 1619), ESTC S117185.
[65] Ballad 32.
[66] *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London 1554-1640*, Vol.3, p.126.
[67] This anonymous play was registered as performed by 'the prynces servants', and was called 'The history of Richard Whittington of his lowe byrthe. His great fortune', in *A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London,* vol.3, p. 119.
[68] Heywood, *If You Know Not Me, You Know Nobody II*, p.95, Beaumont, *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, 1. 19-20.
[69] James Shirley, *The Constant Maid: A Comedy* (London: Printed by J. Raworth for R. Whitaker, 1640), ESTC S117315, II.2. (unnumbered page)

Reference to Whittington also appears in the 1641 *An exact legendary compendiously containing the whole life of Alderman Abel,* in which the hero turns 'as Whittington did to the harmonious sound of the changing Bells that proclaimed him Lord Maior'.[70]

William Walworth too featured in a range of texts with differing themes and messages. He appears in works with a religious focus like the 1581 *The doome warning all men to the judgemente* by Konrad Lykosthenes, and *A sermon profitably preached in the church within her Majesties honourable Tower, neere the citie of London* by Anthony Anderson (1586) and is included in Michael Drayton's topographical poem *Poly-Olbion* in 1622.[71]

Moreover, these figures are often referred to with no explication, their names used as a throwaway reference. For example, in the 1594 *Willobie his Avisa* by John Windet, Jane Shore is very briefly referred to alongside Rosamund Clifford as a cautionary tale to wanton women:

> Shores wife, a Princes secret frend,
> Faire Rosomond, a Kings delight.[72]

Similarly in *The lamentation of Troy, for the death of Hector* by John Ogle (1594), her name is used with little explication to illustrate the vagaries of fortune's wheel:

> And how (though she was meanly borne)
> Hath she made Shores wife forlorne,
> After estate and high calling,
> And brought hir to most wofull falling? [73]

William Walworth too, in Edmund Bolton's 1629 *The cities advocate*, is simply listed amongst other London worthies as 'an heroicke Walworth, a noble Philpot, an happie Capel'. [74]

---

[70] A. H, *An exact legendary compendiously containing the whole life of Alderman Abel, the maine proiecter and patentee for the raising of wines. His apprentiship with a vintener, betrothing to his wife, the manner of his rising reigning, and after delinquencie, whereby he stands liable to a severe censure and penalty in Parliament* (London: [n.pub.],1641), ESTC R209942.

[71] Michael Drayton, *The second part, or a continuance of Poly-Olbion from the eighteenth song* (London: printed by Augustine Mathewes for John Marriott, John Grismand, and Thomas Dewe, 1622), ESTC S121637, p.36. and Konrad Lykosthenes, *The doome warning all men to the judgemente* (London: imprinted by Ralphe Nubery assigned by Henry Bynneman, 1581), ESTC S101062 and Anthony Anderson, *A sermon profitably preached in the church within her Majesties honourable Tower, neere the citie of London* (London: printed by Robert Waldegrave, and are to be solde at the signe of the white Horse in Cannon lane, 1586), ESTC S108526.

[72] Henry Dorrell, *Willobie his Avisa. Or the true picture of a modest maid, and of a chast and constant wife* (London: By John Windet, 1594), ESTC S111748.

[73] John Ogle, *The Lamentation of Troy, for the Death of Hector* (London: Printed by Peter Short for William Mattes, 1594), ESTC S110186.

[74] Edmund Bolton, *The Cities Advocate* (London: printed by Miles Flesher for William Lee, at the signe of the Turkes Head next to the Miter and Phoenix in Fleet-street, 1629), ESTC S106271.

Clearly therefore, in the same way that almanac writers were able to mine chronicles for details and the dates of the construction of London landmarks, so authors and playwrights were able to discover the details of Jane Shore, William Walworth and Richard Whittington's lives in all the most popular contemporary chronicles. Authors knew their audiences were already familiar with the details of these stories, and so the figures in question were obviously marketable, with proven popularity. It also meant that they could be used casually without explication to illustrate other points. This cyclical process then became self-reinforcing, and these characters became 'go-to' examples, meaning that London audiences became inescapably familiar with these names and stories.

The Appeal of Medievalism

A second potential reason for the popularity of these figures was the sixteenth and seventeenth- century fashion for the medieval. The almanac tables begin their inclusion of London history with the foundation of the city, and the redevelopment by King Lud, which the almanacs date to around 2,700 and 1,700 years ago respectively. It is therefore interesting that the only three figures from London's past featured in ballads lived within about a hundred years of each other, ranging from 1381 to 1483. Also interesting is that compared to Brutus or Lud, the three figures lived relatively recently, from the point of view of an early seventeenth-century Londoner, in what can broadly be termed the medieval period.

The popularity of tales from this period is not a coincidence. Mike Rodman Jones argues that the sixteenth century was a time 'in which medieval culture was decidedly in vogue and strongly appreciated'.[75] This fashion was caused by the break with the past following the Reformation and by the rapidly changing urban context and environment of London. The vogue for the medieval is suggested by the continued popularity of the London chronicles, in which Whittington's benefactions and William Walworth's defence of King Richard II were included.[76] These records of London history were generally discontinued with the growing popularity of print, but remained available in manuscript form, often kept within families in the seventeenth century. As discussed in chapter three, their ready availability was probably a key reason for the amount of content dedicated to fourteenth

[75] Mike Rodman Jones, 'Early Modern Medievalism', in *The Cambridge Companion to Medievalism,* ed. by Louise D'Arcens (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2016), pp.89-102 (p.98).

[76] For example Fabyan's Chronicle by Robert Fabyan, *Fabyans cronycle newly prynted, wyth the cronycle, actes, and dedes done in the tyme of the reygne of the moste excellent prynce kynge Henry the vii. father unto our most drad soverayne lord kynge Henry the .viii. To whom be all honour, reverence, and joyfull contynaunce of his prosperous reygne, to the pleasure of god and weale of this his realme amen* (London: by Wyllyam Rastell, 1533), ESTC S121369.

and fifteenth century history in the chronicles of Holinshed and Stow.[77] They were also a key source for Stow's *Survey,* as discussed in chapter four. Stow certainly engages in 'medievalism', with historians frequently using the word 'nostalgia' when describing his work.[78] Stow may have been particularly conservative, but the popularity of the medieval amongst authors and playwrights suggests he was part of a larger trend.

This fashion for the medieval may also have been partially responsible for the new interest in chivalry and chivalric culture present in London in the late sixteenth century. This can be detected in the growing interest in the coats of arms of the London livery companies, discussed by Ian Anders Gadd.[79] The city did develop its own brand of chivalric activity with a civic influence, including activities such as the Midsummer Watch and the mayor's riding, but it was not until the later years of the sixteenth century that increasingly chivalric themes became more popular both in print and particularly in civic pageantry.[80] Caroline Barron argues this fashion was also responsible for the 'increased desire of London merchants to become knights' and the growing evidence for the possession of chivalric literature in the possession of Londoners.[81]

This new fashion can also be seen in the establishment of archery fraternities such as that named for King Arthur mentioned above, and their competitors the Duke of Shoreditch's Men. The friendly competition between these societies was well known enough to be celebrated in texts such as Richard Robinson's 1583 *The Auncient Order, Societie, and Unitie Laudable, of Prince Authure, and His Knightly Armory of the Round Table with a Threefold Assertion Frendly in Favour and Furtherance of English Archery at this Day.*[82] They also appeared in several lost ballads including the 1577, *a merye rejoisinge historie of the notable feastes of Archerye of the highe and mightie prince william Duke of shordiche*, *ye Renovacon of Archery by Prince arthure and his companions* in 1579 and the 1581 *A Joyfull Songe of the worthie Shootinge in London the xixth of September 1581.*[83]

---

[77] Archer, 'John Stow, Citizen and Historian', p.16.
[78] Collinson, 'John Stow and Nostalgic Antiquarianism', p.28.
[79] Ian Anders Gadd, 'Early Modern Printed Histories of the London Livery Companies', in *Guilds, Society and Economy in London, 1450-1800,* ed. by Ian Anders Gadd and Paul Wallis (London: Centre for Metropolitan History, 2002), pp.29-50.
[80] See Caroline Barron, 'Chivalry, Pageantry and Merchant Culture in Medieval London', in *Medieval London: Collected Papers of Caroline M. Barron Caroline*, ed. by Martha Carlin and Joel T. Rosenthal, (Medieval Institute Publications: Western Michigan University, 2017), pp.481-512 (p.505).
[81] Barron, 'Chivalry, Pageantry and Merchant Culture', p.505.
[82] Richard Robinson, *The Auncient Order, Societie, and Unitie Laudable, of Prince Authure, and His Knightly Armory of the Round Table with a Threefold Assertion Frendly in Fauour and Furtherance of English Archery at this Day* (London: Imprinted by R. Jones for John Wolfe dwelling in Distaffe lane neere the signe of the Castle, 1583), ESTC S100245.
[83] Ellis, 'Archery and Social Memory in Sixteenth-Century London', p.23.

The late sixteenth century also saw a flurry of plays that drew on London's medieval history for inspiration, such as the 1593 *Life and Death of Jack Straw,* Dekker's 1599 *The Shoemakers Holiday,* Heywood's *Edward IV* (also 1599) and *If You Know Not Me, You Know Nobody II* (1606). This trend was clear enough to be mocked in Beaumont's *Knight of the Burning Pestle*, in which the character of the Citizen identifies examples of popular plays as 'The legend of Whittington', the 'Life and Death of Sir Thomas Gresham' and 'The story of Queen Eleanor, with the rearing of London Bridge upon woolsacks'.[84]

The medieval setting of most of these plays was undoubtedly significant, with this setting celebrating a period that represented stability and had become idealised, partly through the works of chroniclers like Stow.[85] The livery companies also indulged in the idealisation of the medieval, using medieval figures like Walworth in the mayoral pageants which tied together the celebration of the past and the celebration of the civic as a replacement for the religious.[86] This nostalgia for the medieval is even more understandable in the context of the London audience, who lived in a rapidly changing environment and for whom stories set in the recent past were 'part of a cultural response to the challenges of this unsettling experience'.[87] Dismay at the destruction of the material legacy of the middle ages was unsettling for many Londoners, as is apparent in Stow's *Survey*, for example in his description of the 'hospitals in the City and suburbs thereof, that have been of old time', and which are now 'sore decayed'.[88] London was not the only city to experience change in this period, but London was exceptional in the rate and scale of growth. This difference was recognised by contemporaries. Stow's *Survey*, in the chapter *'*The Singularities of London'*,* following his 'Apologie, or Defence of the Cittie', begins 'Whatsoever is said of Cities generally, maketh also for London specially'.[89] Camden's 1586 *Britannia* also emphasises the exceptionality of London, claiming it is 'as much above the rest, as the cypress is above the little sprig'.[90] In this context the appeal of entertainment which helped the London audience 'transform a socially fragmented, rapidly transforming space into an imagined homogenous polis' is easy to understand.[91] The stories of Jane Shore, William Walworth and Richard Whittington clearly fit into this context as tales from a 'simpler' time, in which

[84] Beaumont, *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, I.1. 18-22.
[85] See Angela Stock, 'Stow's Survey and the London Playwrights', p.90. See also Robert Tittler, 'Portraiture, Precedence and Politics Amongst the London Liveries 1540-1640', *Urban History*, 35.3 (2008), 349-362.
[86] Rodman Jones, 'Early Modern Medievalism', p.98
[87] Stock, 'Stow's Survey and the London Playwrights', p.16.
[88] Stow, *Survey of London*, (1603), p.143.
[89] Stow, *Survey of London*, (1603), p.199.
[90] Camden, *Britannia,* p.370.
[91] Griffin, 'Thomas Heywood and London Exceptionalism', p.86.

London was recognisable, yet historicised, and the audience could enjoy stories which provided an artificial sense of comforting continuity.

Providing a Moral Example

Daniel Woolf argues that in this period the main use of history was 'for purposes of moral edification or entertainment, with examples and models to be absorbed by individual readers'.[92] To a certain extent this was the case with the three figures featured in the ballads. The messages found in each story differ, with Jane Shore's fate providing a warning about wanton behaviour, whereas Whittington and Walworth provided more positive examples of the rewards that could come from civic service, charitable giving and loyalty to the crown. Nonetheless, all the stories are clear that behaviour, both good and bad, was followed by the appropriate consequences. These three examples were not the only such stories. The popular tale of Jack of Newbury focuses on Jack's charitable support of more humble clothiers praised to prompt similar behaviours in the reader.[93] However deployed, it remains clear that early modern authors were not unaware that moral exhortation was given more weight when tied to historical examples.

This explanation certainly works with Jane Shore. Thomas More begins his account of Shore's tale with the almost apologetic explanation that whilst 'I doubt not some shall thinke this woman to sleyghte a thing to be written of, and set among the remembrances of great matters' nonetheless Jane's story is worth telling because of the moral lesson it contains. More suggests that though her wanton behaviour was ultimately punished, she is worthy of remembrance for her good and charitable deeds than those 'which be now famous only by the infamye of theyr yvl deeds'. [94] More thus justifies his inclusion of Jane's story because it 'emblematizes a larger moral truth'.[95]

It perhaps says something about the ubiquity of Jane Shore's story that many other authors took the same narrative but drew quite a different message from it. To these authors Jane is the archetypal 'wanton woman', whose behaviour leads to her miserable end and provides a 'moral lesson for the tragedy-loving Elizabethans'.[96] This is how Shore is

---

[92] Woolf, 'From Hystories to the Historical', p.36.
[93] Spufford, *Small Books*, p.224.
[94] Thomas More, *The Historie of the Pitifull Life, and Unfortunate Death of Edward the Fifth, and the then Duke of Yorke, His Brother with the Troublesome and Tyrannical Government of Usurping Richard the Third, and His Miserable End Written by the Right Honorable Sir Thomas Moore* (London: printed by Thomas Payne for the Company of Stationers, and are to be sold by Mich. Young, 1641), ESTC R221380, p.107.
[95] Corrigan, 'The Merry Tanner', p.37.
[96] Pratt, 'Jane Shore and the Elizabethans', p.1305.

presented in *Licia, or Poemes of Loue* by Giles Fletcher and Nicholas Breton in *Machivells dogge*, which rhymes:

> And tell the Wittoll, that doth weare the horne,
> Hee is a Rascall, bee he neere so rich.
> And Iilian Justice in her proudest scorne,
> Jane Shore her sister, dyed but in a ditch.[97]

Rather than a cautionary tale, Richard Whittington was usually used in the stories as an aspirational example of charity and civic philanthropy. Certainly, exhortation to undertake charitable giving was a feature of much of the literature of early modern London. Andrew Willet produced his *Catalogue* of 1614 to prove that 'Sixty years of the gospel had brought forth more good works than twice as long as popery', and Stow reports that at Easter the aldermen went to the site of St Mary Spital in Bishopsgate to hear sermons in which preachers would enumerate the main London charities and hospitals.[98] This celebration of charity can also be found on the stage, possibly explaining Heywood's historically incorrect portrayal of Thomas Crosby as mayor of London in *Edward IV* as designed to give the character the opportunity to describe his good fortune in being a foundling provided for by Christ's Hospital, though in fact Thomas Crosby was never mayor, and was highly unlikely to have been a foundling.[99]

In most accounts of Whittington's life, his philanthropy is celebrated. In Johnson's 1612 *A Song of Sir Richard Whittington,* Whittington's entire civic career is dispensed with in a single stanza:

> After that he was chose
> Shriefe of the citty heere,
> And then full quickly rose
> Higher as did appeare.
> For to this cities praise
> Sir Richard Whittington
> Came to be in his dayes
> Thrise Maior of London.[100]

However, his charities are enumerated in far greater detail, with the ballad concluding:

---

[97] Fletcher, *Licia, or Poemes of Love* and Nicholas Breton, Machivells Dogge (London: Printed by Barnard Alsop for Richard Higgenbotham, and are to be solde at his shop at the signe of the Cardinals Hatte, neere S. Sepulchres Church, 1617), ESTC S109778.
[98] Willet, *An Antilogie or Counterplea* and Stow, *Survey of London*, (1603) p.116.
[99] Rowland, *Thomas Heywood's Theatre*, p.47.
[100] Ballad 28.

> This flower of charity;
> Though he be gone and dead,
> Yet lives he lastingly.[101]

To Stow and other writers this praise was given to encourage readers to emulate Whittington, and so win enduring fame. This was a particularly apt message given the destruction of much of the machinery of charitable giving in the Reformation. As Whittington's Trust was administered by the Mercers, and thus survived, Jean Imray points out that Whittington became an 'exemplar' for wealthy merchants.[102] Whittington was also an appropriate example to draw attention to the desirability of philanthropy because his appearance in popular culture was reinforced by physical, eponymous reminders of his largesse, with Whittington's benefactions 'a permanent part of the fabric of the London cityscape'.[103] This would have reinforced the desired message for Londoners, particularly given their keen interest in the topography of London, as discussed in chapter four. Henry Machyn, writing in his personal chronicle in 1551 mentions the mourners at Sir Gervase Clifton's funeral who 'went to dinner unto the Earl of Rutland's place in Whittington College parish', suggesting the entire area had become popularly known by Whittington's name.[104] This is confirmed by the oversized 'Whytyngton colledge' label present on the eastern plate of the copperplate map, suggesting the identity of the parish, St Michael Paternoster Royal, was subsumed by the college.[105]

Whittington was not only presented as an example of charity and civic philanthropy; his story served a dual purpose. James Robertson argues that an emphasis on Whittington's fictional rise from rags to riches presented young migrant apprentices with 'models of suitably modest conduct', rewarded with both fortune and fame.[106] By implication, this is a path they could aspire to themselves if they behaved well and accepted current hardship. The utility and emollient effects of such a model are clear. The life of a London apprentice was difficult. The dropout rate for Elizabethan apprentices was around 50%, and around 12% died before completing their apprenticeship.[107] Like many of these apprentices,

---

[101] Ballad 28.
[102] Jean Imray, *The Charity of Richard Whittington* (London: Athlone Press, 1968), p.3.
[103] Amy Appleford, 'The Good Death of Richard Whittington: Corpse to Corporation', in *The Ends of the Body in Medieval Culture*, ed. by Suzanne Akbari and Jill Ross (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012), pp.86-110 (p.105).
[104] Machyn, *A London Provisioner's Chronicle, 1550–1563*, f.2r.
[105] John Schofield, 'An Introduction to the Three Known Sheets of the Copperplate Map', in *Tudor London: A Map and a View*, ed. by Anne Saunders and John Schofield, London Topographical Society, 159 (London: London Topographical Society, 2001), pp.1-7 (p.3).
[106] Robertson, 'The Adventures of Dick Whittington', p.52.
[107] Rappaport, *Worlds Within Worlds,* p.77.

Whittington was originally a foreigner, migrating to London in search of a better life. His experiences of suffering as a young boy and his fortitude and acceptance were all emphasised in the popular accounts. Johnson's 1612 ballad claims Whittington was:

> But of poor parentage,
> Poorely to London than,
> Came up this simple lad,
> A scullion for to be,
> Whereas long time he past,
> In labour grudgingly.[108]

In actuality, Whittington's father was a Knight, and although the Whittington estate in Pauntley may not have been sufficient to support a younger son, the traditional 'rags to riches' element of the 'Dick Whittington' myth is clearly exaggerated.[109] Moreover, as Whittington's good behaviour was abundantly rewarded, it was inferred that current hardships were best met with forbearance and obedience, a message that civic elites would heartily have endorsed. It was perhaps to make the message even more explicit that an additional stanza was inserted at the beginning of the anonymous *Londons Glory, and Whittingtons Renown, or A Looking-Glass for Citizens of London,* c.1640 which includes the bulk of Johnson's text, but adds:

> Brave London Prentices,
> Come listen to my song,
> Tis for your glory all
> And to you both belong.
> And you poor country lads,
> Though born of low degree,
> See by God's providence
> What you in time may be.[110]

Whittington was an example which the civic authorities would be happy for authors and playwrights to promote, given the frequent involvement of apprentices in disturbances and riots in London, such as that of June 1595, in which over a thousand London apprentices marched on Tower Hill and stoned City officials, or the series of riots in 1584, in which the Inns of Court were attacked by apprentices.[111] The disquiet caused by such apprentice violence may have been marked by the inclusion of 'Evil May Day' fourteen times in the almanac tables discussed in chapter two, the use of the adjective 'evil' making it clear that

---

[108] Ballad 28.
[109] Caroline Barron, 'Richard Whittington: The Man behind the Myth', in *Studies in London History*, ed. by Albert Hollaender and William Kellaway (London: Hodder and Staughton,1969), pp.197-250 (p.199).
[110] Ballad 10.
[111] Archer, *Pursuit of Stability*, p.4

such behaviour was strongly discouraged and the inclusion of the event serving as a reminder of the potential consequences, with the majority of apprentices only narrowly pardoned by Henry VIII. Although, as discussed in the introduction, the consensus is that London was remarkably stable in the 1590s, the *perceived* crisis discussed by Ian Archer and others may explain why Whittington's story was promoted as a tool to maintain social stability, providing a 'carrot' rather than the 'stick' the commemoration of the 1517 riots could be viewed as.[112] Stories like this reinforced to apprentices that 'if they entered the system at the right point, conformed to the right customs, stayed alive and were extraordinarily fortunate, young men from quite humble backgrounds could still achieve distinction'.[113]

Nonetheless, if Peter Burke's argument is accepted, and popular culture in early modern London was not simply manufactured for the mass audience in an act of downward mediation but was reciprocally created through the audience's selection and perception, then such a message would not have been well received if the audience had felt no resonance with their own experience. Steve Rappaport estimates that apprentices who completed their apprenticeship and gained the freedom had a seven to one chance of becoming a householder, and, once a householder, a one in three chance of becoming a liveryman, so there were enough contemporary Londoners who had achieved the first stages of Whittington's journey to make him a viable role model.[114] Fundamentally, Whittington's story 'articulated men's desire to become prosperous in an age in which two-thirds of the population was poor'.[115] Therefore stories like Whittington's became 'potent elements of the civic mythology' and were useful in the maintenance of social harmony.[116]

It is also unlikely that Whittington's story would have been so popular if it were only perceived as a thinly veiled sermon on obedience to authority. Steven Smith offers the intriguing argument that Whittington's story was appropriated by apprentices themselves, who used stories such as Whittington's to 'create a subculture and bind the members of that subculture together'.[117] The story of Whittington's rise to wealth therefore can be read not as simple propaganda, aimed at young apprentices and urban migrants to pacify them, but a model they appropriated by which they could make sense of their environment.

---

[112] Archer, *Pursuit of Stability,* p.14.
[113] Robertson, 'The Adventures of Dick Whittington', p.61.
[114] Rappaport, *Worlds Within Worlds,* p.387.
[115] Stevenson, *Praise and Paradox*, p.38.
[116] Archer, 'The Government of London' pp.19-28.
[117] Smith, 'The London Apprentices as Seventeenth Century Adolescents', p.160.

Whittington arguably 'offered to potential urban migrants a literary template for accommodating themselves to a complex urban society'.[118]

Whittington was therefore a figure that could appeal to a surprisingly broad social swathe of Londoners. William Walworth had elements of this same appeal, but it is noticeable that Walworth's tale seems more aimed at a socially elite audience. This is suggested by his less frequent appearances in ballads, as opposed to civic pageantry, written by, and paid for his former livery company (as is discussed in more detail in chapter six). The impression presented in these sources had clearly had an impact however, with Henry Machyn observing in his description of Walworth's tomb that it was 'a goodly remembrance for all men of honor and worship', using the sort of language Stow ascribed to civic worthies like Walworth too.[119]

The only comparable figure to Whittington as a well-known character in the popular consciousness of Londoners with a 'rags-to-riches' story was another medieval merchant, Simon Eyre. Born in 1395, Eyre had a successful career as a Draper, and was elected mayor in 1445. Like Whittington, Eyre also made his physical mark on London, rebuilding Leadenhall.[120] Simon Eyre therefore tapped into the same nostalgic appeal as Whittington, becoming something of a London folk hero. He appeared as the main character in *The Gentle Craft*, published by Thomas Deloney in 1597, and again in Dekker's *Shoemaker's Holiday* in 1600. However, Eyre's story did not seem to enjoy the long-term popularity of Whittington's.[121] Certainly, Eyre is presented as a morally more ambiguous figure than the exemplary Whittington. Eyre employs 'a bit of chicanery' in making his fortune and is described by Walsh as 'a morally questionable, albeit clever, historical hero'.[122] But a more convincing argument for Whittington's greater popularity is the ultimate failure of Eyre's charitable endeavors. Eyre left £2000 in his will to establish a school, like Whittington. However, unlike Whittington's Trust, 'Eyre's executors were unable to realize his scheme' and 'The schools withered away, and Eyre's wealth was used to set up a modest chantry in the church of St Mary Woolnoth, where he was later buried'.[123] This perhaps reinforces the importance Londoners placed on the topography of the city as discussed in chapter four, as

[118] Robertson, 'The Adventures of Dick Whittington', p.52.
[119] Machyn, *A London Provisioner's Chronicle*, f.150v
[120] Caroline Barron, "Eyre, Simon (c. 1395–1458), merchant, mayor of London, and civic benefactor." ODNB (2008), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-52246>.
[121] Barron, 'Eyre, Simon', ODNB.
[122] Walsh, 'Performing Historicity in Dekker's *The Shoemaker's Holiday',* p.393.
[123] Barron, 'Eyre, Simon', ODNB.

whilst Eyre was associated with Leadenhall, Whittington's eponymous foundation memorialized his name, arguably solidifying his popularity.

Overall, the desire, often stated by contemporary authors, that history be deployed to serve educational and moral purpose in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries seems to align with depiction of these characters in popular culture. The figures may have been utilised in different ways by different authors, and it is difficult to assess how the messages would have been received by individuals or social groups within the London audience. Nonetheless, the appearance of these figures so frequently in such a diverse range of texts and genres made them a ubiquitous presence in the popular consciousness, and ensured the vast majority of Londoners were familiar with their names and deeds.

The Role of Citizen History

Another similarity between the three figures featured in the ballads was that all three were not originally members of the nobility or gentry, but of humbler origins. However, they are all presented as having personal contact with, and providing some sort of service to the monarch. These accounts had elements of historical accuracy but were usually presented with lots of dramatic licence. Whittington, Walworth, and to a lesser extent Jane Shore, therefore became representative of the new canon of literature discussed in chapter four as 'citizen history' in which Londoners with mercantile or humble origins acquire elements of aristocratic status through chivalric behaviour.

The impact of this new historical genre on depictions of London's topography is discussed in chapter four, with particular reference to Stow's *Survey of London,* a text which typifies this trend. In terms of how this new literature affected depictions of past Londoners, Richard Johnson's *Nine Worthies of London* (1592) is a key text. Traditionally the Nine Worthies were three sets of heroes, one pagan (Hector, Alexander, and Caesar), one Jewish (Joshua, David, and Judas Maccabaeus) and one Christian (Arthur, Charlemagne, and Godfrey of Bouillon) who were considered to be paragons of chivalric behaviour. They were first described by Jacques de Longuyon in 1312 and William Kuskin credits William Caxton with popularising the Worthies in England with his selection of their lives as some of his earliest works of print.[124] By the sixteenth century the concept had become hugely popular in Europe, with the Worthies appearing in 'paintings, statues, woodblocks, murals, tapestries, playing-cards, mummings, and pageants'.[125] So popular was the concept that

[124] William Kuskin, 'Caxton's Worthies Series: The Production of Literary Culture', *ELH*, 66.3,(1999), pp.511-551.
[125] Kuskin, 'Caxton's Worthies Series', p.512.

alternative sets of Worthies were produced, such as lists of female worthies, as presented at the coronation of Henry VI of France in 1431, the different selections given by John Ferne in *The Blazon of Gentrie* (1586) or Thomas Heywood in his *Exemplary Lives* (1640).[126] Richard Johnson used this popular theme in his 1592 text. The popularity of Johnson's work, in which the traditional Worthies are replaced by Sir William Walworth, Sir Henry Pritchard, Sir Thomas White, Sir William Sevenoke, Sir John Hawkwood, Sir John Bonham, Christopher Croker, Sir Henry Maleverer of Cornhill, and Sir Hugh Calverley, is suggested by the fact it was reprinted twice in 1595.[127] Johnson's *Nine Worthies* recounts the story of Walworth's defence of Richard II and subsequent knighting and develops this by explaining how Walworth's bravery led directly to honour being accorded to subsequent mayors:

> Nor ceast he so to honour that degree.
> A costly hat his highnesse likewise gave,
> That Londons maintenance might ever be,
> A sword also he did ordaine to have,
> That should be caried still before the Maior,
> Whose worth deservde succession to that chaire.[128]

Laura Stevenson has suggested that as a new market developed amongst the merchant class for texts glorifying this group, a language lag developed, leading to texts which praised merchants using the language of chivalry.[129] Stevenson's argument that chivalric virtues and language were often attached to such figures in popular print is clearly true of William Walworth, who is frequently described in such terms. For example, the *English Secretorie* by Angel Day argues:

> What need we search abroade for such forraine examples, and why draw we not rather home into our owne soyle of England? What Cronicle shall ever remayne, or what English historye shall be ever extant, that shall not everlastinglye report, the deserved fame of that right worthy and very noble act in deed, of Sir William Walworth […] This valiaunt, this good, this right noble and most worthy Citizen.[130]

---

[126] Celeste Turner Wright, 'The Elizabethan Female Worthies', *Studies in Philology*, 43.4 (1946), 628-643 (p.628).
[127] Liebler, 'Elizabethan Pulp Fiction', p.73.
[128] Richard Johnson, *The Nine Worthies of London, Explayning the honourable exercise of Armes, the vertues of the valiant, and the memorable attempts of magnanimious minds. Pleasant for Gentlemen, not unseemly for Magistrates, and most profitable for Prentises* (London: Imprinted by Thomas Orwin for Humfrey Lownes [etc], 1592), STC (2nd ed.)/14686.
[129] Stevenson, *Praise and Paradox.*
[130] Angel Day, *The English Secretory*, *wherin is contayned, a perfect method, for the inditing of all manner of epistles and familiar letters, together with their diversities, enlarged by examples under their severall tytles. In which is layd forth a path-waye, so apt, plaine and easie, to any learners capacity, as the like wherof hath not at any time heretofore beene delivered* (London: Printed by Robert Walde-graue, and are to be solde by Richard Jones, dwelling at the signe of the Rose and the Crowne, neere unto Holburn Bridge, 1586), p.118, ESTC S1077.

Likewise Edmund Bolton's 1629 *The Cities Advocate* describes Walworth as 'heroicke', and one of the 'famous Worthies of this royall City'.[131] This portrayal of Walworth was also to be found in Heywood's 1605 *If You Know Not Me, You Know Nobody II.* When Thomas Gresham is being shown portraits of famous Londoners during a gallery tour by Doctor Nowell, the Dean of Saint Paul's, Walworth is described:

> NOWELL: That provident, valiant, and learned Citizen,
> That both attacht, and kild the traytor Tyler,
> For which good service Walworth the Lord Maior,
> This Filpot, and foure other Aldermen,
> Were knighted in the field.[132]

Another element of this new genre was the encouragement for readers to identify with these 'chivalric' civic heroes. Margaret Spufford suggests that a reason the past in ballads was usually non-specific was to provide greater possibility for the 'poorer' reader to identify with the 'chivalric adventures of a feudal aristocracy'.[133] She points out that often, as in the case of Guy of Warwick, both longer and shorter (and therefore cheaper) versions of the story existed in print, with the shorter version omitting Guy's aristocratic lineage.[134]

Thomas Deloney's *The Gentle Craft,* which celebrates the innate nobility of those who practised shoemaking and recounts the story of Simon Eyre also encourages this process of identification by foregrounding artisans without a noble pedigree, yet ascribes to them the chivalric virtues discussed. Deloney's work was particularly significant, as rather than taking aristocratic heroes and making them accessible through alteration, as was the case with Guy of Warwick, Deloney ascribes no noble antecedents to his characters, celebrating their humble origins, and thus allows urban readers to identify with characters like Simon Eyre, in a way they might have found more difficult with Guy of Warwick and other such figures.[135]

Several of the accounts of William Walworth also encouraged the London audience to identify with him. For example, Edmund Bolton reassured the readers of his 1629 *The Cities Advocate* that Walworth was a worthy role-model for more affluent apprentices:

---

[131] Bolton, *The Cities Advocate*.
[132] Heywood, *If You Know Not Me, You Know Nobody II,* p.94-95.
[133] Spufford, *Small Books,* p.224.
[134] Spufford, *Small Books*, p.227. See also Elizabeth Rivlin, 'Forms of Service in Thomas Deloney's "The Gentle Craft", *English Literary Renaissance,* 40.2 (2010), 191-214.
[135] Carpenter, 'Placing Thomas Deloney', p.135.

> I am very confident, that by having once beene an Apprentise in London, I have not lost to be a Gentleman of birth, nor my sonne, yet shall I ever wish, and pray rather to resemble an heroicke Walworth, a noble Philpot, an happie Capel, that learned Sheriffe of London M. Fabian, or any other famous Worthies of this royall City.[136]

Likewise in Heywood's *Edward IV* (1599) Walworth's example is used by the mayor to rally the citizens of London:

> MAYOR: Thinke that in Richards time even such a rebell,
> Was then by Walworth the L. Maior of London,
> Stabd dead in Smithfield:
> Then shew your selves as it be fits the time.
> And let this find a hundredth Walworth, now.[137]

The appearances of Richard Whittington in popular culture also fit into this model. In Whittington's case his magnanimity towards his King reflected chivalric munificence. The ballad also features examples of 'chivalrous' language. At a feast given for Henry V in 1421 Whittington burnt bonds of money lent to the King to finance the war in France:

> Thousands he lent his king
> To maintaine warres in France,
> And after, at a feast,
> Which he the king did make,
> He burnt the bonds all in jest,
> And would no money take.
>
> Ten thousand pound he gave
> To his prince willingly,
> And would not one penny have.
> This in kind courtesie.[138]

The description that Whittington acted 'in jest', emphasised his casual attitude to great wealth, and his prioritisation of loyalty and hospitality over money reflected the chivalric values discussed.[139] Whittington's story, like Walworth's, clearly fitted perfectly into the canon of literature featuring merchant heroes.

There was no shortage of Londoners who, alongside Whittington, were potential characters for these kinds of stories. Sir Thomas White, for example, had a similar career to Whittington: Master of the Merchant Taylors' Company by 1535, serving as alderman for Cornhill Ward, sheriff, and mayor in 1553. White was also a noted philanthropist, founding St John's College Oxford, the Merchant Taylors' school, and a rotating series of interest-free

---

[136] Bolton, *The Cities Advocate.*
[137] Heywood, *Edward IV*, I, 5. 6-10.
[138] Ballad 28.
[139] Ballad 28.

loans for young clothiers. White was praised by Stow, in Johnson's *Nine Worthies* and in the Mayoral Show *Monuments of Honour* (1624) by John Webster; yet he did not achieve the presence of Whittington in popular culture.[140] Thomas Gresham was another excellent example, founding the Royal Exchange in 1566 and Gresham College posthumously in 1579.[141] Gresham appeared in fictionalised form as the main character in Heywood's *If You Know Not Me, You Know Nobody II* in 1605. Like Whittington, he too makes a chivalric, extravagant gesture in scene ten, when he offers to buy a valuable pearl thought too expensive by everyone else, standing by his word even as he learns that his ship has been lost at sea and his loans will not be honoured.[142] This gesture demonstrate values far more aristocratic than mercantile, a point explicitly made when the character of Lord 2 exclaims:

> 2ND LORD: As royal in his virtues as his buildings![143]

Simon Eyre, in *The Shoemaker's holiday* and *The Gentle Craft* also conformed to this model, fulfilling a promise he made years before to feed all of London's apprentices in repayment for them buying him breakfast when he was penniless in a gesture of civic philanthropy and munificence.[144]

However, none of these examples made the same impression in seventeenth-century London as Whittington, suggesting that there was something unique about his story that made it more resonant for Londoners and ensured he was the most prominent example of a 'civic worthy'. The best reason for this seems to be the entertainment value of the story that grew up around his name. The tale, as recounted in Johnson's 1612 *A Song of Sir Richard Whittington,* the earliest surviving full version of the story, is that 'Dick' Whittington arrives penniless in London from the countryside. He takes work as a scullion, is so unhappy he tries to run away, and is called back to London by the sound of church bells which foretell he will become mayor. On his return he finds he has made his fortune by selling his cat, given to his master as a stake in his recent trading venture to a foreign

---

[140] Johnson, *The Nine Worthies of London* and John Webster, *Monuments of Honor Derived from Remarkable Antiquity, and Celebrated in the Honorable City of London, at the Sole Munificent Charge and Expences of the Right Worthy and Worshipfull Fraternity, of the Eminent Merchant-Taylors. Directed in their most Affectionate Love, at the Confirmation of their Right Worthy Brother John Gore in the High Office of His Majesties Liuetenant Over His Royoll [Sic] Chamber. Expressing in a Magnificent Tryumph, all the Pageants, Chariots of Glory, Temples of Honor, Besides a Specious and Goodly Sea Tryumph, as Well Particularly to the Honor of the City, as Generally to the Glory of this our Kingdome* (London: By Nicholas Okes, 1624)*,),* ESTC S111504.

[141] Ian Blanchard, "Gresham, Sir Thomas (c. 1518–1579)" ODNB, (2022), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-11505>.

[142] Heywood, *If You Know Not Me, You Know Nobody II,* p.117-119.

[143] Heywood, *If You Know Not Me, You Know Nobody II,* p.119.

[144] Deloney, *The Gentle Craft,* p.94

King. He goes on to marry his master's daughter, launch a career as a successful merchant and politician, and then served as mayor of London three times; the fate foretold by the bells of London's churches.[145] This version of the story seems to have been well known before 1612, being referred to briefly in the plays *Eastward Hoe* (1605) and *If You Know Not Me, You Know Nobody II*, reinforcing the idea that the story was such common knowledge that playwrights could trust the audience to understand the reference.[146]

Clearly, much of this account is fictional, though *The Famous and Remarkable History of Sir Richard Whittington* by Thomas Heywood, published in 1656, attempts to reassure its readers 'the truth of which Mr. Fabian in his *Chronicle* and Mr. John Stow in his *Survey of London* can fully satisfie you' (again emphasising the debt popular works owed to the chronicles and the *Survey)*.[147] Henry Wheatley, in his introduction to a nineteenth-century edition of Heywood's work, identifies the main points common to all early versions of the tale as 'the poor parentage of the hero; his change of mind at Highgate Hill by reason of hearing Bow Bells; and his good fortune arising from the sale of his cat'.[148] The first point was clearly inaccurate, with Whittington being from a wealthy Gloucestershire family. Wheatley identifies the story of the church bells foretelling Whittington's fate as an 'invention of the eighteenth century' and the presence of the cat as a story 'told of so many other persons in different parts of the world that there is every reason to believe it to be a veritable folk-tale joined to the history of Whittington'.[149] Far more likely is that it was Whittington's charity, convenience as a moral example and contribution to London, celebrated by chroniclers like Stow that kept his name alive in the years between his death and the arrival of the 'legendary cat'.[150] However, it is easy to see how the fictional elements of the story formed an irresistible narrative, ensuring Whittington was the most frequently utilised example of the archetypal 'plucky entrepreneur' in popular culture.[151]

Jane Shore is less easy to fit into the model of a 'citizen hero', but it is noticeable that in most accounts the authors present her sympathetically. Thomas More and the later chroniclers present Shore as the victim of the immorality of great men, keeping our sympathy with her by reminding us that alongside her charitable interventions for

---

[145] Ballad 28.
[146] Heywood, Thomas, *If You Know Not Me, You Know Nobody II,* p.95, Chapman, Jonson and Marston, *Eastward Hoe*, IV. 2. 72-73.
[147] Heywood, *The History of Sir Richard Whittington..*
[148] Heywood, *The History of Sir Richard Whittington.*
[149] Heywood, *The History of Sir Richard Whittington.*
[150] Barron, 'Richard Whittington: The Man behind the Myth', p.267.
[151] Manley, 'Of Sites and Rites', p.49.

Londoners in need, Shore was 'worshipfully friended, honestly brought up, and very well married'.[152] John Taylor, the water-poet, also takes a sympathetic view of Jane Shore in his 1630 *Briefe Remembrance Of All The English Monarchs*, explaining 'She was a woman having many good parts, and […] cannot be taxed in Histories for doing any man hurt'.[153] Though perhaps not quite a hero, Jane Shore's story fits into this genre, which borrows from medieval romance but adds an urban setting. As James Harner suggests, the story provides a 'beautiful protagonist' and a 'riches-to-poverty plot which exhibits both adultery and repentance'.[154] It is easy to see why authors were drawn to dramatic scenes such as the moment in the Privy Council when Richard III removes Lord Hastings and accused Elizabeth Woodville and Jane Shore of witchcraft:

> Then saide the Protector, ye shall all sée in what wise that sorceresse, and that other Witch of hir counsell Shores wife with their affinitie, have by their sorcerie and witchcrafte wasted my body.[155]

Likewise, the image of Shore, terrified of a hostile crowd, being forced to do penance on the streets of London is irresistibly dramatic:

> Going before the Crosse in Procession, upon a Sonday, with a Taper in hir hande. In whiche she went in countenance and pace demure so womanly, and albeit she were out of al array save hir kyrtle onlye, yet wente she so faire and lovely, namely while the wondering of the people caste a comely rudde in hir chéekes (of which she before had most misse,) yt hir great shame wanne hir much prayse, among those that wer more amorous of hir bodie, than curious of hir soule.[156]

The romance of Jane's relationship with Edward is also attractive; as More presents it, 'For many he had, but hir he loved'.[157] Samuel Pratt perhaps puts it best when he argues that 'All mankind loves a lover. If we can accept this as a truism, then we can understand in part Jane's popularity'.[158]

It was not just in literature celebrating chivalric civic heroes that Londoners were encouraged to participate in chivalric culture. The establishment of the archery fraternities discussed above fits with this trend, and joining or watching these groups was a method by which Londoners could participate physically in chivalric cultural activities. The practise of

---

[152] Speed, *The History of Great Britaine,* p.705
[153] John Taylor, *The Workes of John Taylor the Water-Poet* (London: Printed by John Beale, Elizabeth Allde, Bernard Alsop, and Thomas Fawcet for James Boler; at the signe of the Marigold in Pauls Churchyard, 1630), ESTC S117734.
[154] Harner, 'Wofull Lamentation', p.138.
[155] More, *The Historie of the Pitifull Life, and Unfortunate Death of Edward the Fifth*, p.107.
[156] More, *The Historie of the Pitifull Life, and Unfortunate Death of Edward the Fifth*, p.107.
[157] More, *The Historie of the Pitifull Life, and Unfortunate Death of Edward the Fifth*, p.108.
[158] Pratt, 'Jane Shore and the Elizabethans', p.1305.

archery had historic, patriotic connotations and was viewed as a traditional English pastime. Both Henry VII and Henry VIII defended the longbow with statutes commanding every adult and adolescent male to practice with them.[159] Therefore archery was a particularly suitable pastime by which citizens could participate in martial, chivalric culture. Like the new genre of literature celebrating citizen heroes, the establishment of these societies showed Londoner's adoption of 'the decor of chivalry' which 'masked their novel economic pursuits as traditional loyalty, and provided a pageantic language of parity and reciprocity in which to negotiate their relationships to the crown and aristocracy'.[160] Texts like Richard Niccols 1616 *Londons Artillery* reinforced this image, drawing the link between the city and martial honour by highlighting London's glorious military history. Dedicated to the 'Captaines of the late Musters and to the rest of the Societie of Londons hopefull Infantrie' the book praised the Honourable Artillery Company and ran through London's martial past from the supposed stationing of the Roman Legion Augusta there to Henry VIII's disguised attendance at the Midsummer Watch.[161] Niccols' text fits into the chivalric model by warning that wealth is not London's defence or pride, but brave martial citizen soldiers:

> Thy hopefull Infantry, the glittering light
> Of whose bright armes, in every strangers sight,
> Thy name shall more illustrate and uphold,
> Then all thy glorious shewes of shining gold,
> Tis not thy wealth, which O too oft we know,
> Betrayes its owner to some treacherous foe,
> Which both in men of wisedome strength and wit,
> Masters the Master, that possesseth it,
> Nor height of walls, of castles or of towers,
> That shall defend thee against forreine powres,
> But thine owne sonnes, such as these, now we see
> Arm'd in bright walls of steele, thy walls must be.[162]

The Importance of the London Setting

A crucial facet for each of the figures discussed is their identification *with* London, both physically and in terms of placement within London's social and governmental structures. It is possible that authors emphasised these links to enhance the appeal of their work for the London market. It was also not uncommon that ballads and other forms of popular print

---

[159] Steven Gunn, 'Archery Practice In Early Tudor England', *Past & Present*, 209 (2010), 53–81 (p.53).
[160] Ellis, 'Archery and Social Memory in Sixteenth-Century London', p.31.
[161] Richard Niccols, *Londons Artillery* (London: printed by Thomas Creede, and Bernard Allsopp, for William Welby, and are to be sold at his shop in Paules Church-yard at the signe of the Swan, 1616), ESTC S113204.
[162] Niccols, *London's Artillery*, p.21.

targeted separate sections of London's population such as apprentices. This served to increase sales, but also ensured that individual readers identified with the stories, and were perhaps more inclined to heed any messages contained.[163]

There is a strong argument that Jane Shore's connection to London was a key factor in explaining her popularity. Authors such as Heywood, writing primarily for a London audience, may have felt that by drawing attention to the audience's relative temporal and spatial proximity to the events of her story, Londoners were invited to identify more closely with Shore. This potentially explains why Thomas More, not writing primarily for an urban audience, but a more elite one, doesn't develop Jane's London connection. The only real reference More makes to Jane's status is to explain she was born in London and married to 'an honest Citizen'.[164]

A much stronger connection between Jane Shore and London is found in Heywood's *Edward IV,* intended primarily for an audience of Londoners. Richard Rowland goes so far as to suggest that Heywood borrows from John Stow, and situates Jane and Matthew Shore as Londoners by embarking on a 'detailed chorographical tour' of the city.[165] Not only does Heywood make Jane and her Goldsmith husband Matthew major characters in the play, he also places the blame for Shore's moral transgressions firmly at the door of Edward IV, depicting the London community as largely sympathizing with Shore and thus placing his audience's sympathies with her too. Alfred Harbage in his 1952 analysis of Shakespeare and his contemporaries observed how surprising it was that Shore was represented sympathetically by Heywood, given that she 'had committed the almost unpardonable offense of deserting a London husband'.[166] However, Heywood's characterisation of Shore, alongside many other popular presentation of her suggests the audience would have sympathised with Jane, possibly because of her forced early marriage. Both analyses, however, recognise the importance of Shore's status as wife to a member of a respected livery company.

Edward IV can be viewed as a 'deeply subversive play', with Jane Shore and her husband symbolically representing the ethical superiority of the citizens of London over courtiers and nobility who are represented as 'venal, violent, and lustful, or perhaps more damagingly, seem trivial or malicious'.[167] In using Jane Shore and her husband to depict 'a

---

[163] Raymond, 'The Origins of Popular Print Culture', p.296.
[164] More, *The Historie of the Pitifull Life, and Unfortunate Death of Edward the Fifth*, p.107.
[165] Heywood, *Edward IV*, ed. by Richard Rowland, (Introduction), p.41.
[166] Harbage, *Shakespeare and the Rival Traditions*, p.175.
[167] Tomlin, ''I trac'd him too and fro', p.199 and Rowland, *Thomas Heywood's Theatre,* p.12.

city where bonds of neighbourhood are strong and the city operates as a protective force for its citizens', Heywood is making a political point about the threat that the monarchy posed to the stability of London with its economic or moral depredations.[168] To reinforce this point, Heywood hammers home the connection between Jane Shore, her husband and London, such as when the rebel leader Fauconbridge enquires of Matthew Shore:

> FAUCONBRIDGE*:* What, not that Shore that has the dainty wife,
> 'Shore's wife', the flower of London for her beauty?[169]

Heywood also draws a strong connection between Shore and the family of the mayor, who addresses Jane Shore and her husband when they arrive at his feast for Edward:

> MAYOR: Welcome good cousin Shore.
> But you indeed are welcome, gentle niece:
> Need must you be our Lady mayoress now
> And help us, or else we are shamed forever.[170]

Later, when Shore is established as the King's mistress and is engaged in distributing charity, the character Brackenbury observes:

> BRACKENBURY: That once a week, in her own person, visits
> The prisoners and the poor in hospitals,
> In London, or near London every way.[171]

This identification with London is also reinforced through the character of Matthew Shore, who is introduced whilst involved in the defence of the city against the rebel Fauconbridge and refers throughout the play to his role as a member of a livery company, able to inform the mayor that he has rallied 'From every hall […] at least two hundred men in arms'.[172]

Likewise, he refers to his journey through company ranks:

> SHORE: Were I as young
> As when I came to London to be 'prentice.[173]

As final proof of his identity, Shore rejects the king's offer of a knighthood as:

> SHORE: Far be it from the thought of Matthew Shore
> That he should be advanced with Aldermen
> With our Lord Mayor, and our right grave Recorder'.[174]

---

[168] Tomlin, ''I trac'd him too and fro', p.199.
[169] Heywood, *Edward IV*, I.4.40-41.
[170] Heywood, *Edward IV*, I.16.41-44.
[171] Heywood, *Edward IV*, II.9.26-28.
[172] Heywood, *Edward IV*, I.3.6-7.
[173] Heywood, *Edward IV*, II.19.226-227.
[174] Heywood, *Edward IV*, I.10.233–5.

Nowhere is the identification between Shore and London clearer than in the naming of Shoreditch and its identification with her death discussed in chapter four. Heywood has Catesby explain:

> CATESBY: The people, from the love they bear to her
> And her kind husband, pitying his wrongs.
> For ever after mean to call the ditch Shore's Ditch, as in the memory of them
> Their bodies in the Friars minories
> Are in one grave interred.[175]

This explanation for the naming of Shoreditch was clearly widely accepted. The ballad *The wofull lamentation of Mistris Jane Shore* ends with the death of Jane Shore:

> within a ditch of lothsome sent,
> where carrion dogs do much frequent·
> Which Ditch now since my dying day,
> Is Shore-ditch cald, as Writers say.[176]

The story is also referred to in a 1616 *Exposition of the Proper Psalmes Used in Our English Liturgie* by John Boys which explains:

> Shores wife, the merrie minion of Edward the fourth […] ended her dayes in open streete, even in a dirtie ditch, and nomina fecit aquis, as some thinke Shorditch is so called as it were Shores ditch.[177]

A further reference to the legend is found in *The Forlorne Traveller* by Richard Crimsal (1634):

> But now his ending
> is like to Jane Shore,
> He dy'd in a wofull estate,
> as I understand,
> For in the open fields he dyed,
> Being denyed,
> to come within doore.[178]

This connection was perhaps also reinforced by the presence of a tavern named the Jane Shore, found in Shoreditch.[179] Interestingly, despite Heywood's debt to Stow's *Survey*, the link between Jane Shore and the naming of Shoreditch does not feature in Stow's work. Indeed, Stow appears to actively dismiss the link in a 'testy' note that Shoreditch has been

---

[175] Heywood, *Edward IV*, II.23.71-76.
[176] Ballad 22.
[177] Boys, *An Exposition of the Proper Psalmes Used in our English Liturgie.*
[178] Richard Crimsal, *The Forlorne Traveller*, (London: For F. Coules, 1634), ESTC S108775.
[179] Anon, *The Liberty of the Mannor of Stepney in the County of Middlesex* (London: Stationers Index, 1640), ESTC S110884.

named so for the last 400 years.[180] Nonetheless, the link between the two was well established enough for Heywood and later authors to accept and repeat it.

Like Jane Shore, Richard Whittington's story was made more appealing through identification with London. This identification is an intrinsic element in the seventeenth-century accounts, most famously in the legend of London's bells summoning him back when he attempts to run away. Johnson's 1612 Ballad tells us:

> London bells sweetly rung,
> 'Whittington, back return!'
> Evermore sounding so,
> 'Turn againe, Whittington;
> For thou in time shall grow
> Lord-Maior of London'.[181]

Johnson ends his ballad with a final reminder of the centrality of London in Whittington's tale:

> Those bells that call'd him so,
> 'Turne again, Whittington,'
> Call you back may moe
> To live so in London.[182]

Whittington's benefactions also strengthen his identification with London. This was perhaps another reason that chroniclers like Stow, who were undoubtedly aware of his audience's interest in topography and the etymology of place names, continued to include them in their work. This inclusion then gave ballad writers specific locations to link to Whittington. Johnson for example mentioning Newgate, St. Bartholomew's Hospital, improvements at 'the Grey-Fryars in London' and 'the Stocks betwixt Cheapside and Cornhill […] greatly beneficial to the City'.[183] Contemporaries might even have been aware that Whittington's almshouse were initially founded within his actual place of residence, the 'greet tenement that was late ye hous of the forseid Richard Whytington'.[184] Moreover, though conversion of civic service into gentry status was normal at the time, when mercantile 'great-grandparents were converted into knights' Whittington did *not* seek to make this change, but embodied honour and status whilst remaining a merchant and a

[180] Rowland, 'Introduction', *Edward IV*, p.57.
[181] Ballad 28.
[182] Ballad 28.
[183] Ballad 28.
[184] Imray, *Charity of Richard Whittington,* p.109.

Londoner.[185] This affirmed the affluent London audience, who were currently making the same choice.

William Walworth was similarly lauded for how his actions benefitted London. A frequent feature of popular accounts was to credit Walworth's actions with the addition of a dagger to London's coat of arms. This story seemed to be widely known and was given added credibility by Walworth's first recorded appearance in a Lord Mayor's Show, *The Device of the Pageant* by Thomas Nelson in 1590 which celebrated the mayoralty of Fishmonger John Allot. In this pageant Walworth proclaims:

> First Knight was I of London you may reade,
> and since each Maior gaines knighthood by my déede.
> Yea for that déede to London I did gaine,
> this dagger here in armes given as you sée.[186]

This was reinforced by the stage direction added to the pageant text that 'It is to be understood that sir William Walworth pointeth to the honors wherewith the king did endue him, which were placed neere about him in the Pageant'.[187]

The addition of the dagger to London's coat of arms being due to Walworth's actions is included in the 1598 edition of Stow's *Survey* and retained in the 1603 and 1618 edition, though Stow and his editors recount the tale only to dismiss it:

> It hath also beene and is nowe growne to a common opinion, that in reward of this service done, by the said William Walworth against the rebell. King Richard added to the armes of this Cittie (which was argent, a plaine crosse Gulas) a sword or dagger, (for so they terme it) whereof I have read no such record, but rather that which soundeth to the contrary.[188]

The pervasiveness of the story was, however, reinforced by the fact that Stow contradicts himself in the 1598 edition of the *Survey* in the chapter on the singularities of London where he seemingly accepts the story:

> The Historie of William Walworth the Maior of London, is well knowne, by whose manhoode and policie, the person of king Richarde the second was rescued, the Citie saved, Wat Tiler killed, and all his stranglers discomfited, in memory and

---

[185] Paul Sherlock, 'The Reformation of Memory in Early Modern Europe', in *Memory: Histories, Theories, Debates*, ed. by Bill Schwartz and Susannah Radstone (New York: Fordham University Press, 2010), pp.30-40 (p.37).
[186] Thomas Nelson, *The Device of the Pageant Set Forth by the Worshipfull Companie of the Fishmongers, for the Right Honorable John Allot: Established Lord Maior of London, and Maior of the Staple for this Present Yeere of our Lord 1590* (London: S.n, 1590), ESTC S120997.
[187] Nelson, *The Device of the Pageant.*
[188] Stow, *Survey of London,* (1603), p.220-221.

> reward of which service the Cittie had a Daggar added to their shielde of Armes, and the Maiors have beene most commonly sithens knighted.[189]

This oversight is corrected, and the passage removed from the 1603 and 1618 editions of the text, but was clearly so popular that it crept into the *Survey* despite Stow's disapproval.

The story was also questioned in *A perfect table declaring the assise or weight of bread* by John Penkethman (1640) which states:

> The Crosse of Christ who died for humane sin,
> Is represented, and a Sword withall,
> Not of Sr. William Walworth, but St. Paul.[190]

Despite these dismissals, Walworth's association with the dagger in London's arms clearly remained a commonly held belief. The story is mentioned in *The pleasant walkes of Moore-fields* (1607) which states:

> William Walworth Maior 1381, most valiantly with his owne hands slew the rebell Wat Tyler, for which hée was knighted in the field, and the bloody Dagger given to Londons armes, to his great honour and praise.[191]

Anthony Munday also credits Walworth with the addition of the dagger to London's crest in the 1611 *A briefe chronicle, of the successe of times, from the creation of the world, to this instant*. So does Henry Wright in *The first part of the disquisition of truth, concerning political affaires* (1616) and William Slayter in his 1621 *The history of Great Britanie*.[192] The story is also repeated in *Londons Artillery* by Richard Niccols in 1616, who reinforces the seeming veracity of the story by ending his account 'if you desire more, every chronicle is copious'.[193] It seems clear Stow's dismissal of the tale had little effect.

The other reward for Walworth's actions was understood to be the knighting of all future mayors. This is mentioned in innumerable sources including Stow's Chronicles, the *Survey* and in Johnson's *Nine Worthies*:

---

[189] John Stow, *A Survay of London Contayning the Originall, Antiquity, Increase, Moderne Estate, and Description of that Citie, Written in the Yeare 1598. by Iohn Stow Citizen of London. also an Apologie (Or Defence) Against the Opinion of some Men, Concerning that Citie, the Greatnesse Thereof. with an Appendix, Containing in Latine, Libellum De Situ & Nobilitate Londini: Written by William Fitzstephen, in the Raigne of Henry the Second* (London, [n.pub], 1598), ESTC S117887, p.474.
[190] Penkethman, *Artachthos or A New Booke Declaring the Assise or Weight Of Bread.*
[191] Johnson, *The Pleasant Walkes of Moore-fields*.
[192] Anthony Munday, *A briefe chronicle, of the successe of times, from the creation of the world, to this instant* (London: printed by W. Jaggard, printer to the Honourable Citty of London, and are to be sold at his house in Barbican, 1611), p.585, ESTC S112963 and Henry Wright, *The first part of the disquisition of truth, concerning political affaires* (London: printed by Nicholas Okes, (1616), ESTC S120336 and William Slayter, *The History of Great Britanie* (London: printed by W: Stansby, for Rich: Meighen, and are to be sold at his shop at St. Clements Church, 1621), ESTC S117415.
[193] Niccols, *Londons Artillery*.

> This much in age when strength of youth was spent,
> Hath Walworth by unwonted valour gaind,
> T'was all he sought, his countrey to content.
> Successe hath fortune for the just ordaind,
> And when he died, this order he began,
> Lord Maiors are knights their office being done.[194]

The story was reinforced by Walworth's only stage appearance in the anonymous play *The Life and Death of Jacke Straw, a Notable Rebell in England,* printed in 1593 but potentially staged earlier in connection with the 1590 pageant.[195] This appears to have been a popular work, reprinted several times between 1593 and 1604.[196] Here Walworth expresses anger at Jack Straw's (not Wat Tyler in this instance) disrespect to the King and stabs him, and as in the chronicles, the city is rewarded:

> KING: Stand up Sir William first Knight of thy degree,
> But hence forth all which shall succeed thy place,
> Shall have like honour for thy Noble deede.
> Besides that Time, shall nere abridge thy fame,
> The Cittie armes shall beare for memorie,
> The bloody dagger the more for Walworths honour:
> Call forth your Harrold and receave your due.[197]

In fact, whilst Walworth and the four aldermen who accompanied him to Blackheath were knighted, it did not become a convention that all mayors were knighted until the reign of Edward IV.[198] However, the link was seemingly accepted without demur in all popular accounts. Walworth's role in enhancing the prestige of London's civic governors explains why his livery company, the Fishmongers, was keen to promote his memory (it also reflects another theme identified in the ballads and almanacs, an interest in the history of civic governance and institutions, as developed in chapter six). It seems highly likely that Walworth featured as part of the Lord Mayor's Show whenever the Fishmongers' Company provided the mayor. Alongside the *Device of the Pageant* in 1590, Walworth is celebrated in the pageant of 1616, for Sir John Leman, the only other Fishmonger mayor of the period. This pageant, *Chrysanaleia: the golden fishing: or Honour of fishmongers* by Anthony Munday features an elaborately decorated tomb, from which Walworth arises with 'a full flourish', and gives several speeches explaining who he is and emphasising his role in

---

[194] Johnson, *The Nine Worthies of London.*
[195] Manley, 'Fictions of Settlement', p.208.
[196] Stephen Schillinger, 'Begging at the Gate: "Jack Straw" and the Acting Out of Popular Rebellion' *Medieval & Renaissance Drama in England*, 21 (2008), 87-127 (p.88).
[197] Anon*, The Life and Death of Jack Straw.*
[198] Alfred Beaven, "Aldermen, Knights And Baronets": *The Aldermen of the City of London Temp. Henry III - 1912* (London: Corporation of the City of London, 1908), pp.255-260, <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/london-aldermen/hen3-1912/> [accessed 26 July 2022].

adding the dagger to London's crest.[199] Like the other two figures, the authors of the pageant clearly felt that the best way to promote Walworth's memory (and by default the prestige of the Fishmongers' Company) was to emphasise the link between the story and a tangible legacy, viewed by Londoners each day. The pageant of 1636, when Fishmonger Sir Edward Bromfield became mayor does not survive, but it is highly likely it would have featured Walworth as did the others.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the figures above were included frequently in a wide range of texts and performances in early modern London. Some of the reasons for their popularity differ, but they also share common elements. All three figures may have benefitted from the easy accessibility of their stories. In the same way that almanac writers were able to mine popular chronicles for details on the construction of London landmarks, so authors and playwrights were able to discover the details of Jane Shore, Richard Whittington and William Walworth's lives in all the popular contemporary chronicles. All three were also figures from the medieval period, which for the reasons discussed above was experiencing a vogue in print and on stage, further enhancing their appeal.

Given the Elizabethan desire that stories serve 'purposes of moral edification or entertainment' these three figures were also popular because their lives (with some poetic licence) were well suited for adaptation as 'moral' tales.[200] Moreover, if popular culture (popular history in this case) was indeed manufactured by the elite to inculcate certain values or instil desirable attitudes in a mass audience, it can be also be argued that the authors who popularised these stories, invariably members of the 'middling sort' themselves, may have promoted these figures to disseminate values they shared and wished to promote, such as civic philanthropy, martial bravery and loyalty to the city. Stories like Whittington's and to a certain extent that of Simon Eyre may also have implicitly taught that an acceptance of the social order and the unequal power relationships that existed in the city would be rewarded.

The emerging demand for literature and entertainment catering to an urban audience was also a factor in the popularisation of the above figures. Whilst an element of this new literature was the adaptation of old chivalric romances for a less elite, urban audience, another element was the creation or promotion of heroes who were easier for this

[199] Munday, *Chrysanaleia*.
[200] Woolf, 'From Hystories to the Historical', p.36.

audience to identify with. Historians such as Tim Harris and Alice Bayman suggest that the creation of popular culture was a dialectical process, with audience demand shaping content, therefore figures such as Whittington, Walworth and Shore began to compete with heroes adapted from chivalric literature like Guy of Warwick or Bevis of Hampton because they were from humbler backgrounds, and in the case of Whittington, a poor immigrant apprentice, like so many of the audience for his story. It is also likely that to create an even greater sense of identification with these figures, the London antecedents and connections made by each was so often highlighted.

The frequency with which the figures above featured in cheap print and popular performance suggests that accounts of their lives were easily marketable, and their proven popularity caused authors to turn to the same examples again and again, until their names could be used as passing references, with no explication needed for the reader or listener to understand any allusions being made. Because of this frequent referencing, new inhabitants moving to the city who potentially used popular entertainment and literature to locate themselves culturally in the physical space they now inhabited were frequently presented with the names and deeds of the same few past Londoners.

Though these stories may have been understood and appropriated in different ways by members of the audience, just the fact that the vast majority of Londoners held this information in common gave them at least one shared cultural shared reference point. Inhabitants of the metropolis were socially and economically diverse and may not have shared the same values or beliefs. However, a commonly held understanding of, for example, the reason for the naming of Shoreditch or the presence of the dagger in London’s coat of arms, even if inaccurate, did provide something the majority of Londoners did share, in a small way creating a sense of common identity formed through a shared knowledge of the past of the places and symbols they encountered on a daily basis.

6: City, Crown and Company: The History of London's Government

Interest in the history of civic governance amongst Londoners is in many ways the most challenging of the topics suggested by the ballads and almanacs to assess. Any analysis requires a definition of what Londoners would have understood by 'civic government', given that inhabitants of the metropolis would have encountered a range of institutions which carried out different and overlapping functions. Technically, London's government consisted of the mayor, the twenty-six aldermen representing the city's wards, and 212 common councillors who were elected at wardmotes by most citizens. The aldermen wielded significant executive and judicial power over London, as defined by the wards. They and the mayor were responsible for vital functions such as the distribution of the grain supply, running the municipal brewhouse, overseeing institutions such as the hospitals and prisons, and enforcing quarantine and other preventative measures in times of plague. They were also responsible for the prosecution of crimes such as vagrancy and immorality.

However, Londoners were also subject to regulation and control by the livery companies. The companies, of which there were nearly one hundred by the end of the sixteenth century, devised and enforced ordinances which dominated the working lives of citizens and set fines and punishments for those who violated them.[1] The companies also arbitrated in disputes and had quasi-judicial powers over their members. Steve Rappaport described them as the 'most important social organisations in sixteenth-century London apart from the family'.[2] They also had a role in collecting taxes and providing poor relief for members. Therefore, although not an institution of civic government in the same sense as common council or the court of aldermen, many Londoners would have perceived the companies as an integral part of civic governance.

Further complicating the issue was the reality that as the metropolis grew, 'the proportion of its population subjected to the authority of the city authorities declined dramatically. Whereas about three quarters of the population of the metropolitan area in 1560 resided in the city, by 1700 the proportion was only one quarter'.[3] For these Londoners, direct authority was exercised by a mixture of parish officials, Middlesex and Surrey magistrates and orders directly from the privy council, all of which may have been perceived as

[1] Rappaport, *Worlds Within Worlds*, p.25.
[2] Rappaport, *Worlds Within Worlds*, p.26.
[3] Ian Archer, 'Government in Early Modern London: The Challenge of the Suburbs', in *Two Capitals: London and Dublin 1500-1840* (Proceedings of the British Academy: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 133-147 (p.133).

elements of civic government. The role of the crown and national government should not be overlooked. Whilst the crown did not overly interfere with city government, the Privy Council co-ordinated efforts between the city and suburban authorities on matters such as building regulations and plague control, and in times of national emergency such as the Wyatt rebellion of 1553 involvement grew.[4] Joseph Ward has also argued that the livery companies acted as a unifying force between those inside and outside the administrative authority of the Corporation, with powers of search and regulation stretching three miles beyond the city's administrative boundaries, impacting those who practised a trade outside the company system.[5]

Given the overlapping jurisdictions and powers of these institutions, identifying what a Londoner would have considered to be the parameters of civic government can be problematic. This makes it difficult to assess what 'counts' as a popular historical works focused on London governance. Almost every chronicle, ballad, play, pageant or other text considered features at least *some* of the elements discussed above, so selecting those which qualify as historical works 'about' civic government can feel somewhat arbitrary.

Another issue is the differing *levels* of interest and awareness of aspects of civic government one might expect to find in different social groups residing in the capital. For example, it seems sensible to suggest that members of a livery company would have more interest in the history of their particular company than non-members. Likewise, those who held citizenship might feel more affinity for historical accounts featuring former mayors and civic worthies than those without the freedom.

Given these issues, the evidence found in the almanacs and ballads, with their distillation of key points of historical interest for Londoners is particularly useful. Clearly indicated by the almanac tables was an interest in the role of the mayor. The entry 'since the first mayor of London', occasionally with the variation 'since the first Lord Mayor of London' appeared fifty-three times in the almanac tables between 1625 and 1640 and is one of the most frequent entries. This suggests the role of the mayor warrants investigation as a theme in 'popular' history. Secondly, interest in the historical relationship between London and the crown is suggested by the inclusion of the 'coming of James to London' twenty-five times in the almanac tables. That this particular phrasing had meaning is suggested by the fact that

[4] Archer, 'The Government of London', p.22.
[5] Ward, *Metropolitan Communities,* p.42.

Ranger's almanacs, designed for 'the honourable Citie of Yorke', do not include this event.[6] White's almanacs too, mention James's coronation 'In Scotland', and then add 'his comming to *London',* rather than to *England,* as a separate event, again suggesting the naming of London had meaning and should be investigated.[7] Ballad evidence, particularly the ballad *A delightfull song, of the foure famous feasts of England, the one of them ordayned by King Henry the seventh, of the honor of Marchant Taylers, shewing how seaven Kings have bin free of that company, and now mostly graced with the love of our renowned Prince Henry of great Brittaine* by Richard Johnson also suggests the importance of the livery companies, 'key institutions' which controlled access to the freedom and the privileges this entailed, should not be overlooked, though representation here is more implicit, as is discussed below in more detail.[8]

This chapter therefore firstly investigates representations of London's mayor in popular history. This includes considering how the creation and evolution of the office was presented to Londoners, and how accounts of individual mayors from London's past featured. It then explores how London's relationship with the crown appeared in historical accounts, looking at both positive and negative representations of this relationship, and exploring change over time and how this was reflected in popular historical sources. Finally, I assess representations of the history of the livery companies. This includes both how the history of individual companies was presented to members within company halls and documents, but also how such history was presented to those outside the company system and lacked citizenship. A particularly valuable source is the surviving records of the pageants presented at the annual Lord Mayor's Shows. These frequently reference company history and, as the sources most directly created (in the sense of commissioned and approved) by members of civic government themselves, they can offer valuable insights.

Role of the Mayor

For those with access to the most popular chronicles, there was no shortage of information about the creation of the mayoralty in London available. Stow and Holinshed both include an exhaustive amount of detail on the creation and evolution of the role. The original appointment of bailiffs under Richard I, the creation of the mayoralty in 1189 and the

[6] Ranger, (1627).
[7] White, (1627).
[8] Ballad 27 and Archer, *Pursuit of Stability*, p.100.

granting of the right to Londoners to elect their mayor by King John in 1215 are included in all of Stow's works and in Holinshed's *Chronicle*.[9] All these chronicles continued to add details, such as the right to bear a silver mace being given to the mayor under Edward I.[10]

Unlike Stow, who deals with each extension of the city's privileges as they occurred, Holinshed discusses the foundation of London's government, culminating in the creation of the mayoralty as a discrete topic, enhancing its significance. In the reign of Richard I, Holinshed credits the granting of London's privileges to the king's need for money, recounting that 'the Citizens of London presented unto him a greate summe towardes the furnishyng foorth of his enterprise. Whereupon the Kyng to acquite their courtesie, graunted them large privileges'.[11] These privileges included 'that the Citie shoulde bee ruled by two head officers, which they should choose amongst themselves removeable from yeare to yeare by the name of Baylifes', and that Londoners 'chooseth out of the same a Senate or company of grave councellors, whome they name Aldermen, the .E. changed into. A. according to the olde Saxon pronunciation. It is also devided into. 26. tribes or wardes'.[12] Finally he recounts that 'Out of the number of these, there is another officer yearely chosen and appoynted, called the Maior, who ruleth all the rest'.[13]

Stow identifies the first mayor as Henry Fitz Alwin, giving his name at the beginning of each year until 1212 when Stow notes 'Henry Fitz Alwin Maior of London deceased, who had continued Maior of London foure and twentie yeares.[14] His *Survey* adds slightly more detail in the section on 'Temporall Government' that 'Their I. Maior was H. Fitz Alwin Fitz Liefstane, Goldsmith, pointed by the said king, and continued maior from the first of Richard the first, untill the fifteenth of king John, which was 24. yeares' alongside his burial in Aldgate.[15] Fitz Alwin is also mentioned in the chapter '*Of orders and customes of the Citizens',* where some credit is given to him for the Assize of Building which ordered that 'all men in this cittie shoulde build their houses of stone up to a certaine height, and to cover them with slate, bricke or tyle' in aid of fire prevention.[16]

---

[9] Stow, *Summarie*, (1565), p.69, p.75, p.77, p.84, Stow, *Abridgement*, (1618), p.71, p.79, p.87, Stow, *Summarie Abridged*, (1566), p52, p.58, p.64, Stow, *Chronicles*, (1580), p.219, p.237, p.259, Holinshed, *Chronicles*, (1577), p.479, p.566.
[10] Stow, *Summarie Abridged*, (1565), p.84, p.114, Stow, *Abridgement*, (1618), p.87, Stow, *Summarie Abridged*, (1566), p.64, p.90, Stow, *Chronicles*, (1580), p.259, Holinshed, *Chronicles*, (1577), p.628.
[11] Holinshed, *Chronicles,* (1577), p.749.
[12] Holinshed, *Chronicles,* (1577), p.749.
[13] Holinshed, *Chronicles,* (1577), p.749.
[14] Stow, *Abridgement,* (1618), p.82.
[15] Stow, *Survey of London,* (1603), p.149, p.141.
[16] Stow, *Survey of London,* (1603), p.83.

Such brief references do not cast Fitz Alwin as a 'popular hero' in the mould of Richard Whittington or William Walworth. However, Londoners were also made familiar with Fitz Alwin through his regular appearances in the Lord Mayor's Shows. As discussed in more detail in chapter three, the Shows often contained political messages such as 'instructive support' for the new mayor or commentary on current economic and political circumstances.[17] Caitlyn Finlayson, for example argues the 1620 *Tryumphs of Peace* can be read as a deep expression of concern from the City about possible war in the Netherlands, and a plea to James to continue with his traditional policy of peace.[18] However, a great many of the pageants use history to reinforce the message being delivered, and as part of this strategy, Fitz Alwin was frequently invoked.

The Show of 1611 by Anthony Munday is the first extant which figures Fitz Alwin.[19] Munday describes him in the most glowing terms:

> Honourable, brave, judicious, learned, and of such discretion, that even by Richards owne direction, all his whole time, he held the State still on, and so, untill the fifteenth of King John. Which did exceed full foure and twenty yeares, that this grave Gold-Smith held authority of the Lord Maior, as by Records appears. Nineteene whole yeares this stile of dignity came from the King: But then most graciously, John gave the Cittizens free leave t'elect yearely their Maior, whom best they should respect. Five yeares (each after other) till they chose that grave Fitz-Alwine, to his dying day, when he was called hence to blest repose.[20]

Fitz Alwin is named in eleven of the thirty-one surviving pageant texts produced between 1585 and 1639.[21] In many of these, he was simply identified as the first mayor, as was the case in the Shows of 1621, 1623, 1626, 1631 and 1638. However, in several he was featured more extensively. In Thomas Dekker's 1612 *Troia-Nova Triumphans* written for Merchant-Taylor Thomas Swynnerton for example, Fitz Alwin does not speak, but his name and coat of arms were on constant display, as Dekker describes 'upon the Gilded Battlements thereof, stand 6. Knights, 3. in Silvered, and 3. in Gilt Armour, as Vertues Standerbearers or Champions, holding 6. little Streamers, or silver Bannerets, in each of which are displayed the Armes of a Noble Brother and Benefactor', one of which was 'Sir Henry Fitz-Alwin Draper, L. Maior foure and Twenty yeares together'.[22]

---

[17] Hill, *Pageantry and Power*, p.272.
[18] Caitlin Finlayson, 'Jacobean Foreign Policy, London's Civic Polity, and John Squire's Lord Mayor's Show, 'The Tryumphs of Peace' (1620)', *Studies in Philology*, 110.3, (2013), 584–610.
[19] Munday, *Chruso-thriambos,* (1611).
[20] Munday, *Chruso-thriambos,* (1611).
[21] Thomas Fitz-Alwine is included as the first Mayor in the pageants of 1611, 1614, 1615, 1621, 1623, 1626, 1629, 1631, 1632, 1638 and 1639.
[22] Dekker, *Troia-Nova triumphans*, (1612).

In Anthony Munday's 1614 *Himatia-Poleos* which celebrates the election of Draper Thomas Hayes, Munday spends much of the first section of the pageant text excusing himself for his mistaken identification of Fitz Alwin as a Goldsmith rather than a Draper in his previous pageant. The urgency of Munday's apology and self-justification suggest that his mistake was not well received by the Drapers, and that it is likely they insisted this was corrected in the most public forum. Fitz Alwin then appears as a character in the Show, with the actor who depicted him giving a long speech explaining who he is and describing his twenty-four-year tenure.[23] Probably even more memorable was Fitz Alwin's appearance in the 1615 Show for Draper John Jolles, also written by Munday, where he appeared to deliver the first speech.[24] This is followed by the somewhat strange appearance of Robin Hood, described as 'Sonne in Law (by Marriage) to olde Fitz-Alwine, raised by the Muses all commanding power, to honour this Triumph with his Father'.[25] The assertion that Robin Hood and Henry Fitz Alwin were related (in total contradiction of the lineage Munday gave Robin Hood in his 1598 plays *The Downfall of Robert Earl of Huntingdon* and *The Death of Robert Earl of Huntingdon*) seems to be based on nothing other than Munday's desire to include the famous outlaw in the Show. Nonetheless, the bizarre appearance of the merry men in a mayoral pageant was undoubtedly eye-catching and memorable, cementing Fitz Alwin into the audience's memory. Fitz Alwin appears again in the 1639 Show. In this more fraught context, with the civil war imminent and pageants arguably becoming more overtly critical of Stuart policy, the character fulfils a different role, with a speech expressing that whilst the Drapers were proud 'in regard that Sir Henry Fitz Alwin was of that Fraternity, and the first Lord Mayor', it was undesirable that he 'might bee rather cald a perpetuall Dictator than an one yeares Praetor; continuing his Mayoralty from foure and twenty yeares and upwards together'.[26] This pointed comment may have been intended to express

---

[23] Anthony Munday, *Himatia-Poleos. The triumphs of olde draperie, or the rich cloathing of England: Performed in affection, and at the charges of the right worthie and first honoured Companie of Drapers: at the enstalment of Sr. Thomas Hayes Knight, in the high office of Lord Maior of London, on Satturday, being the 29. day of October, Devised and written by A.M. citizen and draper of London* (London: Printed by Edward Allde, 1614), ESTC S120605.

[24] Anthony Munday, *Metropolis coronata, the triumphes of ancient drapery: or Rich cloathing of England, in a second yeeres performance In honour of the advancement of Sir John Iolles, Knight, to the high office of Lord Maior of London, and taking his oath for the same authoritie, on Monday, being the 30. day of October. 1615. Performed in heartie affection to him, and at the bountifull charges of his worthy brethren the truely honourable Society of Drapers, the first that received such dignitie in this citie. Devised, and written, by A.M. citizen, and draper of London* (London: By George Purslowe, 1615), ESTC S112990.

[25] Anthony Munday, *Metropolis coronata*, (1615).

[26] Thomas Heywood, *Londini status pacatus: or Londons peaceable estate Exprest in sundry triumphs, pageants, and shewes, at the innitiation of the right Honourable Henry Garvvay, into the Majoralty of the famous and farre renowned city London. All the charge and expence, of the laborious projects both by water and land, being the sole undertakings of the Right Worshipfull Society of Drapers. Written by Thomas Heywood* (London: By John Okes, 1639), ESTC S104064.

disapproval of absolutism, a criticism aimed at Charles I, but deflected by the use of Fitz Alwin. Significantly, it is clear that Fitz Alwin's twenty-four-year tenure was felt by Heywood to be familiar enough to the audience to provide a meaningful comparison. Disapproval was the exception however and Fitz Alwin was usually deployed to advertise the superiority of London's system. Indeed, Tracey Hill suggests that in Munday's 1614 *Himatia Poleos,* Munday uses Fitz Alwin's speech to explain that the mayoralty came into existence precisely because of 'shortcomings in the system of sole sovereign power that preceded it', and that 'the security of the state requires both sovereign and lord mayor'.[27] In this context, it is interesting that the almanac tables do not begin including the creation of the mayoralty until 1625, when perhaps the accession of a Stuart monarch inclined to a belief in divine right kingship gave such a reminder more resonance.

Though mentioned in the chronicles and frequently cited in the Lord Mayor's Shows, Fitz Alwin still does not seem to have been a 'popular' figure on the same scale as his successors William Walworth or Richard Whittington. However, this does not diminish the fact that a large part of the legends built around these figures was their achievement of the mayoralty. When Richard II knighted William Walworth, the popular accounts highlighted not only the honour done to Walworth personally, but the fact that:

> For which all his Successors be
> Lord Mayors of London nam'de.[28]

Likewise, when Richard granted that a sword should be carried before the mayor in procession to celebrate Walworth's deeds, the honour was to the office, not just the man.[29] The addition of the dagger to London's crest, with which Walworth was often inaccurately credited, was also an honour for London as a whole. Richard Whittington too was best known for being 'thrice Lord Mayor of London'.[30] When the bells famously called him back, they did not promise riches or fame, but that he should be 'Lord Mayor of London'.[31]

Another holder of the mayoralty celebrated in popular culture was Simon Eyre, the main character in Deloney's 1597 *The Gentle Craft* and Dekker's 1600 *Shoemaker's Holiday*. Like Walworth and Whittington, Simon Eyre was elected mayor in 1445, and it is this that accounts of his life focus on. Likewise in Heywood's *Edward IV* it is the character of the mayor, inaccurately identified as John Crosby, who heroically rallies the citizens of London

---

[27] Hill, *Pageantry and Power,* p.278.
[28] Ballad 1.
[29] Johnson, *The Nine Worthies of London*.
[30] Ballad 10.
[31] Ballad 10.

during Fauconberg's revolt. Heywood substitutes Crosby into the play for the man who was actually mayor at the time, Sir John Stockton, probably so he can insert the story about Crosby's origins as an foundling raised by Christ's Hospital found in Stow.[32] This casual substitution reinforces the idea that it was the office, not necessarily the man, that the audience would have recognized as representing bravery and martial competence in the tradition of William Walworth.

Military prowess was only one facet of what past mayors were celebrated for. Richard Whittington and Simon Eyre were remembered for their benefactions to London, with Whittington's contribution of Whittington College and improvements to St Bartholomew's hospital included by Stow and further celebrated in ballads, plays and chapbooks.[33] Similarly Simon Eyre's building of Leadenhall was referred to in six pageants performed at the Lord Mayor's Show and was also celebrated in Dekker's *Shoemaker's Holiday.*[34]

The contributions of less famous mayors are also present in the works of Stow and were often reinforced by the mayoral pageants. One example, amongst many, was Sir John Poultney, mayor in 1331, 1332, 1334 and 1336. Poultney was reliably referred to whenever the Drapers supplied the new mayor, both for being 'foure times Lord Major', but mainly because 'he built a Chappell in Pauls, where hee lyeth buried, and erected a Colledge neere unto the Church of St. Laurence Powltney, London: He moreover built the Church of little Alhallows in Thames street, with other pious and devout Acts'.[35] There are many other examples, such as the celebration of Nicholas Faringdon, in *Chrusothriambos* (1611) celebrating the election of Goldsmith James Pemberton which informs the audience 'These gates he built, this ward of him took name'.[36] As discussed in chapter four, the etymology of the ward's name was information likely to be appealing to the London audience. Similarly, the 1617 *Tryumphs of Honor and Industry* written for Grocer George Bolles, praises fellow Grocer Thomas Knoles who 'begunne at his owne charge that famous building of Guild-hall in London'.[37]

---

[32] Heywood, *Edward IV,* I.16.10-24 and Stow, *Survey of London,* (1603), p.174.
[33] Stow, *Chronicles*, (1580), p.567.
[34] Dekker, *The Shoemaker's Holiday.* The building of Leadenhall by Eyre is included in the pageants of 1615, 1621, 1623, 1626, 1638 and 1639.
[35] Thomas Heywood, *Porta pietatis, or The port or harbour of piety Exprest in sundry triumphes, pageants, and showes, at the initiation of the Right Honourable Sir Maurice Abbot Knight, into the Majoralty of the famous and farre renowned city London. All the charge and expence of the laborious projects both by water and land, being the sole undertaking of the Right Worshipfull Company of the Drapers. Written by Thomas Heywood* (London: by I. Okes, 1638), ESTC S104071.
[36] Munday, *Chruso-thriambos*.
[37] Middleton, *The tryumphs of honor and industry.*

In summary, it seems clear Londoners would have been able to access information on the creation of the mayoralty relatively easily. The details were included in all editions of the most popular chronicles and the basics were repeated frequently in the annual Lord Mayor's Show. Rarely was much detail given, but in 1628 Thomas Dekker not only explained the roles of King Richard and King John, but also informed the audience that it was Edward the Confessor who initially gave London portgraves, and Henry III who added the aldermen to the city's government.[38] In 1629 Dekker added even more explication to his description of the evolution of the system:

> Then Edward 1 ordained that the Lord Maior, should in the Kings absence, sit in all Places within London, as Chiefe Justice; And that every Alderman that had bin Lord Mayor, should be a Justice of Peace for London and Middlesex all his life after.
>
> Then, in the reigne of Henry 7 Sr. John Shaw Gold smith, being Lord Maior, caused the Aldermen to ride from the Guild-hall to the water side, when he went to take his Oath at Westminster, (where before they Rode by land thither).[39]

However, far more focus was placed solely on the figure of the mayor, who seemed to embody the idea of independent London government. It is highly likely therefore, given the appearance of Fitz Alwin as a character in so many of the mayoral pageants, supported by the almanac tables' inclusion of the event, that Londoners knew broadly when the mayoralty was created and who the first mayor was. Even given the difficulties in hearing the speeches or understanding some of the imagery used in pageants, Londoners were presented with this information so many times, that it is highly likely these oft-cited examples became common knowledge.[40] The importance of the role was also reinforced as former mayors often featured as characters in popular texts. The replacement of John Stockton by Thomas Crosby in Heywood's *Edward IV,* is also suggestive, confirming the idea that Heywood considered the office more important than the individual. The heroic

---

[38] Thomas Dekker, *Brittannia's honor brightly shining in severall magnificent shewes or pageants, to celebrate the solemnity of the Right Honorable Richard Deane, at his inauguration into the majoralty of the honourable citty of London, on Wednesday, October 29th. 1628. At the particular cost, and charges of the right worshipfull, worthy, and ancient Society of Skinners. Invented by Tho. Dekker* (London: N. Okes and J. Norton, 1628), ESTC S115219.
[39] Thomas Dekker, *Londons tempe, or, The feild of happines. In which feild are planted severall trees of magnificence, state and bewty, to celebrate the solemnity of the right honorable James Campebell, at his inauguration in to the honorable office of prætorship, or maioralty of London, on Thursday the 29 of October, 1629. All the particular inventions, for the pageants, showes of triumph, both by water and land being here fully set downe, at the sole cost, and liberall charges of the right worshipfull Society of Ironmongers* (London: Nicholas Okes, 1629), ESTC S1084
[40] Hill, *Pageantry and Power,* pp. 118-213.

appearance of former mayors in plays, ballads and pageantry, supported by a myriad of examples from the popular chronicles, must have presented Londoners with an impression of the mayoralty's illustrious history. Therefore, it is this overall characterisation which can be said to have become part of popular history, rather than a detailed knowledge of the evolution of London's governmental systems.

London's Relationship with the Crown

The relationship between the city and the crown was another area of interest suggested by the almanacs. The City was quick to present London as 'The Kings Chamber' in civic pageantry.[41] Indeed, the first arch to greet King James on his official royal entry to London in 1604 was inscribed 'Camera Regia'.[42]

Though the principal royal residences had mainly been moved out of London by the sixteenth century, from the Tower and places like Bridewell palace to Westminster, the close proximity of the court influenced many aspects of life in the city, with James Robertson arguing that 'the spatial division between the court at Westminster and the citizens in London was far from clear, with royal monuments on London's streets and royal interest in urban building'.[43] One of the most famous expressions of this connection was the naming of the Royal Exchange, the building of which was included thirty-six times in the almanac tables, as discussed more fully in chapter four. Though constructed and funded by Thomas Gresham rather than the crown, 'Gresham's bourse' was renamed the Royal Exchange by Elizabeth following a visit arranged by Gresham in 1571. This association with the crown, and the implicit endorsement of the mercantile activities conducted within, was reinforced by the presence of statues of English Kings placed around the main courtyard, as can be seen in Frans Hogenberg's 1569 engraving of the building.[44] The royal connection was further publicised in Heywood's *If You Know Not Me, You Know Nobody II,* with its dramatization of Elizabeth I's visit and granting of the royal title.[45] The statues, though they had not yet arrived to be placed on the building in the play (and in fact were still not installed when the play was first performed in 1605) are also included, with Sir Thomas

[41] Manley, *Literature and Culture*, p.218.
[42] Harrison, *The arch's of triumph erected in honor of the high and mighty prince James*.
[43] James Robertson, 'Stuart London and the Idea of a Royal Capital City', *Renaissance Studies*, 15.1 (2001), 37-58 (p.39).
[44] Frans Hogenberg, *The Royal Exchange,* c.1569, paper, 390 x 530 mm, British Museum https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_1880-1113-3671 [accessed 14 October 2022].
[45] Heywood, *If You Know Not Me, You Know Nobody II*, p.137.

Ramsey and the lords exclaiming how much more 'glorious' the building will appear with their addition.[46]

The image of London as a place with a uniquely symbiotic relationship with the crown was one of the 'most insistent themes in the way London's authorities wished to present their past'.[47] Robert Tittler offers the example of the Grocers, who in 1611 hung portraits of recent monarchs such as Elizabeth I and James I 'near images of some of its own heroes so as to emphasize the historic affinity'.[48] Likewise the 1612 ballad *A delightfull song, of the foure famous feasts of England, the one of them ordayned by King Henry the seventh, of the honor of Marchant Taylers, shewing how seaven Kings have bin free of that company, and now mostly graced with the love of our renowned Prince Henry of great Brittaine* by Richard Johnson highlights the connection between the crown and the Merchant Taylors, proudly claiming:

> Then let all London companies,
> so highly in renowne:
> Give Marchant taylors name and same,
> to weare the lawrell crowne,
> For seven of Englands royall Kings,
> thereof have all béene frée:
> And with their loves and favors grac'd,
> this worthy company.[49]

This idea of a special relationship was most overtly expressed in royal entries, the traditional welcoming of a new monarch into the city before their coronation. Certainly the City spared little expense or trouble in planning James' 1604 entry, establishing a committee as early as March 1603 and collecting over £4000 from the livery companies.[50] On this grand occasion the first triumphal arch that greeted James as he rode into the city had a miniature sculpture of London placed on the top, and on the arrival of James at the arch, an allegorical performance was presented where curtains, representing clouds, were withdrawn from the face of city to symbolise joy at the arrival of James.[51] At a later pageant presented at the Gracechurch Street arch a speech was given proclaiming that James'

---

[46] Liz Fox, "These Very Pictures Will Surmount My Wealth", *Medieval & Renaissance Drama in England*, 32 (2019), 142-162 (p.150).
[47] Archer, 'Discourses of History', p.216.
[48] Tittler, 'Portraiture, Precedence and Politics Amongst the London Liveries', p.357.
[49] Ballad 27.
[50] Bergeron, *English Civic Pageantry*, p.73.
[51] Bergeron, *English Civic Pageantry*, p.76.

arrival had transformed the city from Troynovant into a summer arbour, suggesting the city was willing to see 'normal functions surrendered in the desire to entertain the king'.[52]

The close relationship between monarch and city was also highlighted in the annual Lord Mayor's Show. In the earliest surviving pageant text of 1585, Queen Elizabeth is informed that London:

> In meeke and lowly manner dooth she yeeld,
> Her selfe her welthe with hart and willingnes.
> Unto the person of her gracious Queene,
> Elizabeth renowned through the world.[53]

This claiming of a unique relationship between London and the crown continued in to the seventeenth century. David Mason argues that the identification of London as 'Troynovant', as it was frequently referred to the extant pageant texts between 1585 and 1639, links London to Brutus the Trojan prince and in doing so 'created an ongoing relationship between monarch and city' which 'citizen poets and historians used to […] posit the existence of a close and intimate relationship between king and capital'.[54] These links are developed in many of the Shows; in the 1622 *Triumphs of Honor and Vertue* Thomas Middleton suggests 'The Court and City two most Noble Friends', and again identifies London as the 'Kings Chamber, the proper Title of the City'.[55] Likewise in the 1626 *Triumphs of Health and Prosperity* by Middleton London is again referred to as 'the Chamber Royall'.[56]

This description was not just flattery, it reflected a reality in which the monarchy was 'heavily dependent on the goodwill of the City'.[57] The Crown relied on London for financial support, with the livery companies more reliable mechanisms to raise money quickly than Parliament. London also provided military muscle, with the city providing 10% of England's

---

[52] Bergeron, *English Civic Pageantry*, p.82.
[53] Peele, *The Device of the Pageant*.
[54] David Mason, 'The Role of London's Urban Foundation Legends in Late-Medieval Historical and Political Cultures', *London Journal*, Published online: 20 Feb 2022, < DOI: 10.1080/03058034.2022.2028451>, p.5.
[55] Thomas Middleton, *The Triumphs of Honor and Vertue. A Noble Solemnitie, Performed through the City, at the Sole Cost and Charges of the Honorable Fraternitie of Grocers, at the Confirmation and Establishment of their most Worthy Brother, the Right Honorable Peter Proby, in the High Office of His Maiesties Lieutenant, Lord Maior and Chancellor of the Famous City of London. Taking Beginning at His Lordships Going, and Perfecting it Selfe After His Returne from Receiuing the Oath of Maioralty at Westminster, on the Morrow After Simon and Judes Day, being the 29. of October, 1622* (London: Printed by Nicholas Okes, 1622), ESTC S110012.
[56] Thomas Middleton, *The Triumphs of Health and Prosperity A Noble Solemnity Performed through the City, at the Sole Cost and Charges of the Honorable Fraternity of Drapers, at the Inauguration of their most Worthy Brother, the Right Honorable, Cuthbert Hacket, Lord Major of the Famous City of London* (London: By Nicholas Okes, dwelling in Foster-lane, 1626), ESTC S110007.
[57] Manley, *Literature and Culture*, p.219.

military forces between 1585 and 1602.[58] London and the court were economically dependent on each other, with the spending of the court on luxury goods bringing more wealth to the city than was taken in taxation, but the role of personal interactions and social relationships between higher members of the livery companies and courtiers should not be underestimated.[59] In exchange for financial and military support, London maintained its traditional liberties, received concessions and contracts for overseas trade, and was given protection in Parliament from complaints by members of the gentry and other towns who 'brought increasing pressure to bear against the exclusionary trading practices of Londoners'.[60]

The most frequent use of history in the Shows, in terms of commentary on the relationship between city and crown, was an outline of the evolution of civic government and the identification of the kings responsible. Focus was placed on the mayor, but also on the monarch. The Show of 1611 by Anthony Munday is the first extant which draws attention to the role of the monarch, Richard I in this case, who granted London 'the dignity of a Lord Maior'.[61] Munday also acknowledges the extension of the power to choose a mayor to citizens granted by King John.[62] Overall, Richard I and King John are referred to in seven Shows between 1611 and 1639.[63] In 1628 and 1629 Thomas Dekker adds even more detailed information, not only explaining the roles of King Richard and King John, but also detailing Edward the Confessor, Henry III and Edward I's contributions, with Edward I deciding 'that the Lord Maior, should in the Kings absence, sit in all Places within London, as Chiefe Justice; And that every Alderman that had bin Lord Mayor, should be a Justice of Peace for London and Middlesex all his life after'.[64] The Shows, although focused on the mayor, did therefore acknowledge the role of the crown in the creation of the office.

A second way in which the pageants emphasised links between crown and city was to identify all monarchs who had been members or patrons of whichever company was funding the Show. This was less common, but in the 1605 Show written for the Merchant Taylors by Munday to celebrate the election of Sir Leonard Holliday, the audience were told

---

[58] Manley, *Literature and Culture,* p.220.
[59] Ian Archer, 'Conspicuous Consumption Revisited: City and Court in the Reign of Elizabeth I', in *London and the Kingdom: Essays in Honour of Caroline M. Barron*, ed. by Matthew Davies and Andrew Prescott (Donnington: Shaun Tyas, 2008).
[60] Manley, *Literature and Culture,* p.220.
[61] Munday, *Chruso-thriambos*.
[62] Munday, *Chruso-thriambos*.
[63] King Richard I is credited with the invention of the mayoralty in 1611, 1614, 1615, 1629, 1631 and 1634. King John is also included in 1611, 1613, 1615, 1629 and 1631.
[64] Dekker*, Brittannia's honor,* and Dekker, *Londons tempe*.

that the Merchant Taylors were given their charter by Edward III, a Master and four keepers by Richard II, with this name changed to Wardens by Edward IV. Furthermore, Henry IV 'thought it no disgrace to his high state, To weare the Clothing of the Companie'.[65] In 1612 Thomas Dekker, again for the Merchant Taylors, emphasised 'Yea, Kings themselves 'mongst you have Fellowes bene', a fact reinforced by the instruction 'see, seven English Kings there plac'd, Cloth'd in your Livery'; presumably the pageant included portraits or figures of these Kings.[66] In 1619, Thomas Middleton, writing for the Skinners, lists in exhaustive detail all royal members, beginning with Edward III and ending with Richard III and his extended family. Middleton, rather smugly, concludes with a summary of membership, '7: Kings, 5-Queenes, 1. Prince. 7. Dukes. 1. Earle. 21 Plantagenets'.[67]

Finally, some pageant texts emphasised the link by praising past members who had served the monarch in some way. The strongest example, as discussed in chapter three, was William Walworth, the subject of the Show *The Device of the Pageant* designed for the Fishmongers in 1590, where Richard II appears as a character, and the actor playing Jack Straw leaves the audience in no doubt that 'we all were not afraid, For to deprive our soveraigne king, Richard the second namde, Yet for our bad ambitious mindes by Walworth we were tamde'.[68] The Fishmongers' 1616 Show *Chrysanaleia* also emphasised the role of Walworth, but in addition Munday names the other aldermen who were present at Wat Tyler's death, further emphasising Richard II's gratitude as the character of Walworth describes 'His gracious favour presently exprest in Royall manner, Knighting me and the rest of Aldermen, that were in fielde with me […] Sir Nicholas Brember, Sir John Philpot, Sir Nicholas Twiford, Sir John Standish, Sir Robert Launde'.[69] Representations of Walworth's service to the crown was not confined to civic pageantry. In the 1593 play the *Life and death of Jack Straw* all Walworth's speeches express loyalty and gratitude to the monarch, and as Stephen Schillinger points out, despite some earlier sympathy implied for the rebel

---

[65] Anthony Munday, *The triumphes of re-united Britania. Performed at the cost and charges of the Right Worship: Company of the Merchant-Taylors, in honor of Sir Leonard Holliday kni: to solemnize his entrance as Lorde Mayor of the Citty of London, on Tuesday the 29. of October. 1605, Devised and written by A. Mundy, cittizen and draper of London* (London: By W. Jaggard, 1605), ESTC S113000.
[66] Dekker, *Troia-Nova triumphans.*
[67] Thomas Middleton*, The Triumphs of love and Antiquity an Honourable Solemnitie Performed through the Citie, at the Confirmation and Establishment of the Right Honourable Sir William Cockayn, Knight, in the Office of His Maiesties Lieutenant, the Lord Maior of the Famous Citie of London. Taking Beginning in the Morning at His Lord-Ships Going, and Perfecting Itselfe After His Returne from Receiving the Oath of Mayoralty at Westminster, on the Morrow After Symon and Judes Day, October 29. 1619. by Tho: Middleton. Gent* (London: Printed by Nicholas Okes, 1619), ESTC S119886.
[68] Nelson, *The Device of the Pageant*.
[69] Munday, *Chrysanaleia.*

demands, it is at the point when Walworth joins the action that the play moves away from a potentially subversive message and becomes more pro-royalist, as 'the Christian goodness of the King is emphasized, the King and the Lord Mayor are triumphant, and as a result of the King's final pardon, all but Ball and Tyler are spared'.[70] This link is made even more explicit in the 1616 poem *The complaint of Paules, to all Christian soules* written by Henry Farley, which states:

> Walworth killed rebell Straw,
> Cause he spurn'd gainst King and Law;
> So by our truth and industrie,
> God makes our Citie multiply:
> Let rebels swagger how they will,
> We will bee true and loyall still.
> This pinacle belongs to'th'Citie,
> The motto is more true then wittie.[71]

As with the themes discussed in previous chapters, much of the information in these texts and performances came from the chronicles. Indeed, in the text of the 1611 pageant *Chruso-Thriambos* Munday acknowledges that the information he used came from Stow, emphasising the key role the chronicles and the *Survey* played as sources for other works.[72] The chronicles provided much of the information about occasions when Londoners demonstrated their loyalty to the crown. The support of London (and Walworth in particular) for Richard II during the events of 1381 is fully developed in all editions of Stow's *Summarie,* his *Chronicles* of 1580 and in Holinshed's *Chronicles.*[73] Likewise*,* the key role of Londoners in the defence of the city during the assault by Fauconbridge in 1471, a major plot point in *Edward IV,* can be found in all these texts.[74] The Shows were therefore not offering an interpretation of London history that differed from that found in other popular texts and forms of entertainment, enhancing the likelihood that the messages in would have been absorbed by Londoner's, as they were so frequently reinforced.

As with the other themes discussed in this study, the examples from the chronicles selected by most writers to popularise remained fairly narrow, with the same events and figures frequently deployed. Yet the chronicles include several other examples that, perhaps

---

[70] Schillinger, 'Begging at the Gate', p.110.
[71] Henry Farley, *The complaint of Paules, to all Christian soules: or an humble supplication, to our good King and nation, for her newe reparation. Written by Henrie Farley.Amore, veritate, & reuerentia* (Cambridge: Printed by Cantrell Legge, 1616), ESTC S4673, p.59.
[72] Munday, *Chruso-thriambos*.
[73] Stow, *Summarie,* (1565), p.126-127, Stow, *Abridgement*, (1618), p.142-143, Stow, *Summarie Abridged,* (1566), p.100-101, Stow, *Chronicles,* (1580), p.481-484, Holinshed, *Chronicles,* (1577), p.1025-1033.
[74] Stow, *Summarie*, (1565), p.157, Stow, *Abridgement*, (1618), p.186, Stow, *Summarie Abridged*, (1566), p.127, Stow, *Chronicles*, (1580), p.729, Holinshed, *Chronicles,* (1577), p.1341.

surprising given the dramatic nature of these events, do *not* seem to have captured the imagination of popular authors or were not seen as appropriate topics for popular promotion. One example was the reaction of London to the behaviour of the Empress Maude and her subsequent flight from the city in 1141 which prevented her from triumphing in the war against her cousin Stephen for the throne. There is no shortage of material in the chronicles about this event had the balladeers or playwrights chosen to use it. All the most widely available chronicles apart from Howes' 1618 edition of Stow's *Summarie* include the incident. In the 1565 edition of Stow's *Summarie*, Maude is ultimately defeated because 'the Kentishe men and Londoners, favourynge the kyng, warred upon the rebelles, and in open field toke Roberte erle of Gloceter'.[75] It was thus the intervention of the Londoners, and their loyalty to Stephen, that 'forced Maude with other of her frendes to forsake the realme'.[76]

The same account is repeated almost verbatim in the 1566 abridged *Summarie.* More detail is given in the more substantial 1580 *Chronicles*, where it is even more explicitly the actions of the citizens of London that cause Maude's defeat:

> The Citizens of London required hir to restore Kyng Edwardes lawes, but she being puffed up with pride, would not graunte theyr requeste, whereuppon they conspired to take hir prisoner, but she advertised hereof, fled with shame, leaving behinde hir all hir furniture of housholde and apparell.[77]

Holinshed's 1577 *Chronicle* develops this account even further:

> It chaunced at the same tyme also that the citizens of London made great labour to the said Empresse that they might have the lawes of king Edward the Confessor restored againe, and the strait lawes of hir father king Henry abolished. But for so much as they could get no graunt of their petition, and perceived the Empresse to be displeased with thē about that importunat request, wherin only she show herself, they devised how and by what meanes they might take hir prisoner, knowing that all the Kentishmen would helpe to strengthen them in their enterprise: But she being therof warned, fled by night out of the citie, and went to Oxford.[78]

This incident is an early example of the power and influence of Londoners to shape events and express their loyalty to the crown, in this case King Stephen, and such a dramatic incident seems to have been a good candidate for the narrative ballads. However, there is no allusion to the incident in any ballad, almanac or play I have found.

---

[75] Stow, *Summarie,* (1565), p.64.
[76] Stow, *Summarie,* (1565), p.64.
[77] Stow, *Chronicles,* (1580), p.191.
[78] Holinshed, *Chronicles,* (1577), p.377.

Another example of an incident which had surprisingly little presence in popular entertainment was Cade's revolt of 1450. Accounts of Jack Cade's rebellion found in the most widely available chronicles were like the portrayal of the Peasants' Revolt of 1381, in that the chroniclers used the events to illustrate the loyalty and military service of Londoners, yet this rebellion does not seem to have resonated in popular culture the same way. Though Cade's revolt began in the south east, the Chronicles all frame the rebellion as culminating in a battle for the city with Stow recounting that 'the capitaine and rebelles came to London and cut the ropes of the drawebridge, and entred the citie, and stroke his sword on London stone, saying: Now is Mortimer lord of this citie'.[79] Given that, unlike the 1381 rebellion, the citizens of London defeated the rebels themselves, with some assistance from royal officials from the tower, one might assume this event would have been more celebrated, as Fauconbridge's defeat was. Stow describes the role of Londoners in the dramatic events on London Bridge:

> the capitaines of the Citie tooke upon them in the nighte to kepe the bridge, prohibyting the Kentish-men to passe. The rebelles hearing the bridge to be kept, ranne with great force to open that passage: where betwene bothe partes was a fierce encounter. The rebelles drave the Citezens from the stoulpes at the Bridge foote, to the drawebridge, and set fyre on divers houses: In conclusion, the rebels gat the drawe bridge, and drowned and flewe many. This conflict endured tyll .ix. of the clock in the mornyng.[80]

Stow's *Summaries* of 1565 and 1618 give almost the same account. The fuller *Chronicles* of 1580 included much more detail, making it clear that the Londoners were the heroes, as:

> the King and Quéene hearing of the increasing of his rebels, and also the Lordes fearing their owne servaunts, least they would take the Captaines part, removed from London to Killingworth, leaving the Citie without ayde.[81]

Holinshed offers an almost identical account, further reinforcing the heroic militant loyalty of the Londoners in defence of king and city.[82]

However, despite the similarities between the actions of the Londoners during Cade's rebellion and their defence of the city against Fauconbridge, Cade's revolt is not used in any popular account I have found to represent the bravery and loyalty of Londoners. The rebellion does appear in Shakespeare's 1590 *Henry VI: Part II,* but this play credits the Duke

[79] Stow, *Summarie Abridged,* (1566), p.119.
[80] Stow, *Summarie Abridged,* (1566), p.120.
[81] Stow, *Chronicles*, (1580), p.659.
[82] Holinshed, *Chronicles,* (1577), p.1279-1282.

of Buckingham and Lord Clifford for Cade's defeat, rather than the citizens of London. Indeed, the only mention of the role of the Londoners is the dismissive claim in Act IV:

> THIRD ROYAL MESSENGER: Jack Cade hath gotten London Bridge:
> The citizens fly and forsake their houses.[83]

That said, Shakespeare perhaps demonstrated his awareness of the stories which *were* more widely circulated, having Henry VI make a knight of Alexander Iden for slaying Cade in Act V.[84] This information is not included in any of the popular chronicles and seems to be inaccurate, suggesting this inclusion in the play is perhaps an echo of Richard II's rewarding of William Walworth for executing Wat Tyler, a much more frequently celebrated event.

The reasons why some incidents from the chronicles and not others became source material for the popular authors are potentially myriad. The fashion for stories set in the relatively recent past, discussed in more detail in chapter five, may have made Londoners' rejection of the Empress Maude less attractive. There were far fewer and less detailed accounts of this twelfth-century incident available than, for example, Heywood had to hand when fictionalising events from the reign of Edward IV. Equally it may have been seen as impolitic to celebrate an incident in which female rule was rejected and the succession contested in the context of the 1590s, when many of the chronicle plays were written. As Ian Archer suggests, chroniclers also found it difficult to discuss popular rebellion 'as they struggled to distance themselves from the charges of inciting criticism'.[85] In the case of Cade's rebellion, perhaps the lack of a heroic figure in the mould of William Walworth, or an expression of direct gratitude to the city from Henry VI, like Walworth's knighting by Richard II, made the story less appealing. Equally, perhaps the lack of a tragic heroine, as Jane Shore was portrayed by Heywood, meant the story could not be deployed as successfully. There is also the element of reinforcement, also discussed in previous chapters. Walworth and Shore were already well-known figures in popular culture due to their presence in ballads, plays and pageantry. It is therefore likely that writers may have chosen to use figures and incidents with proven appeal and thus increase the chances of their work being well received.

---

[83] Shakespeare, *Henry VI II,* IV.8. 48-49.
[84] Shakespeare, *Henry VI*: II, V.1. 75-81
[85] Archer, 'Discourses of History', p.217.

Negative Presentation of London's Relationship with the Monarch

History then was often used to positively reinforce the unique relationship between London and the monarch. The loyalty of London was emphasised, often through accounts of individual Londoners, and the role of the crown in granting London its traditional liberties was celebrated. However, popular writers were also willing to portray the relationship between city and crown in a much more negative manner, and historical incidents which demonstrated the crown's willingness to challenge London's independence were at times utilised to reinforce London's independence and civic pride. Anne Lancashire makes the argument that even during royal entries, when one would expect the city's governors to be particularly obsequious, monarchs were traditionally met ceremoniously *outside* London, not only to honour the monarch with an eminent escort made up of the mayor and aldermen, but also to highlight 'civic power and privilege' by symbolically suggesting the monarch was a guest whom the city had *chosen* to welcome.[86]

Despite apparent reluctance to emphasise some incidents from London's past, it is clear that popular authors were not reluctant to express discontent with government policy through an appeal to history. In mayoral pageants the relationship was not always portrayed in a wholly positive way, particularly in the 1630s as the national political situation became more fraught. Indeed Tracey Hill argues that the very existence of increasingly lavish shows in the 1630s were 'successive reformulations of civic pride occasioned by James's withdrawal from the centre of London's political consciousness'.[87] In this context Middleton's 1626 *The Triumphs of Health and Prosperity* can be viewed as a criticism of Charles I's recently abandoned royal entry, as the text 'begins with what looks like the usual historical survey of civic record, but he singles out the importance of inaugural ceremonial with notable hyperbole'.[88] Ian Archer agrees that 'even when celebrating citizen loyalty, a play might carry a subversive freightage', as in Heywood's *Edward IV*, where the defence of the city by the mayor emphasizes 'the indolence of the monarch addicted to sexual pleasure'.[89] Archer concludes that 'plays thus explore a huge range of possible relations between crown and people rather than adopting a coherently loyalist and uncritical stance'.[90] Probably the most frequently cited example of writers' (and Londoners') willingness to express dissatisfaction is the popularity of the ballads *A*

[86] Lancashire, *London Civic Theatre*, p.133.
[87] Hill, *Pageantry and Power*, p.271.
[88] Hill, *Pageantry and Power*, p.227.
[89] Archer, 'Discourses of History', p.224.
[90] Archer, 'Discourses of History', p.224.

Lamentable Ballad of the Earl of Essex's Death and *A Lamentable Dittie Composed upon the Death of Robert Lord Devereux Late Earle of Essex, Who Was Beheaded in the Tower of London, upon Ash wednesday in the Morning, 1601*.[91] Both were highly popular, with the 1603 *Lamentable Dittie* reprinted in 1620, 1625, and 1635. Alzada Tipton has described the Council's attempts to suppress the ballad, which criticised Elizabeth I, whose 'image, her popularity, and her relationship with her people are also burned up in the conflagration of the Essex revolt'.[92] However, 'even eighteen months after Essex's execution, a German visitor claimed to find all London singing the ballads composed on Essex's death', suggesting a refusal on the part of Londoners to relinquish their views.[93]

Evidence of this assertion of independence can also be detected in the use of language in the Lord Mayor's Shows which recalls republican Rome, a city also believed to have been founded by Trojan refugees. This assertion is found in Stow's *Survey* with Stow including William Fitzstephen's assertion that London was 'an emulation' of Rome.[94] David Mason argued that the frequent use of the name Troynovant in the Shows can be perceived as drawing attention to the links between London and monarchy, offering flattery to the crown. However, an alternative interpretation is that the identification of London as a new Troy, as was suggested by the title of Thomas Dekker's 1612 *Troia-Nova Triumphans,* or the language used in Peele's 1585 *Device of the Pageant Borne before Wolstan Dixie* where London is again referred to as 'New Troye' in fact drew attention to London's status as a city founded with a tradition of self-government in a republican style.[95] This interpretation is reinforced by the frequency with which the new mayor is addressed as a 'praetor', such as in Dekker's 1612 *Troia-Nova Triumphans* and Heywood's 1639 *Londini Status Pacatus* which refers to the mayoralty as a 'Praetorian dignity'.[96]

This language could be interpreted as a subtle reminder to observers that London's history as a self-governing body had a long and illustrious history. The Shows were arguably therefore following a long standing tradition of political deployment of London's past, a strategy dating from the fifteenth century, most notably in the work of John Carpenter who compiled the *Liber Albus* in 1419.[97] Helen Carrel suggests the *Liber* was a response to

---

[91] Ballad 7 and Ballad .
[92] Alzada Tipton, 'The Transformation of the Earl of Essex: Post-Execution Ballads and "The Phoenix and the Turtle"*, Studies in Philology*, 99. 1 (2002), 57-80 (p.72).
[93] Tipton, 'The Transformation of the Earl of Essex', p.79.
[94] Stow, *Survey of London,* (1603), p.1.
[95] Peele, *The Device of the Pageant Borne before the Woolstone Dixi* and Dekker, *Troia-Nova Triumphans*.
[96] Dekker, *Troia-Nova triumphans*, (1612) and Heywood, *Londini status pacatus.*
[97] Manley, 'Of Sites and Rites', p.39.

disruptions in civic government during the fourteenth century and was designed to defend the city's liberties from the crown by presenting London 'as a place of ancient and sacrosanct legal privilege'.[98] Mike Rodman Jones also highlights the importance the city placed on the appeal to custom, arguing the 'assertive nature of this civic medievalism is palpable'.[99]

Given the willingness of popular writers to criticise or assert independence, it is perhaps surprising that there were not more accounts in the ballads or almanacs of historical incidents where the liberties of London were threatened by the crown. The best example of a relatively overlooked period, alluded to, but not developed in popular culture, was the conflict between Henry III and London. There is a brief reference to this dispute in Martin Parker's *The Wandring Jews Chronicle,* which exists in several seventeenth-century editions. One stanza has the narrator claim:

> I markd the Barrons when they sent
> For the French Doulphin, with intent
> to put third Henry down:
> I saw the Earl of Leicester stout,
> (Calld Simon Munford) with his Tent
> besiege fair London Town.[100]

The conflict between Henry III and London is fully developed in Stow's abridged accounts of 1565 and 1566 which devote a lot of space to these events. Stow describes the discontent felt by Londoners due to Henry's encroachments on their liberties and frequent demands for money. This led to their support for Simon de Montfort, their defeat and heavy casualties in the battle of Lewes in 1264 and the subsequent loss of London's liberties. Resolution, and the restoration of London's privileges, were only found in abject submission to the King and substantial reparations.

Holinshed and Stow's Chronicles are very consistent. The citizens' troubles begin in 1247 when 'The king seised the fraunchise of the citie of London for a judgement that was geven by the Maior and aldermen agaynste a wydowe, named Margaret Diel'.[101] All the chronicles agree that though the liberties were quickly restored at this point, seven years later:

---

[98] Helen Carrel, 'Food, Drink and Public Order in the London *Liber Albus', Urban History*, 33.2, (2006), 176–194 (p.176).
[99] Rodman Jones, 'Early Modern Medievalism', p.99. See also Archer, 'The Nostalgia of John Stow', p.30.
[100] Ballad 31.
[101] Stow, *Summarie Abridged,* (1566), p.67.

> the liberties of London wer again seased by the meane of Rychard Erle of Cornwalle, because the Maior was charged, that he loked not to the bakers for theyr syses of bread: so that the citie was forced to please the Earle with. 600. Markes.[102]

The 1565 edition of the *Summarie* changes the amount to be paid to 400 marks, but otherwise agrees. Holinshed adds the detail that even when this money was paid:

> the King sent for the Maior and the Sherises before him to aunswere the matter. The Maior layde the faulte from hym to the Sherifes, for so muche as to them belonged the keeping of all the prisoners within the Citie: and so the Maior returned home agayne, but the Sherifes remayned there as prisoners, by the space of a whole moneth or more.[103]

The Sheriffs, Holinshed recounts, were released only on payment of 3000 marks.[104] Further conflicts are described in all the chronicles, including further seizure of the city's liberties, more fines, and the deprivation of office of various City officials.[105] However 'the citie had so be punished of late, yet they durst say nothing therto'.[106]

Finally, this conflict results in the citizens openly revolting. These acts of rebellion include the looting and burning of the manor of Richard Earl of Cornwall, the King's brother in 1261, and perhaps most memorably:

> as the Queene woulde have passed by water from the Tower unto Windsore, a sort of lewde naughtipacks got them to the bridge, making a noise at hir, and crying drowne the witch, threw downe stones, cudgels, dyrt, and other things at hir, so that shee escaped in great daunger of hir person, fled to Lambeth, and through feare to be further pursued, landed there, and so she stayed till the Maior of London with much ado appeasing the furie of the people, resorted to the Queene, and brought hir backe againe in safetie unto the Tower.[107]

Both Stow's *Chronicles* of 1580 and Holinshed detail Londoners' involvement in the battle of Lewes in 1264, though both agree 'The Londoners were put to flyghte, whom whilest the kings sonne pursued for the space of foure miles, he made great slaughter'.[108] After the victory of the king at Evesham in 1265 'The citie of London was in greate daunger to have bene destroyed by the kyng for great ire and displeasure'.[109] The city then had to submit completely to the King, suffering a range of punishments, which included 'they should take awaye all the chaynes that were in the streates of the city, and shoulde pull up all the

---

[102] Stow, *Summarie,* (1565), p.89.
[103] Holinshed, *Chronicles,* (1577), p.738.
[104] Holinshed, *Chronicles,* (1577), p.739.
[105] Stow, *Summarie,* (1565), p.38 and Stow, *Chronicles,* (1580), p.98.
[106] Stow, *Summarie,* (1565), p.90.
[107] Holinshed, *Chronicles,* (1577), p.763. The incident is also included in Stow, *Chronicles,* (1580), p.279.
[108] Stow, *Chronicles,* (1580), p.284.
[109] Stow, *Summarie,* (1565), p.92.

postes out of the grounde […] and should bryng them all, both postes and chaynes to the towre of London'.[110] In the aftermath of Henry's victory the mayor and several aldermen were imprisoned, and a huge fine was levied on London, so substantial that 'many refused the liberties of the citie for to be quit of the charge: of whiche nomber many never retourned agayne to the citie'.[111] It was only after this abject submission and punishment that the Londoners were pardoned; and not until the reign of Edward I that 'the liberties of London were newly confirmed'.[112]

This fleeting reference in *The Wandring Jews Chronicle* is the only ballad that directly refers to this drawn-out conflict. However, another ballad which may contain echoes of these events is the anonymous *The lamentable fall of Queene Elnor, who for her pride and wickednesse, by Gods judgment, sunke into the ground at Charing crosse, and rose up againe at Queene hive,* a seemingly popular work with several surviving copies, the earliest dating from c.1586.[113]

That the 'Queen Elnor' of the ballads in Eleanor of Castile, wife of Edward I is made clear by the opening stanza:

> When Edward was in England King
> the first of all that name:
> Proud Elnor he made his Queene,
> a stately Spanish dame.[114]

Eleanor of Castile was unpopular, perceived as unusually rapacious. It is highly likely that the fantastical portrayal of Eleanor in the ballad and in Peele's play were also due to 'anti-Catholicism and anti-Hispanic sentiments', which Frank Ardolino suggests was a feature of all Peele's work.[115] However, it is also entirely possible that the balladeers are conflating Eleanor of Castile and Eleanor of Provence, wife of Henry III, Queen during London's troubles with King Henry III. Benjamin Griffin argues that the attaching of various stories to historical personages of the same name was common, and it is entirely possible therefore

---

[110] Stow, *Summarie, (*1565), p.93.
[111] Stow, *Summarie Abridged,* (1566), p.72.
[112] Stow, *Summarie Abridged,* (1566), p.72.
[113] Ballad 9.
[114] Ballad 9.
[115] Frank Ardolino, 'The Protestant Context of George Peele's "Pleasant Conceited" Old Wives Tale', *Medieval & Renaissance Drama in England*, 18, (2005), 146-165 (p.148). See also Charles Forker, 'Royal Carnality and Illicit Desire in the English History Plays of the 1590's', *Medieval & Renaissance Drama in England*, 17, (2005), 99-131 (p.100).

that Eleanor of Provence is also being remembered.[116] This impression is reinforced since in the ballad the Queen confesses:

> And likewise how that by a Fryer
> she had a base borne childe,
> Whose sinfull lust and wickednes
> her mariage bed defilde.[117]

This confession is developed more fully in George Peele's *The Famous Chronicle of King Edward the First*, printed in 1593, which takes the narrative of *The lamentable fall of Queene Elnor* as one of its main plot points.[118] In the play Queen Eleanor confesses on her death bed to two French friars that she poisoned the king's mistress Rosamond, tried to poison the King, and conceived most of her children with other men. This story is taken from the ballad *Queen Eleanor's Confession*, which, given the identification of the King as Henry, and the naming of Rosamund, shows the Eleanor of the ballad is Eleanor of Aquitaine, wife of Henry II.[119] Thus, Griffin argues, if the play 'continues a folklore process in conflating the historically discrete Eleanors of the two ballads, forming "Eleanor", it is entirely possible there are three Eleanors being remembered'.[120]

Further evidence for this interpretation is the particularly virulent hatred Eleanor has for London in the ballad and play. This hatred is expressed through her attack on the mayor's wife. Eleanor first:

> chaunst to passe
> along brave London streetes:
> Whereas the Maior of Londons wife,
> in stately sort she meetes.

Jealous of the mayoress' happiness at recently having a baby, Eleanor:

> Unto Lord Maior of London then
> she sent her letters straight:
> To send his Lady to the Court,
> upon her Grace to waight.
> But when the London Lady came,
> before proude Elnors face:
> She stript her from her rich array,
> and kept her vile and bace.

---

[116] Benjamin Griffin, 'Moving Tales: Narrative Drift in Oral Culture and Scripted Theater', *New Literary History*, 37.4, (2006), 725-738.
[117] Ballad 9.
[118] George Peele, *The Famous Chronicle of king Edward the first, sirnamed Edward Longshankes, with his returne from the holy land. Also The Life Of Llevellen rebell in Wales. Lastly, the sinking of Queene Elinor, who sunck at Charingcrosse, and rose againe at Pottershith, now named Queenehith* (London: Printed by Abell Jeffes, and are to be solde by William Barley, at his shop in Gratious streete, 1593), ESTC S110371.
[119] Ballad 17.
[120] Griffin, 'Moving Tales', p.732.

Making the mayoress work as a servant in her house was clearly not enough for the queen, who then:

> bound this Lady to a post
> at twelve a clocke at nyght:
> And as poore Lady she stood bound
> the Queene in angrie mood,
> Did set two Snakes unto her breasts,
> that suckt away her blood.
> Thus died the Maior of Londons wif
> most greevous for to heare:
> Which made the Spaniard grow more proud
> as after shall appeare.

Eleanor's God-given punishment is then linked physically to London as:

> With that at Charing crosse she sunke
> into the ground alive,
> And after rose with lyfe againe
> in London at Queene hive.
> Where after that she languisht sore
> full twentie dayes in paine:
> At last confest the Ladies blood,
> her guiltie handes did staine.[121]

The particular focus on London does seem to link with Eleanor of Provence, who, as Stow tells us, was so hated by Londoners they attacked her barge on the Thames in 1263.[122] Whilst the composer of the ballad is unknown, the conflation of various elements from the chronicles was not unusual for Peele, who has been identified as at least one of the authors of other chronicle plays such as *Jack Straw* c.1587, *The Troublesome Reign of King John* and *Edward III.* Peele was also the author of the pageants for the Lord Mayor's Show in 1585 and 1591 and is highly likely to have been aware of the unpopularity of Eleanor of Provence. Benjamin Griffin argues that names and places from the chronicles, Holinshed in particular, are scattered through *Edward I* which he describes as a 'nominal phantasmagoria'.[123] Griffin identifies Simon de Montfort, 'old Aimes of the Vies' which, he argues, is linked to a note in Holinshed, that in 1281 Edward had 'Easter at the Vies' and 'Matreveirs' (who belongs in Edward II) as appearing in the wrong context.[124] Even more

[121] Ballad 9.
[122] Stow, *Chronicles,* (1580), p.279.
[123] Griffin, 'Moving Tales', p.735
[124] Griffin, 'Moving Tales', p.736.

confusingly, the author 'has conflated "the Potters wife" with "the Potters hive" whereas Potter's hive […] is a location'![125]

This willingness to scatter names culled from chronicles through the play is perhaps also responsible for the naming of the mayor whose wife is murdered as John Bearmber, to whom the character of Maris (seemingly corrupted from Mayoress) cries out when dying:

> MARIS: Ah husband sweete John Bearmber Maior of London,
> Ah didst thou know how Mary is perplext,
> Soone wouldst thou come to Wales and rid me of this paine.

Whilst there is no Mayor of London with this name, it is reminiscent of Nicholas Brembre, Lord Mayor 1376 – 1378, and perhaps also John Philpot, both knighted alongside William Walworth in 1381. This is far from conclusive but does reinforce the idea that Peele scattered various well-known names from London's history into the play to enhance its impression of historical veracity.

On the rare occasion that women strongly featured in the historical stories most frequently appearing in popular culture, it was usually when the conflicted nature of the city's relationship with the crown was being depicted. When the positive aspects of this relationship were emphasized, no meaningful female characters appear. William Walworth and Richard Whittington are often deployed to emphasise the financial and martial services of London and to highlight the appropriate gratitude shown by the monarch. However, when more negative relations are implied, female characters feature more strongly. Charles Forker has suggested that women depicted in the chronicle plays of the 1590s fall into only two categories, 'predatory, lustful, and unnaturally dominant […] or victims of male power'.[126] This seems to be true of the female historical figures in the examples above: the cruel and extravagant villain Eleanor of Castile and the powerless Jane Shore. However, perhaps more significantly, Lloyd Edward Kermode suggests in his discussion of Wilson's *The Three Ladies of London* that the play ends by 'blaming men's destruction on feminine wiles', and this is also true in the depictions of women in these accounts who arguably serve as a deflection to make any criticism of the monarch less overt.[127] Queen Eleanor and Jane Shore arguably ameliorate criticism of the king in these texts, taking some responsibility for the monarch's poor behaviour. Eleanor, depicted as relentless in her

---

[125] Griffin, 'Moving Tales', p.736.
[126] Forker, 'Royal Carnality and Illicit Desire', p.122.
[127] Lloyd Edward Kermode, 'Money, Gender, and Conscience in Robert Wilson's *The Three Ladies of London*', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, 52. 2, (2012), 265-291 (p.265).

hostility to London, is perhaps the only echo in popular depictions of London history of the city's struggle for independence with Henry III, husband to another foreign-born Eleanor. Likewise, Edward IV's neglect of the city and his duty to it during Fauconbridge's revolt is implicitly criticised through his symbolically predatory actions towards Jane Shore, yet her willingness to be seduced allows some of the criticism to be diverted onto her. In this context, it is interesting that both Eleanor and Jane are not only punished, but that their punishments are linked intrinsically with the topography of London as Jane performed penance through London's streets before dying in a ditch re-named Shoreditch in memory.[128] Likewise, after denying the murder of the Mayor's wife, Eleanor sunk 'at Charing crosse', rising 'in London at Queene hive'.[129]

Martha Kurtz has argued that 'the women in Shakespeare's histories are used to critique the excesses of the men who rule their lives'.[130] This argument can perhaps be applied to the depiction of the mayoress in the texts discussed above. The character is nameless in the Eleanor ballad, referred to only as a 'London Lady good' and 'the Maior of Londons wife'.[131] In Peele's *Edward the First* she is referred to as Maris, clearly a variation of mayoress. The audience's sympathies are placed firmly with her in the ballad, when Queen Eleanor:

> usde her still more crueller
> then ever man did heare.[132]

The mayoress not only meets a grisly end when Eleanor has snakes poison her, but in Peele's play the scene is developed, as the Queen and her Lady in waiting cruelly taunt the mayoress first, offering her the position of nursemaid:

> QUEEN ELINOR: O, no, nurse; the babe needs no great rocking; it can lull itself. − Katherina, bind her in the chair, and let me see how she'll become a nurse.
> So: now, Katherine, draw forth her breast, and let the serpent suck his fill. Why, so; now she is a nurse. − Suck on, sweet babe.[133]

Likewise, in Heywood's *Edward IV* the mayor John Crosby is a widower, but Jane Shore temporarily fills the office of lady mayoress, and is addressed with this title throughout

---

[128] Ballad 17.
[129] Ballad 9.
[130] Martha Kurtz, 'Rethinking Gender and Genre in the History Play', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900,* 36.2, (1996), 267-287 (p.284).
[131] Ballad 9.
[132] Ballad 9.
[133] Peele, *The Famous Chronicle of king Edward the first,* scene 16.

scene sixteen, with Edward identifying her as the 'elected Mayoress'.[134] It is in this role she is insulted when Edward leaves the banquet without touching the food. Furthermore, Crosby's wife, even though deceased, has the audience's sympathy engaged through his wistful assertion that she would have been honoured to have hosted the King:

> MAYOR: She would, my liege, and with no little joy
> Had she but lived to see this blessed day.[135]

Arguably then, the mayoress, falling into the 'victim' role defined by Forker and Kurtz, could be said to represent London, exploited and subject to a loss of liberty by Eleanor (and by extension her husband) and neglected and insulted by Edward. Through acting as a reminder of the importance of suitable behaviour from the monarch towards the city, the character is highly significant, and as Martha Kurtz suggest, 'the obvious disenfranchisement of most Elizabethan women from political power and the brief roles allotted to them in the historical and political drama did not mean that they were necessarily insignificant in such drama'.[136]

In conclusion, historical events in which London's relationship with the monarchy was established were of significant interest to Londoners, based on the number of times the subject appeared in texts, ballads, plays and pageantry. Yet despite the many potential examples in the chronicles, used by popular authors as source material, relatively few incidents, such as the creation of the mayoralty or William Walworth's defence of Richard II were routinely deployed. Whether this was due to diplomatic circumspection on the part of authors and commissioning livery companies, or on market demand is difficult to establish. However, it is entirely possible authors preferred to re-emphasise familiar figures and themes, like the story of Jane Shore, or Richard I's appointment of Fitz-Alwin, because these were already familiar and popular with audiences.

Nonetheless, the examples cited, alongside the preoccupation with the general subject that ran through so many popular texts and performances meant that most Londoners would have been aware that London had a rich tradition of loyalty and martial service to the monarchy. This was emblematised by the actions of William Walworth and reinforced through other depictions, such as the Londoners' actions during Fauconbridge's rebellion in

---

[134] Heywood, *King Edward IV*, I. 14. 130.
[135] Heywood, *Edward IV*, I. 14. 79-80.
[136] Kurtz, 'Rethinking Gender and Genre in the History Play', p.284.

Heywood's *Edward IV.* Londoners would also have been aware of London's financial services to the crown, alluded to in many mayoral pageants and typified by Richard Whittington's famous burning of the bonds. In return, it was made clear that London had received privileges and rewards, most obviously the right to choose a mayor, and symbols of favour such as the addition of a dagger to the city's crest. Perhaps slightly more implicit was a sense that Londoners had at times had to fight for these privileges or defend them. This impression is less tangible (understandable given the implied criticism of the crown) and can be gleaned from allusions in mayoral pageants, the popularity of vaguely seditious ballads, the tone of Heywood's *Edward IV,* and is perhaps echoed in the depiction of the composite Queen Eleanor in ballads and on stage.

The uses that popular writers made of these examples may have differed, with Fitz Alwin's appointment as mayor deployed to both praise the monarch, but also to provide criticism. It is difficult to gauge audience responses to the intended messages being delivered and if they were well-received or even understood. But regardless of this, the same information was delivered frequently enough that it clearly became shared by most Londoners and may well have shaped a shared view of the relationship between crown and city.

The Role of the Livery Companies

A final component of civic government that appeared in popular texts and performances was the livery companies. Arguably this is an even more difficult topic to assess than depictions of the mayor and the role of the crown in popular history. A fundamental issue is that Londoners who were members of a company were far more likely to have both more interest in, and exposure to, the history of their company than those who were not. For those who were members of the greater companies with their own halls, there was frequent commemoration of past glories. Ian Archer has described the halls of the livery companies as 'theatres of memory' in which physical decorations displayed 'a strong sense of craft identity and respect for the benefactors of the past'.[137] For those who took part in the 'shared social round' that the liverymen and yeomanry of the companies participated in, these halls and the activities within frequently presented the glories of the past.[138] In 1587 the Merchant Taylors began glazing their windows with the heraldic arms of their benefactors. The Clothworkers in 1594 had their windows glazed with twenty-two arms of benefactors and the Armourers followed suit in 1573. In 1567 the Mercers had terracotta

[137] Archer, 'The Arts and Acts of Memorialization', p.90, p.96.
[138] Archer, *Pursuit of Stability*', p.111.

heads of previous members made to put up in their hall, Whittington featuring prominently. At the Fishmongers' hall, a wooden statute of William Walworth was set up in 1685.[139] Jasmin Kilburn-Toppin describes how the gifting of physical objects in members' wills for display in livery halls and use in company rituals also meant that generous members continued to be celebrated, and 'within their company halls, guildsmen were repeatedly reminded of the benevolence and generosity of politically prestigious, dead brothers'.[140] Robert Tittler adds portraiture to this list, arguing that it became increasingly common to display portraits of famous members alongside company banners or plate in the early seventeenth century.[141] Members of the companies were therefore surrounded by reminders of their celebrated past every time they entered their halls, and within company ranks, the names and deeds highlighted must have been highly familiar. Company feasts were often accompanied by plays and addresses. Henry Machyn mentions in his diary a play put on after dinner at the Barber Surgeons' Hall on their feast day.[142] Though few records remain of the content of this type of entertainment, it seems sensible to suggest that given its deployment in the mayoral pageants, corporate history may have been a topic for entertainment, particularly since the 'holy plays' popular before the Reformation became problematic.[143]

However, for those outside the system, much less information about the companies was available, and depictions of their history was far more limited than representations of the mayor or depictions of the crown's relationship with the city. The displays and celebrations Ian Archer and others identify in company halls were inward facing, reserved for the eyes and ears of members and not intended for the majority of those who inhabited the metropolis.[144] Ian Anders Gadd observes that this situation highlights an important paradox about the companies themselves, that they were 'simultaneously public and private bodies whose decisions and activities could impinge on the lives of many of the city's population and yet whose meetings and records were kept resolutely confidential'.[145]

For those who were not members of a company, popular print and entertainment were places where corporate history might be encountered. However, there were no printed

---

[139] Nightingale, 'Walworth, Sir William', ODNB, (2003).
[140] Jasmine Kilburn-Toppin, 'Material Memories Of The Guildsmen: Crafting Identities In Early Modern London' in *Memory before Modernity*: *Practices of Memory in Early Modern Europe*, ed. by Erika Kuijpers, Judith Pollmann, Johannes Müller and Jasper van der Steen (Leiden: Brill, 2013), p.173.
[141] Tittler, 'Portraiture, Precedence and Politics', p.355.
[142] Machyn, *A London Provisioner's Chronicle*, f.153r.
[143] Lancashire, *London Civic Theatre,* p.98.
[144] Ian Archer, 'The Arts and Acts of Memorialization', p.96.
[145] Gadd, 'Early Modern Printed Histories of the London Livery Companies', p.44.

histories of the companies which they sponsored or produced themselves published in the late sixteenth or early seventeenth centuries.[146] Holinshed's *Chronicle* very briefly explains the evolution of the Guild system:

> Thus began the citie nowe first to receyve the forme and state of a common wealthe, and to bee devided into felowshippes whych they cal craftes. Such also are admitted to the felowships of these companies, as have truely served as apprentices a certaine number of yeares, as seaven at the least, under which time of service expired, there is no made free, nor suffred to enjoy the liberties of that Citie, saving such as are borne free, that is to say, of freemen within the Citie.[147]

Stow does not provide anything similar in his chronicles, but in the *Survey* briefly outlines the foundation of the companies in the same vein:

> These companies severally at sundry times purchased the kinges favour and licence by his Letters Patentes, to associate themselves in Brotherhoodes with maister and Wardens for their government, many also have procured Corporations with Privileges, &c. For the first of these companies that I reade of to bee a Guild, Brotherhoode or Fraternitie in this Cittie were the Weavers, whose Guild was confirmed by Henry the second. [148]

In addition to this brief description, the 1603 edition of the *Survey* provided the location of the company halls in each ward and gave some brief detail on the history of the company as it was encountered and their past activities, such as their date of incorporation. In the 1618 edition of the *Survey*, edited by Munday, slightly more material is included and by 1633, this had been substantially expanded with a forty-seven page section included offering an illustration of the coat-of-arms of each company, alongside their date of incorporation and short note of key history.[149] Ian Anders Gadd suggests that the source for the coats-of-arms in the 1618 *Survey* was a 1596 poster-sized production of these entitled *The Armes of all the cheife corporatons of england With the Companees of London,* which also included details such as date of incorporation.[150] He also identifies a similar text, not extant, which appeared in the Stationers' Register in 1589.[151]

However, these large prints would have been considerably more expensive than broadside ballads, raising the issue of who would have purchased them. Likewise, even the substantial addition of company coats-of-arms to the 1618 *Survey,* one of the few

---

[146] Gadd, 'Early Modern Printed Histories of the London Livery Companies', p.30.
[147] Holinshed, *Chronicles,* (1577), p.749.
[148] Stow, *Survey of London*, (1603), p.192.
[149] Stow, *Survey of London*, (1633), p.599-649.
[150] Benjamin Wright, *The Armes of all the Cheife Corporatons of England Wt. the Companees of London Described by Letters for Ther Severall Collores,* (London: Are to be sould at the hartshorne in pater-noster-rowe, 1596), ESTC S122239.
[151] Gadd, 'Early Modern Printed Histories of the London Livery Companies' p.30.

representations of corporate history that *was* available to a wider audience, might reflect a general interest in heraldry and chivalry amongst Londoners in this period, rather than an interest in the history of the companies per se, a hypothesis strengthened by the lack of detailed information appended to the crests. Ian Anders Gadd argues that since many companies had a genuine claim to some antiquity, heraldry escaped the taint it sometimes acquired when deployed by rich merchants making unsubstantiated claims of noble descent. Thus 'when applied to an individual London citizen, the right to bear a coat of arms could prove controversial, but the companies themselves seem to have escaped any such disapproval either from the heralds or other contemporaries'.[152] The implication is that the livery companies were a minimal presence in popular print and this reflects a lack of interest in the general reading public about their antecedents and evolution.

This is surprising, as it is likely the companies would have welcomed such representation. The economic challenges faced by the livery companies in the early seventeenth century has been described in detail in chapter four, with the huge expansion of the suburbs proved challenging for the companies. John Forbes identifies the arrival of continental craftsmen as 'a source of constant irritation' and Robert Tittler describes 'the surging challenge of early free enterprise capitalism, and the threat to guild monopolies' as a pressing issue.[153] Further challenge came from central government with the late sixteenth century 'a climate where City liberties were coming under threat from predatory courtiers'.[154] Whilst it is clear that the companies remained a highly significant social and economic force in the city, in this environment they sought ways to protect and enhance their positions.[155] A variety of methods were deployed such as increasing publicity given to charitable activity, as the livery companies made significant moves towards reinvention as philanthropic organisations.[156] Civic Pageantry, as also discussed, became more elaborate as the companies deployed civic pageantry to reinforce their importance.[157]

It is therefore surprising that the companies did not exploit cheap print, and encourage popular histories to be published. Indeed, Stow asserts in the *Survey* that when he

---

[152] Gadd, 'Early Modern Printed Histories of the London Livery Companies', p.32.
[153] John Forbes, 'Search, Immigration and the Goldsmiths Company: A study in the decline of its powers', in *Guilds, society and economy in London 1450-1800,* ed. by Ian Anders Gadd and Paul Wallis (London: Centre for Metropolitan History, 2002), pp.115-125 (p.121) and Tittler, 'Portraiture, Precedence and Politics', p.351.
[154] Ian Archer, 'The Livery Companies and Charity in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', in *Guilds, Society and Economy in London 1450-1800,* ed. by Ian Anders Gadd and Paul Wallis (London: Centre for Metropolitan History, 2002), pp.15-28 (p.15).
[155] Wallis, 'Controlling Commodities: Search and Reconciliation in the Early Modern Livery Companies', p.87.
[156] Archer, 'The Livery Companies and Charity', p.15.
[157] Hill, *Pageantry and Power,* p.28

approached the Vintners for information on the history of their company to include in his work, he was fobbed off and 'has never since heard from them'.[158] He concludes rather gloomily that this rebuff 'hath somewhat discouraged me' in including much corporate history in his text.[159] The absence of interest in exploiting print is surprising, although the livery companies' appeal to the past *is* apparent in the pageants accompanying the Lord Mayor's Show. Given the annual nature of these shows, and their popularity, due to the crowd-pleasing special effects discussed in chapter three, perhaps it was felt that it was more cost effective and impactful to present company history through this genre. The shows frequently had historical themes and regularly equated age with honour. Anthony Munday's 1614 *The Triumphs of Old Drapery,* asserts 'In every well-governed Kingdome and Common-wealth, the chiefest Citie and Citizens therein, have evermore held the prime place and prioritie; as well in matter of honor, as due right of Antiquity'.[160] Munday goes on to explain that this justifies the primacy of the Drapers who were 'the first Companie of all other in this Citie' and an 'ancient fellowship'.[161] John Webster's 1624 *Monuments of Honour* begins by claiming the Merchant-Taylors 'Derived from remarkable Antiquity'.[162] The Pageant of 1619 by Thomas Middleton is directly entitled *The Triumphs of Love and Antiquity*, reinforcing that 'antiquity' was 'the highest compliment that could be paid to any institution in early modern England'.[163]

The pageants were invariably full of imagery and speeches that celebrated the history of the company providing the show, usually through the glorification of famous former members. For example, in the Show of 1614 to celebrate the mayoralty of Draper Thomas Hayes, the audience would have encountered:

> A beautifull Chariot, after the manner of the triumphall Chariots of the Romaine Emperours, is graced with the supposed shape of King Richard the first, with the severall figures of so many Citties in England about him, But London sitting neerest unto himselfe, as chiefe Mother and matrone of them all: he honours the head of his chiefest Chamber, with a triple imperiall Crowne of golde, under battelled or branched with Cloudes, and beames of the Sunne, being the Armes of the Drapers Societie, and declaring his love and favour bestowed on her, by his advauncement of Sir Henrie Fitz-Alwine to the Maioraltie, in whom began the olde Drapers dignitie.[164]

---

[158] Stow, *Survey of London*, (1603), p.251.
[159] Stow, *Survey of London*, (1603), p.252.
[160] Munday, *Himatia-Poleos*.
[161] Munday, *Himatia-Poleos*.
[162] Webster, *Monuments of Honor.*
[163] Gadd, 'Early Modern Printed Histories of the London Livery Companies', p.33.
[164] Munday, *Himatia-Poleos*.

Such dramatic imagery featuring the Draper's arms, moving along the processional route for maximum impact would surely have reinforced that the Drapers provided the first mayor. Similarly memorable, the 1622 pageant for Grocer Peter Probie featured two 'Artfull Triumphs', the second, designed to carry the new mayor was a 'Chariot of Fame' containing 'a grave and reverend Personage, with a golden Register-booke in his hand', who delivered a long speech on the past glories of the Grocers, including:

> the worthy and famous Sir Andrew Bockerell, who was Lord Maior of this City, the sixteenth yeere of King Henry the third, and continued in the Magistracie seven yeeres together, also the Noble Allen de la Zouch, who for his good government in the time of his Maioralty, was by King Henry the third, created both a Baron of this Realme, and Lord chiefe justice of England. Also that famous Worthy, Sir Thomas Knowles, twice Lord Maior of this honorable City, which said Sir Thomas beganne at his owne charge that famous building of Guild-Hall in London, and other memorable workes both in the City and in his owne Company.[165]

This visual advertisement of the contributions of past members, alongside extravagant and dramatic imagery, would undoubtedly have solidified the information being presented in the memories of the audience.

It can also be argued that whilst company history was not the *overt* focus of much popular print, it was still a strong presence indirectly. John Stow, in his 1565 *Summarie* begins to identify the company the incoming mayor belonged to from 1218, beginning with 'Serle Merser'.[166] He also includes the company affiliation of any worthy citizen he mentions and identifies companies that undertook significant building work or acts of civic benevolence. For example, in 1476 he notes:

> the newe wall of London, from Creplegate to Byshopsgate, was made as it nowe is, the Maior with his company of the Drapers, made all that part betwyxt Alballowes church in the same wall and Byshops gate, of their owne proper costes: and the other companies made ye other deale, whiche was a great worke to be done in one yere.[167]

Likewise in the reign of Henry VIII he includes 'This yeare master doctor Colet deane of Poules erected a free schole in Paules churche yarde in London and committed the oversyght therof to the maisters and wardeynes of the company of Mearcers'.[168] This is clearly not 'company history' per se, but it is an acknowledgement that the companies

---

[165] Middleton, *The Triumphs of Honor and Vertue*.
[166] Stow, *Summarie*, (1565), p.82, Stow, *Abridgement,* (1618), p.85.
[167] Stow, *Summarie*, (1565), p.158.
[168] Stow, *Summarie,* (1565), p.172.

were historical actors of importance in London, providing the personnel of the mayoralty and most impressive civic benefactors.

Two such 'popular heroes', William Walworth and Richard Whittington have been discussed much more fully in chapter five. These two men appeared in several popular print sources, but interestingly, the individual livery companies that Walworth and Whittington belonged to are not identified in most popular accounts. In the ballad A *brave warlike Song Containing a briefe rehearsall of the deeds of Chivalry, performed by the Nine Worthies of the world*, Walworth is not identified as a Fishmonger, only:

> Walworth Mayor of London
> in second Richards dayes,
> By killing of Wat Tyler
> did win eternall praise.[169]

Likewise, in *Londons Glory, and Whittingtons Renown* Whittington is not identified as a Mercer, though his civic career is otherwise outlined. Instead, he is described simply as a merchant. Indeed, he is not even identified as an apprentice initially, but as a scullion:

> Scullions life he forsook,
> to be a Merchant good,
> And soon he began to look,
> how well his credit stood.
> Soon after he was chose
> Sheriff of the City here,
> And then he quickly rose
> higher as did appear.
> For to this Citys praise,
> Sir Richard Whittington,
> Came to be in his days,
> thrice Lord Mayor of London.[170]

The History of Sir Richard Whittington, commonly ascribed to Thomas Heywood and printed in the mid seventeenth century, gives a longer and more detailed account of Whittington's story, but even here, Whittington is at no point identified with the Mercers.[171] The only reference to the companies is in a description of Whittington's marriage to Dame Alice, where:

---

[169] Ballad 1.
[170] Ballad 10.
[171] Heywood*, The History of Sir Richard Whittington.*

> her father perceived they had this good liking for each other he proposed a match between them, to which both parties cheerfully consented, and the Lord Mayor, Court of Aldermen, Sheriffs, the Company of Stationers, and a number of eminent merchants attended.[172]

Why the Stationers are singled out for identification is unclear, but Heywood was clearly keen to include all the leading ranks of civic government in London, making the failure to mention the Mercers, more remarkable. Even more surprisingly, Heywood's work does not identify Whittington at any point as an apprentice. Indeed, it is made clear that he is initially taken into the house of Master Fitz-Warin as a servant 'either to runne, or goe of errands, or else to doe some drudgery in the kitchin, as in making of fires, scouring ketles, turning the spit, and the like'.[173] Only later, after Whittington's fortune is made and he marries Fitz-Warin's daughter, 'the Father in law demanded of his Son what course hee purposed to take? (his freedom being offered him, and accepted of)'.[174] James Robertson has pointed out how unlikely this 'boldly unspecific' offering of the freedom without serving an apprenticeship would be.[175]

The broad acknowledgment of the companies, yet lack of detail in these accounts, suggests that their importance *was* recognised in popular print through the depiction of the key role that they played in allowing access to London's *cursus honorum* through their granting of the freedom. However, detail on individual companies was apparently a type of history for which there was little appetite beyond their own membership. Arguably, such portrayals suggest that to those on the outside, the companies formed a monolithic system which represented belonging and citizenship, rather than individual entities with distinct histories. A more nuanced view *was* presented in the mayoral shows, funded, commissioned and overseen by individual companies, but the evidence from all other genres suggests it was not how the inhabitants of the wider metropolis viewed them.

James Robertson has argued that Heywood's *Famous History* is a good example of such an interpretation, in which Heywood included the need for the freedom before Whittington could embark upon his civic career, but made the deliberate choice of 'scissoring him away from his guild' to make Whittington's story more accessible to those with little chance of being accepted as an apprentice to one of the greater companies, membership of which would be necessary to follow Whittington's path to the mayoralty.[176] This is reinforced by

---

[172] Heywood, *The History of Sir Richard Whittington.*
[173] Heywood, *The History of Sir Richard Whittington.*
[174] Heywood, *The History of Sir Richard Whittington*.
[175] Robertson, 'The Adventures of Dick Whittington', p.53.
[176] Robertson, 'The Adventures of Dick Whittington', p.61.

the fact that although the ballad *Londons Glory, and Whittingtons Renown* initially identifies Whittington as a scullion, this is corrected later in the text when it states that after hearing the message of London's church bells:

> Whittington came with speed,
> A prentice to remaine.[177]

The ballad and even Heywood's *History* also both acknowledge that Whittington served his time as sheriff before ascending to be Lord Mayor.

An interesting example of a text which *does* identify and celebrate a particular company is the prose work *The Gentle Craft* by Thomas Deloney, first entered into the Stationers' Register in October 1597.[178] The 'commercial success' of this work is discussed by Elizabeth Rivlin, and Mihoko Suzuki who described it, along with Deloney's other works on artisan heroes, as 'read to pieces', explaining the infrequent survival of early copies.[179] This text 'features a series of ennobling legends for the Cordwainers' Guild' including the story of the patron saints of shoe-makers St Crispin and St Crispian and most famously, the story of mayor Simon Eyre. [180] The work thus presumably owed much of its success to explicit 'marketing to a guild readership' and Deloney strengthened this appeal by dedicating part II of the text to 'The Master and Wardens of the worshipful Company of the Cordwainers in London'.[181] As such, it would be reasonable to expect lots of focus on the Cordwainers Company and its history within. However, even here, as with many of the other ballads, plays and popular texts, references are mostly implicit. The story of Simon Eyre, for example is introduced:

> Our English chronicles do make mention that sometime there was in the honourable City of London a worthy Maior, known by the name of Sir Simon Eyer, [sic] whose fame liveth in the mouths of many men to this day; who, albeit he descended from mean parentage, yet, by God's blessing, in the end he came to be a most worthy man in the commonwealth.[182]

As in the Whittington stories, it is Eyre's identity as mayor which is the focus. Though of course, he could not have achieved the mayoralty without being a citizen. Even more telling, in terms of the relative unimportance attached to individual companies is that Simon Eyre was not in fact a Cordwainer but may well have become identified with them

---

[177] Ballad 10.
[178] Deloney, *The Gentle Craft.*
[179] Rivlin, 'Forms of Service in Thomas Deloney's "The Gentle Craft", p.187.
[180] Rivlin, 'Forms of Service in Thomas Deloney's "The Gentle Craft", p.192.
[181] Rivlin, 'Forms of Service in Thomas Deloney's "The Gentle Craft', p.194, and Deloney, *The Gentle Craft*, p.150
[182] Deloney, *The Gentle Craft,* p.60.

because his foundation, Leadenhall, was used as a leather market. In the text this is a boon specifically requested by Eyre of the king, and Deloney addresses the issue head on by briskly informing the reader that 'Within a few yeers after, Alderman Eyer being chosen Lord Maior of London, changing his copy, he became one of the worshipful Company of Drapers'.[183]

As with the popular accounts of Richard Whittington's career, the underlying importance of company membership *in general* is not ignored. Deloney recounts that Eyre 'being brought young out of the north countrey, was bound prentise to a shoomaker' and only when 'having at length worn out his yeers of apprentiship' was Eyre able to marry and take on 'some prentises and a journeyman or two'.[184] After making his fortune after rather dubiously impersonating an Alderman, Eyre is approached by an officer of the mayor and informed 'Sir, it hath pleased my Lord Maior with the worshipful Aldermen his brethren, with the counsell of the whole Communaltie of the Honourable City to chuse your worship Sheriffe of London this day'.[185] This demonstrates that in the same way Whittington's triumph was only possible because he adhered to the company system, so Deloney 'takes care to show that Simon Eyre adheres meticulously to the bonds of apprenticeship; he takes delight in his work and fulfils the full term of his obligation to his master before making a suitable marriage and setting up his own shop'.[186]

Deloney's *Gentle Craft* is perhaps best known as the primary source for the play *The Shoemakers Holiday* by Thomas Dekker. First registered in 1600, the play went through second and third editions in 1610 and 1618, suggesting enduring popularity. Slightly more overt glorification of the Cordwainers is included in the play, which 'throughout extols the munificence and ennobling virtue of the shoemaking trade'.[187] Simon Eyre makes numerous references to the innate nobility of the Cordwainers, such as his instruction to his apprentice Ralph to:

> EYRE: fight for the honour of the Gentle Craft,
> for the Gentlemen Shoomakers,
> the couragious Cordwainers.[188]

---

[183] Deloney, *The Gentle Craft,* p.94.
[184] Deloney, *The Gentle Craft,* p.60, p.61.
[185] Deloney, *The Gentle Craft,* p.79.
[186] Rivlin, 'Forms of Service in Thomas Deloney's "The Gentle Craft", p.209 and Rappaport, *Worlds Within Worlds,* p.368.
[187] Walsh**, '**Performing Historicity in Dekker's *The Shoemaker's Holiday'*, p.330.
[188] Dekker, *The Shoemaker's Holiday,* I.1. 220-222.

When Eyre achieves the offices of sheriff and Lord Mayor, he uses his power to protect and reward those in his company, asking the King:

> EYRE: I for them all, on both my knees do intreate,
> that for the honor of poore Simon Eyre and the good of
> his brethren, these mad knaves, your Grace would vouchsafe
> some privilege to my new Leden-hall, that it may be lawful
> for us to buy and sell leather there two dayes a weeke.[189]

Similarly, when Eyre's apprentice Firke calls the city's apprentices to go to Leadenhall:

> Firke. Lets march together for the honor of Saint Hugh to the
> great new hall in Gratious streete corner, which our maister,
> the newe Lord Maior, hath built.

He identifies Eyre as the mayor, but his invocation of St Hugh, another historic shoemaker included in Deloney's *Gentle Craft* keeps the focus on the Cordwainers.

These texts thus partially differentiate Eyre from Walworth and Whittington, both of whom are usually represented as glorifying the city as a whole in their service to the monarch, rather than reflecting glory back on to their companies. In the case of William Walworth, his reward for defending Richard II is the knighting of future mayors and the addition of a dagger to the crest of London, neither of which benefit *only* the Fishmongers. Richard Whittington's most famous interaction with the monarch is the episode of the burning of the bonds, however, the bonds are identified as belonging not only to Whittington, but 'to the various city companies and the City of London itself', thus Whittington's sacrifice of 'corporate assets' is a gesture reflective of London's support as a whole, not an individual Mercer.[190] The *Shoemakers Holiday* then, as its title suggests, provides probably the most overt focus (outside of the mayoral pageants) on a livery company, not just a Londoner. It is therefore deeply ironic that the play doesn't even briefly acknowledge that Eyre was not a shoemaker.

In summary, whilst one could make the argument that the companies' presence in popular literature was so ubiquitous that a substantial proportion of the popular chronicles were devoted to 'company history' in terms of identifying famous company members and actions, this is not convincing. It is clear however, that the path to citizenship that they provided infused popular historical accounts. It also seems clear that awareness of the

[189] Dekker, *The Shoemaker's Holiday,* V.5.156-161.
[190] Robertson, 'The Adventures of Dick Whittington', p.58.

history of the livery companies, individually and communally would have varied considerably depending on whether an individual was inside or outside the company system. For those outside the system, the livery companies were a relatively small presence in popular print, although this was offset by the annual spectacle of the Lord Mayor's Show, in which individual companies presented their history through speeches, actors and imagery. This must be qualified however, by the fact that whilst the companies as individual entities were less present in popular print, they were implicit and ubiquitous as the mechanism by which citizenship and civic progression was enabled, and in this guise they were a constant presence, suggesting that for the majority of the inhabitants of the metropolis the companies were acknowledged as part of the historical landscape of London, but interest in them as individual actors did not extend beyond their own membership.

Conclusion

In conclusion, when considering the historical presence of the various institutions, individuals and functions of civic government in cheap print and performance, it is clear that Londoners were presented with several strong impressions. These were drawn from the chronicle sources and developed in ballads, plays, cheap print and civic pageantry. These impressions were further reinforced through repeated celebrations of the same historical figures and incidents.

This range of sources meant that the majority of Londoners must have been aware that the city had a special relationship to the crown, being a unique base of loyalty, financial and military support. Londoners may also have had a more nebulous awareness that this relationship had not always been untroubled and that there was an element of reciprocity required that on occasion had not been forthcoming, leading to conflict. This impression was implicit in several mayoral pageants, particularly during the 1630s and was represented in the ballads and plays featuring Queen Eleanor, a composite character representing the negative aspects of royal intervention in city life.

One of the strongest impressions given in the popular accounts was the historic power and glory of London's mayor. This may not have reflected contemporary reality, with the apprentice riots of the 1590s including threats directly aimed at the unpopular mayor Sir John Spencer, but the impression was overwhelmingly given in civic pageantry, backed up by frequent reference in the chronicles and reinforced through plays and other texts that historically the mayor was invariably a heroic and virtuous figure. This impression was given

further verisimilitude and enhanced by the deployment of examples such as William Walworth, Richard Whittington and Simon Eyre. The inclusion of other worthy mayors in civic pageantry meant that though names like John Poultney or Nicholas Faringdon may not have registered as fully in the public consciousness, the generally favourable impression of the mayoralty's illustrious history was reinforced.

The livery companies were seemingly given less individual attention in popular culture, with little reference in the ballads and almanacs, and the tendency not to identify the company affiliation of civic heroes in popular accounts. Nonetheless, the historic role of the companies in providing access to citizenship and thus ultimately to civic glory as alderman or ultimately mayor is frequently recognised, and in this sense the companies were a ubiquitous presence in popular historical accounts. This underlined their importance 'as a social marker and a source of social identity', and since the readership of the chronicles would have extended beyond member of the companies themselves, Ian Anders Gadd suggests that a certain level of knowledge about the companies created 'solidarity to the London citizenry as a whole'.[191]

The performances and pamphlets that accompanied the Lord Mayor's Show celebrated some companies' pasts more directly. They invariably claimed historical heroic figures as their own, which suggests the importance attached to these figures in the public consciousness, reinforcing the importance of the individual as a vehicle for delivering broader messages, as is discussed in chapter five.

As with the other themes considered, the motives and intended messages of the chroniclers and popular authors may well not have been to provide any sort of education in the history of London's government. The texts, plays and pageants discussed were produced with a variety of aims and motives. To entertain, in celebration, to encourage charitable giving or desirable behaviour and sometimes to offer commentary on contemporary political circumstances. Nonetheless, in using London's past to promote these aims, a consequence was that Londoners were presented again and again with the same stories, information and impression. These then became 'common knowledge' and perhaps even more importantly, knowledge *shared* by the very disparate groups inhabiting the city which formed commonly held opinions. This in turn may have provided some sense of unity and common identity as Londoners.

[191] Gadd, 'Early Modern Printed Histories of the London Livery Companies', p.31.

7: Conclusion

The question I wanted to address in this study is whether a shared series of historical reference points and their understanding amongst Londoners created a culture of common identity which contributed to social cohesion and stability of the city and its environs in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

It is possible to demonstrate that there were indeed several incidents and themes from London's history which were so ubiquitous in popular culture that it is valid to suggest they would have been familiar to the vast majority of those living in the city. History on the whole was clearly a subject in which the population of London were interested. I have suggested that one of the strongest arguments for this is the frequency with which historical themes and stories appear in such a wide range of genres, strongly suggesting the information within would have been accessible to the majority of those living in the capital.

Printed chronicles, directly focused on history, continued to sell well into the early seventeenth century. Holinshed's *Chronicle*, a lengthy and expensive text, sold well enough to justify a second edition in 1587, just ten years after the original appeared. Given the high price of such a book due to the sheer amount of paper needed, we can infer a real interest in history at the higher end of the market.[1]

Even more significant was the clear popularity of the chronicles which tended to prioritise *London* history. Stow's *Survey of London,* though not a chronicle in the strict sense of the word, was a text with strong focus on the history of London, and the swift publication of four revised editions between 1598 and 1633 reinforces that there existed a keen interest in the history of city which continued into the seventeenth century. Stow's preferences and tastes, formed by his life in London, ensured a strong focus on urban history in his other works, which also sold very well in the city. The publication of Stow's *Chronicles* in 1580 and the *Annales of England*, editions of which appeared in 1592, 1601 and 1605, with posthumous editions by Edmund Howes in 1615 and 1631, support this conclusion, with the multiple and swiftly produced re-editions suggesting a lively interest in London's history continuing well into the seventeenth century. Perhaps even more significantly, the abridged (and thus more accessible) chronicles of Stow also sold well, with Stow's *Summarie of the chronicles of Englande* appearing in 1565 with further editions in 1566, 1570, 1574, 1575, 1590, 1607, 1611 and 1618 testifying to its popularity. This was followed

[1] Molekamp, 'Popular Reading and Writing'.

by the shorter *Abridgement or Summarie of the English Chronicle* in 1566, 1567, 1573, 1584, 1587, 1598, and 1604. The remarkably frequent re-prints and re-editions created demonstrate that an interest in London history existed just as much amongst the middling and lower ends of market.

The purchase of a chronicle or Stow's *Survey* clearly suggests a direct interest in history from the buyer, and whilst the revision, frequency and speed of re-printing of the works above are indicative of their broad appeal, it is difficult to assess how many of London's inhabitants read and enjoyed them. What, I would argue, makes my assertion that elements of London's history were familiar to the majority of Londoners more convincing was the frequent appearance of London history in a wide range of *other* genres. This offers a far stronger confirmation that the city's past was a feature of popular culture in London at the turn of the sixteenth century.

London history was presented on stage in the 1580s and 1590s when there was an 'explosion' of history plays.[2] The playhouses were a London phenomenon, and plays were therefore written to appeal primarily to the urban audience. It is therefore significant that many of these plays focused in a detailed and topographically meaningful manner on historical events in the capital, such as *The Book of Thomas More* and *Edward IV*, a play which seems to directly make use of Stow's *Survey* and emphasises its London location and the London antecedents of its characters as a main theme of the plot.[3] Other plays also dramatized the lives of key figures from London's past such as *The Shoemakers Holiday,* The *Life and Death of Jack Straw* or the lost *The vertuous Lyfe and memorable Death of Sir Richard Whittington, mercer, sometyme Lord Maiour*.[4] Evidence of the popularity of London history on stage lies both in the volume of history plays written, which historians of popular culture like Roger Chartier would reinforce, reflects audience demand, and also in the lasting appeal of these plays, ported by separate companies to different playhouses.[5] Evidence for the popularity of history plays is also often found in the personal accounts of those living in London, such as Simon Forman's account of his visit to see *Richard II*, in which he specifically mentions the inclusion of William Walworth's attack on Jack Straw, or the satirization of 'citizen histories' in Beaumont and Fletcher's *Knight of the Burning Pestle,* a joke that only works if the majority of the audience recognise the point being

[2] Archer, 'Discourses of History', p.214.
[3] Rowland, 'Introduction' to Heywood's *Edward IV*, p.16-18.
[4] *Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London 1554-1640*, p.119.
[5] Richard Rowland suggests *Edward IV* was performed by three different companies of actors at three separate playhouses in the first six years following its writing in Rowland,' Introduction' to Heywood's *Edward IV*, p.7.

made about the popularity of the genre.[6] The difficulties of reconstructing both the size and social make-up of playhouse audiences has been discussed in chapter three; however, the preponderance of the evidence suggests many Londoners encountered the city's past at the theatre, and is highly suggestive that the historical content of these plays was familiar to a wide range of Londoners.

The heavy and continuing presence of historical content in civic pageantry, in particular the annual Lord Mayor's Show, further supports this conclusion. Again, we have evidence such as the chronicle of Henry Machyn and the letters of John Chamberlain to confirm that Londoners lined the pageant routes to hear and see London's history presented in the sixteenth century, and that they continued to do so into the seventeenth century.[7] These accounts offer confirmation of what common sense also suggests, that such a spectacle, presented for free, must have attracted the crowds described by Orazio Busino as 'young and old, rich and poor, male and female, English and alien'.[8] Hearing the speeches or deciphering the messages contained in the pageants would not always have been easy, due to the rowdy crowds, music and pyrotechnics.[9] However, the use of actors to portray figures from the past and the inclusion of props such as those seen in the 1585 Show when the figure of William Walworth gestures towards a placard showing the crest of London, must have helped the crowds decipher many of the messages conveyed. This was particularly true of the early modern audience, given the 'visual literacy'.[10] Repetition was also important, with the same characters such as Walworth and Henry Fitz Alwin appearing in multiple Shows, increasing the likelihood that audiences would have recognised references to them. We must also assume that given the competition to write the pageant for the Show, the authors who sought the commission knew the limitations of the form and the tastes of their audience, and so produced material that would have been decipherable and well-received in the hope of future work.[11]

---

[6] Beaumont, *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, I.1. 18-22 and Amanda Mabillard, *Going to a Play in Shakespeare's London: Simon Forman's Diary*, *Shakespeare Online*, 2000 <http://www.shakespeare-online.com/plays/simonforman.html"> [accessed 20 Aug. 2022].

[7] Machyn, *A London Provisioner's Chronicle,* f.143r.

[8] Tracey Hill, 'Festivals' in *Ashgate Research Companion to Popular Culture in Early Modern England*, ed. by Andrew Hadfield, Matthew Dimmock and Abigail Shinn (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), pp. 43-57, (Quoting CSP *Venetian,* vol.XV, pp.62-63, *British History Online*, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/venice/vol15/pp430-436), [accessed 3 July 2022].

[9] Hill, *Pageantry and Power*, pp.118-213.

[10] Andrew Gordon, "'If My Sign Could Speak': The Signboard and the Visual Culture of Early Modern London', *Early Theatre*, 8.1 (2005), 35–51 and Tara Hamling, 'Visual Culture' in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Popular Culture in Early Modern England,* ed. by Andrew Hadfield, Matthew Dimmock and Abigail Shinn (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), pp.75-101.

[11] Hill, *Pageantry and Power*, pp. 53-117.

Finally, I have suggested the strongest argument that elements of London history were commonly held knowledge in the city was the presence of this history in almanacs and broadside ballads. The ubiquity and availability of these texts in early modern London, discussed fully in chapter two, justify their identification as a form of 'mass media' that reached across London society.[12] Surviving, if fragmentary, sales figures and stock inventories confirm the huge volume of these texts printed, and anecdotal evidence such as references to ballads' popularity by educationalists such as Erasmus and Vives, or reference to almanacs in the works of Isabella Whitney reinforce the impression of ubiquity.[13] Whitney's reference to almanacs as the method by which she dated her 'will' is particularly helpful as so few female experiences of engagement with cheap print in early modern London can be reconstructed, and so it is reassuring that at least one confirmation of female use of almanacs survives.[14] Furthermore, as discussed in chapter two, the higher literacy levels in the city, alongside the fact that porterage did not have to be taken into consideration means that publishers were highly likely to have viewed London as their primary market and shaped their product accordingly. Furthermore the competitive market in which almanacs operated dictated very careful consideration of how space was used within them, confirming that not just a London focus, but specifically the presence of the chronological tables almanacs often contained was not a casual choice, but had significance, reconfirming the popularity of the city's history as a topic in early modern London.

I have argued that it was not simply urban history in general which was demonstrably popular, but that the *elements* of London history that were most likely to be familiar to the majority of Londoners can also be identified. It is clear from a preponderance of evidence that these topics were as an interest in London's topography, interest in the government of London, and the popularity of stories about the lives and deeds of a certain figures from London's past. Chapters four, five and six outline the frequency with which these themes appeared in the popular cultural forms outlined above, running from the detailed information found in the chronicles to their appearance in plays, pageants and chapbooks. Again, I particularly argue this analysis can be reinforced with reference to ballads and almanacs, the genres most responsive to audience demand: since the market (particulalry in London) was a highly important consideration in the production of print, the selection of

[12] Hill Curth, *English Almanacs*, p.2.
[13] Charlton, '"False Fonde Bookes, Ballades and Rimes"', p.457.
[14] Whitney, *A Sweet Nosgay, Or Pleasant Posye*.

these events and themes for repeated use in ballads and for inclusion in the almanacs tables confirms the conclusion that these topics are the ones best characterised as 'common knowledge', as they were curated into the most distilled and epitomised version of 'popular' history that almanacs and to a certain extent ballads represented.

Furthermore, indirectly supporting my argument, is the existence of dramatic and historically significant parts of London's history that one might expect to have been deployed with much more frequency by the popular authors, yet were not selected. Examples include London's struggles to maintain its liberties during the turbulent reign of Henry III or the lives of great civic philanthropists like Sir Thomas White or Sir Thomas Gresham. We might have expected these examples to merit greater representation, given their similarity to the themes which do seem to have 'caught on'. However apart from very brief or speculative allusion in ballads like *The lamentable fall of Queene Elnor,* and *The Wandring Jews Chronicle,* of London's difficult relationship with Henry III, or Gresham's one appearance in Heywood's 1605 *If You Know Not Me, You Know Nobody II,* this was not the case. If we therefore return to the argument made by Roger Chartier and reiterated by others that the market shapes demand and the audience contributes towards production through selecting the content they wish to see and hear, then the repeated deployment of the *same* topics and figures in the genres confirms their importance.[15]

Precisely *why* these themes and stories were selected, becoming 'common knowledge' in early modern London, requires more speculation and, I would suggest is more open to reinterpretation. The reasons I have suggested differ depending on which theme is being discussed, but there are some common elements, as discussed in chapters four, five and six, which may explain this popularity. What is clear for all these themes, however, is that if, as most historians of popular culture agree, the shaping of popular culture is reciprocal, with audience demand shaping content, in what Natascha Wurzbach memorably described as a 'backwash effect' then the audience must have been broadly receptive to this content, shaping the output of the popular authors who were competing in a crowded market.[16]

Ready availability of information on topography, governance and selected figures is a necessary, though not sufficient, cause of the popularity of this historical content. The presence of lots of information on these themes in both the longer and abridged chronicles is clear. It is also clear that the popular authors mined these chronicles for information, as

[15] Chartier, 'Culture as Appropriation'.
[16] Wurzbach, *The Rise of the English Street Ballad,* p.25.

shown by their own admission and the similarities in content within their works, though this is not a strong enough argument on its own to explain how these themes were selected, since other equally suitable examples were available.

Nonetheless, as the popular chronicles were such a key resource for the popular authors, used frequently to provide information, the choices of the chroniclers (John Stow in particular), in what they emphasised had great significance. Epitomisation was a growing trend at the end of the sixteenth century, and authors like Stow made a conscious choice about which elements of history to include in their abridged works.[17] This being the case, the focus of Stow on the topography of London and his approbation of civic philanthropy was undoubtedly influential in guiding popular authors towards episodes, events and figures which best typified these kinds of history. Again, the importance of Stow is clear, with his personal interest in the history of the city in which he lived infusing all his works and consequently shaping the content of many other forms of popular print and entertainment.

A second reason for the popularity of these themes is likely to be imitation of literature aimed at the elite. A great deal of popular culture 'took its cues' from above and so fashions in wider literary culture, alongside the interests of the political and religious elites were well represented in cheap print.[18] As discussed in chapter four, antiquarianism and chorography were growing in popularity in England at the end of the sixteenth century, as exemplified by the popularity of Camden's 1586 *Britannia*. Indeed, the sixteenth century marked a new interest in history in general. This was inspired partly by the influence of humanism, and exemplified in works such as Vergil's 1534 *Anglica Historia,* Hall's *The Union of the Two Noble and Illustre Famelies of Lancastre & Yorke* (1548), More's *The History of King Richard the Third* (1543) and also by a growing 'rhetoric of national identity' under Elizabeth.[19] This fashion in elite literature may well have inspired imitation in cheaper, more accessible genres, finding echoes in topographical inclusions in almanacs and etymological explanations in popular print, such as the explanation for the naming of Ludgate and Shoreditch that appeared in sources such as Perkins' almanacs and Heywood's *Edward IV.*[20] Again, the size and significance of the market in London in particular providing

[17] Wheatley, 'The Pocket Books of English History' in *The Culture of Capital: Property, Cities, and Knowledge in Early Modern England*, ed. by Henry Turner (London: Taylor & Francis Group, 2002).
[18] Bayman, 'Printing, Learning, and the Unlearned', p.76.
[19] Allison Machlis, '*Richard III*'s" Forelives: Rewriting Elizabeth(s) in Tudor Historiography', *Medieval & Renaissance Drama in England*, 26 (2013), 156-183 (p.172).
[20] *Perkins* (1625-1640), and Heywood, *Edward IV*, II.23.71-76.

incentive for popular authors to apply these trends to their works through a focus on London.

Likewise the influence of medieval chivalric romances like Guy of Warwick and Amadis of Gaul which 'flourished throughout the seventeenth century in both popular and elite forms' had a massive impact on the historical content of cheap print.[21] Attempts to imitate the conventions of this type of literature, yet cater for a growing *urban* audience may well explain the popularity of civic heroes such as William Walworth and Richard Whittington, both of whom display chivalric qualities reminiscent of those found in medieval romances, yet they are figures more possible for a young London audience to identify with. One could even argue that the presence of the aristocratic 'fair Rosamund' in chivalric literature inspired the more bourgeoise imitation of Jane Shore. Certainly the two are frequently compared or placed together in contemporary literature.[22] Furthermore, the growing sixteenth-century interest amongst the gentry in heraldry, described by Tara Hamling as 'the most ubiquitous form of imagery in early modern England' could be argued to have inspired a new interest in the livery companies, which were primarily represented in popular print by their coats-of-arms, and were institutions which had genuine claims to antiquity yet were unashamedly urban.[23]

A third reason for the popularity of these themes is suggested by Burke's idea of 'top-down' production of popular culture, which was manufactured for the masses by the elite with the overt desire to inculcate certain values.[24] In London, these values included deference to civic authority and admiration and imitation of civic philanthropy. An attempt to proselytize on both can be detected most directly in history deployed in civic pageantry. As discussed in chapter six, the companies faced challenges in the sixteenth century and in this environment they took every opportunity to advertise their antiquity and the good deeds of past members. One can therefore view the spectacular Lord Mayor's Show as a vehicle through which the public were socialised into accepting the power, prestige and authority of the companies, and of the civic government their members staffed. Equally the overt glorification of past examples of civic benevolence must have been designed to

[21] William Hunt, 'Civic Chivalry and the English Civil War', in *The Transmission of Culture in Early Modern Europe,* ed. by Anthony Grafton and Ann Blair (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990), pp.204-237 (p.206).
[22] For example, Ogle, *The Lamentation of Troy* and Basse, *A helpe to discourse*.
[23] Gadd, 'Early Modern Printed Histories of the London Livery Companies', and Hamling, 'Visual Culture', p.79.
[24] Lawrence Manley supports this interpretation in particular, arguing that much of the literature of early modern London was designed to socialize the London audience in appropriate behaviours. See Manley, *Literature and Culture,* p.129.

encourage imitation. Examples like William Walworth or Henry Fitz Alwin were thus well suited to these purpose, and so were used and re-used.

John Stow also deployed history in the desire to promote these values and encourage suitable behaviour. In both his chronicles and the *Survey,* Stow promotes charity and civic benevolence by holding up models to imitate in a desire to inspire charitable giving, which he perceived as disappearing post-Reformation.[25] Stow's approach was to make reference to famous Londoners who had established charities and to consistently highlight the construction and repair of London buildings undertaken by civic benefactors, thus reinforcing the presence of so much topographical history in the sources. Charity and philanthropy were also values promoted by the livery companies as they made significant moves towards reinventing themselves as philanthropic organisations, again giving more attention to topography, and to the past Londoners responsible for contributing to it.[26] Thus the appearance of the past of London's buildings in popular texts and performances may well be a side-effect of this proselytization.

One can also detect in the accounts of William Walworth and Richard Whittington a desire to inculcate these values particularly in apprentices, alongside other desirable types of behaviour, such as loyalty, perseverance, a willingness to defend the city and a belief that it was possible to rise through the cursus honorum if one behaved well and conformed. These messages could be fairly overt, such as in the final stanza of *Londons Glory, and Whittingtons Renown:*

> Brave London Prentices,
> Come listen to my song,
> Tis for your glory all
> And to you both belong.
> And you poor country lads,
> Though born of low degree,
> See by God's providence
> What you in time may be.[27]

Likewise in Heywood's *Edward IV* the mayor uses the example of William Walworth to rally citizens and apprentices to fight off the rebels:

[25] Collinson, 'John Stow and Nostalgic Antiquarianism', p.28.
[26] Archer, 'The Livery Companies and Charity', p.15.
[27] Ballad 10.

> MAYOR: Thinke that in Richards time even such a rebell,
> Was then by Walworth the L. Maior of London,
> Stabd dead in Smithfield:
> Then shew your selves as it be fits the time.
> And let this find a hundreth Walworth, now.[28]

A great many of the accounts in other genres, not only pageantry and the works of Stow also reinforce the desirability of civic benefaction, a message obviously aimed at more affluent citizens rather than apprentices. As discussed in chapter five, all the stories of Whittington, in ballad form and elsewhere, celebrate the building work he posthumously paid for. Likewise, when less frequently deployed examples such as Thomas Gresham and Simon Eyre appear in popular culture, it is usually their legacies to London (Leadenhall and the Royal Exchange) that are highlighted. The tone of approval for such acts, clear in the popular sources, is identical to the values expressed in the works of Stow and in the mayoral pageants. This may also explain the emphasis on topography found in so much popular literature, with building works and repairs to civic amenities being the most direct evidence of civic philanthropy Londoners could see.

This is not to suggest that popular authors like Middleton, Deloney, Heywood or Munday wrote their texts with overt polemical purposes in mind (though they probably did when turning their hands to pageant scripts). However, most of these authors came from a very similar socio-economic background. They were mostly educated, members of livery companies who held the freedom of the city and can best be described as members of the 'middling sort'. This was a social and economic position they shared with chroniclers like Stow and undoubtedly many of the other compilers of Holinshed. As such, these texts unsurprisingly contain and reflect these middle-class citizen values, which in all likelihood had an impact in inculcating them in the audience.

A further reason why the London audience may have found these particular historical themes and episodes appealing may lie in the high proportion of new and recent migrants to the city. A knowledge of London's topography for example, and a brief outline of the history of the buildings within may well have helped Londoners new to the city to acclimatise themselves to their unfamiliar surroundings. Adam Fox suggests that in many local communities in early modern England it was 'the visual evidence of the immediate environment' that often created historical tradition.[29] This applied to both geological and man-made constructions, which in local tradition often supplied the origin of place names,

---

[28] Heywood, *Edward IV*, I, 5. 6-10.
[29] Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture,* p.216.

such as the belief that King Cole was responsible for the building of Colchester.[30] Fox also points to the value placed in these communities on old people who 'were vital in the preservation and transmission of customary practice and intellectual capital'.[31] It is tempting therefore to see interest in the history of London's landmarks and their etymology as driven by the migrant population in an attempt to recreate the circumstances they may have found at home, manufacturing a sense of belonging lost in migration. Equally in the absence of close contact with an older generation, most migrants to the city being young apprentices or servants, it is also possible that cheap print provided an alternative to the 'fireside stories' many encountered in their local communities, through which much of this local tradition was transmitted.[32]

Many of these recent migrants were apprentices, and thus Steven Smith's intriguing argument that adolescent apprentices formed a sub-culture in London which drove the production of literature such as Richard Johnson's *Nine Worthies of London* also aligns with this argument, explaining the enduring popularity of stories about urban heroes such as William Walworth and Richard Whittington, shared cultural references that created a 'sense of fraternity' amongst apprentices, the majority of whom would have had little contact with their families and may well have sought a sense of belonging.[33] The popularisation of London heroes may have thus helped acculturate young apprentice migrants by replacing the stories of local heroes they heard at home with new figures, with whom they and their peers could identify.

An interest in the governance of London is also understandable amongst those who consumed popular literature, particularly those for new to the city, and less familiar with the forms of governance found there. Within the walls and bars of the city, the livery companies and the corporation of London had considerable influence over the lives of inhabitants. Citizens participated in local government through the wards and were subject to control from Justices of the Peace, including from 1638, the four Justices chosen to oversee Middlesex and Surrey. Civic officers enforced law and livery companies inspected and regulated economic activity. Joseph Ward has also suggested that the reach of the companies extended further beyond the city than has been previously supposed as 'companies often exercised their metropolitan wide mandates'.[34] Given the influence and

[30] Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture*, p.231.
[31] Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture,* p.220.
[32] Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture,* p.215.
[33] Smith, 'The London Apprentices as Seventeenth-Century Adolescents', p.156.
[34] Ward, *Metropolitan Communities,* p.40.

control over many aspects of life in and around the capital exercised by the city's governors, it is entirely understandable that Londoners, whether tied into this network through citizenship or not, would have sought greater understanding of these forces which were significant in their lives.

There is, I would argue, a great deal of evidence to support the argument that particular elements of London history were familiar to the majority of those living in the city. I would also suggest that given the similarity of the themes in the stories and episodes most frequently selected, there is also a strong argument that this knowledge served to reinforce and promote certain common values and norms amongst those living in the capital. However, to return to my initial question; having established that Londoners were interested in the history of the city and identified the elements of the capital's history which became 'popular knowledge' by the early seventeenth century, the argument that this shared knowledge was a factor in creating or maintaining social cohesion and stability in London remains more speculative.

Certainly, one can argue that a lack of significant disorder in the capital lends weight to this argument. The consensus remains that there was no significant disorder in the metropolis in this period, characterised as years of 'essential orderliness'.[35] Whilst there were apprentice riots throughout the 1590s, with particular disturbances in 1595, the problems were swiftly dealt with by the authorities, and as Ian Archer observes, the 1590s do not 'look like a general social crisis'.[36] Moreover, since the factors creating stability discussed by these historians mainly focus on those who held the freedom, and thus excluded many inhabitants of the metropolis, this suggests that cultural factors, more capable of uniting all inhabitants of the metropolis, were equally important in maintaining social cohesion and order. It is therefore reasonable to suggest that a knowledge of popular history, shared by the majority of the metropolis's inhabitants through the methods, and for the reasons, established above, may have had some role in contributing to this stability.

A knowledge of popular history provided Londoners newly arrived in the capital with a certain amount of information about their surroundings which may have aided their acclimatisation and thus prevented the issues that can arise with social alienation. The theatre was important, with plays set in London promoting a shared literacy about the city and deliberately using cultural references an insider jokes to foster a sense that the

[35] Rappaport, *Worlds Within Worlds,* p.7.
[36] Archer, *Pursuit of Stability,* p.7.

audience were 'knowledgeable members of an urban community'.[37] I suggest a knowledge of selected episodes of London's history worked in a similar way, providing Londoners with a range of information that amounted to a 'crash course' in what a Londoner 'should know'. This included etymological details of the place names they encountered, some understanding of the evolution of the cityscape and the history of the city's government, a highly influential part of their daily lives. Elements of London history therefore became part of a 'booster literature' providing migrants with the necessary tools to acclimatise to their new surroundings.[38]

I would further suggest that a knowledge of history may have been a factor in creating stability precisely because it was a knowledge *shared* by the majority of those living in the metropolis. Lawrence Manley, amongst others, has suggested that literature in London worked to equip the populace for 'co-habitation and cooperation on a massive scale'.[39] Therefore anything the highly diverse inhabitants of the metropolis could hold in common might act as a building block, helping to create a shared identity as a Londoner. A select knowledge of the elements of London history discussed above was one of the few things that we can be relatively certain the majority of London's inhabitants did have in common given the evidence presented above.

The history contained in cheap print and popular entertainment may have been encouraged by the elite because they wished to promote certain messages, or simply written from a viewpoint that reflected the cultural values of the popular authors. Therefore, the primary aim of the authors may not have been to promote social cohesion, or at least this aim may have only been present in a nebulous sense. However, the aims of the authors are in some ways immaterial to the outcome, which is that Londoners from a wide variety of social and economic backgrounds were provided with a bank of information about the city's history which became 'common knowledge'. This knowledge, even if divorced from any intended message, which an audience might choose to reject, was shared by most Londoners and became one small thing held in common, aiding the socialising process.

I would suggest this process can be understood most fully by returning to the case which best exemplifies my argument, the story of Richard Whittington. As with the other elements and themes in London history included above, initial information on Richard

[37] Howard, *Theater of a City*, p.39.
[38] Wright, *Middle Class Culture,* p.11.
[39] Manley, 'London and Urban Popular Culture', p.366.

Whittington was readily available in the popular chronicles of the day. He is mentioned in Stow's *Chronicles,* the *Summarie* and *Summarie abridged.* These texts provide the years of his mayoralties and outlined his charitable works.[40] The same detail is included in Stow's *Survey* in the chapter on the 'Honour of Citizens, and Worthiness of Men', and receive a brief mention in Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*.[41]

Whittington's story too, is picked up by popular authors and deployed in a range of genres which would suggest it reached a wide audience in the capital. These sources include the ballads *A Song of Sir Richard Whittington,* which featured in Johnson's 1612 *A Crowne Garland of Goulden Roses* and *Londons Glory, and Whittingtons Renown* c.1640.[42] A more detailed version of his life can be found in the early chapbook *The History of Sir Richard Whittington* by Thomas Heywood.[43] There also appears to have been a play focused on Whittington's life registered with the Stationers' Company in February 1605 by Thomas Pavyer.[44] This was followed by *The vertuous Lyfe and memorable Death of Sir Richard Whittington, mercer, sometyme Lord Maiour* in July 1605, though both these texts are lost.[45] These frequent re-tellings of Whittington's story suggest that its details became 'common knowledge' in the capital. This is reinforced by the mentions of Whittington in other sources, such as the passing references to him in Heywood's *If You Know Not Me, You Know Nobody II*, Beaumont and Fletcher's *Knight of the Burning Pestle* and James Shirley's 1640 *The Constant Maid, or Love Will Find Out the Way*.[46] Samuel Pepys mentions in his diary on 21 September 1668 that he 'saw the puppet show of Whittington, which was pretty to see' and another passing reference appears in the Anonymous 1672 *Address to my Lord Mayor:*

> To point out Pageants one by one,
> Like Puppet shew of Whittington.[47]

All the above reinforce the idea of cultural ubiquity. Whilst there are no surviving texts of the mayoral pageants which mention Whittington, it is highly likely that he would have been included in the Shows of 1603 and 1607 when the mayor chosen was a member of

---

[40] Stow, *Chronicles*, (1580), p.567 and Stow, *Summarie*, (1565), p.194.
[41] Stow, *Survey of London,* (1603), p.108-9 and Foxe, *Actes and Monuments,* p.149.
[42] Ballad 10 and Johnson, *A Crowne Garland of Goulden Roses.*
[43] Heywood*, The History of Sir Richard Whittington.*
[44] '*A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London 1554-1640*', Vol.3, p.126.
[45] '*A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London 1554-1640*', Vol.3, p. 119.
[46] Heywood, *If You Know Not Me, You Know Nobody II,* p.95, Beaumont, *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*, Induction. 1. 19-20 and Shirley, *The Constant Maid,* unnumbered page.
[47] Anonymous, *An address to my Lord Mayor* (London: [n.pub.], 1672), ESTC R221006 and Samuel Pepys, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys* (Vol.8: 1668-9), ed. by Robert Latham and William Matthews (London: Harper Collins, 1971), p.110.

Whittington's company, the Mercers. As with other London history therefore, we can be confident that Richard Whittington's story was familiar to Londoners across the social spectrum, available to those able to access expensive texts and chronicles and available in forms requiring less literacy or financial outlay.

The story was highly likely to have been popular for the same reasons as many of the other themes discussed. The emphasis on topography found in the chronicles, but running through the ballads and many of the other sources must have appealed to Londoners, who were able to connect the man with the list of improvements to London's infrastructure listed in Heywood's *History* such as the improvements to Newgate, St Bartholomew's Hospital, the Guildhall, the great conduit and several other building works.[48] Perhaps even more significant was the foundation of Whittington college, making Whittington's name 'a permanent part of the fabric of the London Cityscape'.[49] Indeed, Henry Machyn, writing in his chronicle in 1551, mentions the mourners at Sir Gervase Clifton's funeral who 'after, they went to dinner unto the Earl of Rutland's place in Whittington College parish', suggesting the entire area had become popularly known by Whittington's name.[50] This is reinforced by the oversized 'Whytyngton Colledge' label present on the copperplate map.[51] Thus, as with so many of the elements of London history that became popular, a tangible connection to the topography of the city is present.

Those getting to grips with the workings of civic governance could also find confirmation that Whittington, despite his later achievements, began his career as an apprentice, accepting the lowly status and poor treatment he received. It is only when 'his freedom being offered him, and accepted of' was he able to progress up the civic and corporate ladder.[52] Both the ballads and Heywood's *History* also acknowledge that Whittington served his time as sheriff before ascending to mayor.

They further agree that having attained the highest office Whittington displayed the kind of behaviour expected:

> Poor people fed with meat,
> to shew his Charity.
> Prisoners poor, Cherisht were,
> widows sweet, comfort found,

[48] Heywood, *The History of Sir Richard Whittington.*
[49] Appleford, 'The Good Death of Richard Whittington', p.105.
[50] Machyn, *A London Provisioner's Chronicle,* f.2r.
[51] Schofield, 'An Introduction to the Three Known Sheets of the Copperplate Map', p.3.
[52] Heywood*, The History of Sir Richard Whittington*.

> Good deeds both far and near
> of him do still resound:[53]

Again, as with much of the other popular history discussed above, it is clear why members of the civic elite and middling sort would endorse the values contained in this account. James Robertson in particular has written on Whittington's role in presenting young migrant apprentices with 'models of suitably modest conduct', rewarded with both fortune and fame.[54] The story can thus be viewed, as with much of the other history that became popular in London, as pro-actively proselytising to the audience through 'popular myths' about London's merchant heroes.[55]

Yet we can also see in many of the versions of Whittington's story the process described by Roger Chartier, as Whittington was appropriated by apprentices in particular to 'create a subculture and bind the members of that subculture together'.[56] The story of Whittington's rise to wealth can also be read as a way apprentices made sense of their environment, offering to young urban migrants 'a literary template for accommodating themselves to a complex urban society'.[57] Evidence for this lies in the ahistorical additions to Whittington's story which fit into the traditions of chivalric literature, popular with the young apprentice audience. Such chivalrous additions include the episode where Whittington burnt bonds of money lent to the King to finance the war in France at a feast in 1421. This episode is developed in Johnson's ballad:

> Thousands he lent his king
> To maintaine warres in France,
> And after, at a feast,
> Which he the king did make,
> He burnt the bonds all in jest,
> And would no money take.
> Ten thousand pound he gave
> To his prince willingly,
> And would not one penny have.
> This in kind courtesie.[58]

Heywood's history also recounts the story with great dramatic flair. Here Whittington produces 'a great bundle of Bonds, Indentures and Covenants under his arm', which he

---

[53] Ballad 28.
[54] Robertson, 'The Adventures of Dick Whittington', p.52.
[55] Robertson, 'The Adventures of Dick Whittington', p.62.
[56] Smith, 'The London Apprentices as Seventeenth-Century Adolescents', p.160.
[57] Robertson, 'The Adventures of Dick Whittington', p.52.
[58] Ballad 28.

proceeds to 'cancel and cast into the fire'.[59] This episode emphasises the munificence associated with aristocratic values, rather than civic ones. The description that Whittington acted 'in jest', emphasising the casual attitude to wealth, and his prioritisation of loyalty and hospitality.[60] Furthermore his worth is recognised by the aristocratic guests present at the feast, who 'all unitely and unanimously commended his goodness, applauded his bounty and wished that he might live to perpetual memory'.[61] This is the sort of chivalric behaviour found in many other examples of apprentice literature, including the accounts of Simon Eyre and Thomas Gresham, and as such destruction of 'corporate assets' is less likely to have been a message endorsed by civic elites, suggests the story was being shaped by the audience, as with the other historical examples discussed.[62]

Ultimately therefore, Whittington's story encapsulates all the reasons that stories from London's past were popular in the capital, and how they may have aided social cohesion. It demonstrates the process by which information found in less accessible sources such as manuscript chronicles was selected for inclusion in more widely available printed chronicles, but then even more importantly was selected and promoted in a wide range of other genres, many of which did not require literacy or large financial outlay, and thus was highly likely to have been familiar to most Londoners, an impression reinforced by causal references to the story by contemporary observers.

The promotion of Whittington's story was also, like many of the themes and incidents discussed in this thesis, highly likely to have been a result of how well it suited the particular needs and tastes of the London audience, with elements of the story appealing to recent migrants and apprentices, but different aspects equally attractive to more affluent and established citizens and members of the civic elite. Thus Whittington's life may have been understood, interpreted and utilised by different groups in different ways, yet all these interpretations contributed towards values and norms which would have aided stability. Furthermore, even if accounts of his life had different meanings to various groups of people across the metropolis, the strong likelihood is that they had at least *heard* of Richard Whittington, and this was one small thing they could share, even if little else was held in common.

---

[59] Heywood, *The History of Sir Richard Whittington*.
[60] Ballad 28.
[61] Heywood, *The History of Sir Richard Whittington*.
[62] Robertson, 'The Adventures of Dick Whittington', p.58.

In conclusion, Whittington's story is only one example of the range of historical references to the history of London which, as demonstrated above, were ubiquitous in a wide range of genres consumed by the population of London in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The repetitious inclusion of these same historical themes and episodes in such widely differing sources, alongside the few, though suggestive references to them in surviving accounts from the time, strongly suggest that they were indeed part of Londoner's cultural consciousness. Moreover, the similarity in the values and norms embodied in these examples, when measured against the perhaps opposing or contentious values implied in equally dramatic episodes which did not become so popular, suggests that it is likely that these stories helped to create a culture of common identity amongst Londoners. It is thus possible that this culture may have contributed to social cohesion and stability of the city and its environs in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries.

Appendix 1: Almanacs

Full reference to all almanacs used have been placed in a separate appendix for ease of reference, as stated in footnotes. Unless otherwise stated, all almanacs were found on ProQuest's Early English Books Online. The URL is included below, along with ESTC reference.

Allestree, Richard, *A new almanack and prognostication, for the yeere of our Lord God, 1626. Being the 2 from bissextil yere calculated and properly referred to the longitude [et] sublimity of the Pole Articke of 52 [et] 53. Deg,* (London: Printed for the Company of Stationers, 1626), ESTC S104378. ProQuest Ebook, http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.882003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:99840116

Allestree, Richard, *a new almanack and prognostication, for the ye[a?]re of our Lord God 1628 and from the Creation 5590, being bissextile or leap-yeere: calculated and properly referred to the longitude & sublimity of the pole Articke of 52 & 53 deg: mutor pro temporu[m] ratione,* (London: Printed for the Company of Stationers, 1628), ESTC S1765. ProQuest Ebook, http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.882003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:22683335.

Allestree, Richard, *a new almanack and prognostication for the yeere of our Lord God [1629] and from the creation 5591, being the first from leap-yeere,* (London: Printed for the Company of Stationers, 1629), ESTC S123539. ProQuest Ebook, http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.882003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:24169356

Allestree, Richard, *a new almanack and prognostication for the yeere of our Lord God [1630] and from the creation, 5592, being the second from leap yeere/ calculated and properly referred to the longitude & sublimity of the Pole Articke of 51 deg.32.m*, (London: Printed for the Company of Stationers, 1629), ESTC S123537. ProQuest Ebook, http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.882003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:19990766

Allestree, Richard, *a new almanack and prognostication for the yeere of our Lord God 1640, being the bissextile or leap yeere: calculated and properly referred to the longitude and sublimity of the pole Artick of 51 deg. and 32 min., and may generally serve for the whole ile of Great Brittain*, (London: By T. Cotes, for the Company of Stationers, 1640), ESTC S1439. ProQuest Ebook, http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.882003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:20180091

Bretnor, Thomas, *a new almanacke and prognostication for the yeare,* (London: For the Company of Stationers, 1607), ESTC S15. ProQuest Ebook,

http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.882003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:21467192

Bretnor, Thomas, *a new almanacke and prognostication for the yere of our Lord God 1609, being the first from the bissextlle or leape yeare: calculated and composed according to arte for the latitude and meridian of the honorable citie of London, and may verie well serve al the south parts of Great Britain,* (London: For the Company of the Stationers, 1609), ESTC S576. ProQuest Ebook, http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.882003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:21696630

Bretnor, Thomas, *A new almanacke and prognostication for the yeare of our Lord God. 1610 being the second from the bissexttile or leape yeare. Calculated and composed according to art, for the latitude and meridian of the honorable citie of London, and may very well serve all the south parts of great Brittaine. By Thomas Bretnor, teacher of arithmetique, and geometrie, in the most famous citie of London,* (London: By E. Allde for the Company of Stationers, 1610), ESTC S125162. ProQuest Ebook, http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.882003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:99892967

Bretnor, Thomas*, a new almanacke and prognostication for the yeare of our Lord God 1611, being the third from the bissextile or leape yeare,* (London: For the Company of the Stacioners, 1611), ESTC S16. ProQuest Ebook, http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.882003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:21467362

Bretnor, Thomas, *a new almanacke and prognostication for the yeare of our redemption 1619. Being the third from leap yeare calculated & composed according to art, for the latitude and meridian of the honorable city of London, and may well serve all the south parts of Great Britaine & Ireland. By Thom: Bretnor, physitian, and teacher of the mathmaticks,* (London: For the Company of Stationers, 1619), ESTC S90100. ProQuest Ebook, http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.882003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:56572767

Bretnor, Thomas, *A new almanacke and prognostication for the yeere of our redemption, 1630. Being the second from bissextile or leape yeere. Rectified for the eleuation of the Pole Articke, and meridian of the famous citie of Colchester and may serve for the most parts of Great Brittaine. By Ezec. Bretnor Philomathema,* (London: Printed for the Companie of Stationers. 1630), ESTC S90095. ProQuest Ebook, http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.882003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:838167955

Browne, Daniel, *an almanacke and prognostication, for the yeare of grace, 1617, being the first from leape-yeere: calculated for the meridian of the famous citie of London and will serve generally for all Great Britaine. by Daniel Browne, practitioner in the art mathe,* (London: Printed for the Company of Stacioners, 1617), ESTC S578. ProQuest Ebook, http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.882003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:21703816

Browne, Daniel, *A new almanacke and prognostication for the yeare of our Lord God, 1620. Being bissextile or leape yeare. Composed and referred to the paralell and meridian of the citty of Chester, where the pole is mounted above the horizon 54. degrees, and may serve without sensible error, the west parts of Great-Britaine. Amplified with many necessary instructions, and profitable rules. By Daniel Browne, well willer to the mathematickes. Cum privilegio,* (London: printed for the Company of Stationers, 1620), ESTC 123025. ProQuest Ebook, http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.882003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:99898560

Browne, Daniel, *A new almanacke and prognostication for the yeere of our Lord God, 1625. Being the first from bissextile. With briefe tables of the foure termes, and their returnes. Composed and properly referred to the longitude and latitude of the pole artick of the famous Citty of London, and may serve generally for the most part of Greate-Britaine. By Daniel Browne, well-willer to the mathemat*, (London: Printed for the Company of Stationers, 1625), ESTC 123538. ProQuest Ebook, http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.882003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:99900484

Browne, Daniel, *a new almanacke and prognostication, for the yeare of our Lord God, 1627, being the third from bissextile: composed and properly referred to the longitude and latitude of the pole Artick of that famous city of London: with the exact rising and setting of the sun at London, longitude 25, latitude 510320 by Daniel Browne*, (London: Printed for the Company of the Stationers, 1627), ESTC S19. ProQuest Ebook, http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.882003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:21467989

Browne, Daniel, *a new almanacke and prognostication for the yeare of our Lord God 1630: being the second after leape yeere, composed and properly referred to the longitude and latitude of the pole artick of that famous city of London, and may serve generally for the most part of Great-Britaine: with th[defaced print] rising and setting of the sun at London, longitude 25. deg. latitude, 51-32,* (London: Printed for the Company of the Stationers, 1630), ESTC 123059. ProQuest Ebook, http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.882003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:33142678

Browne, Daniel, *A new almanacke and prognostication, for the yeare of our Lord God 1631. Being the third after leape yeere. Composed and properly referred to the longitude and latitude of the pole Artick of that famous city of London, and may serve generally for the most part of Great-Britaine. With the exact and setting of the sun at London*, (London: Printed for the Company of the Stationers, 1631), ESTC S20. ProQuest Ebook, http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.882003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:99893104

Dade, John, *an almanacke and prognostication for the yeere of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ MD.XCI, made and set foorth by John Dade*, (London: By Richarde Watkins and James Robertes, 1591), ESTC S434.2. ProQuest Ebook, http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.882003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:24171235

Dade, John, *a new almanacke and prognostication in which you may behold the state of this yeare of our Lord God 1610, being the second from the leap yeare made and set foorth by John Dade,* (London: Printed for the Company of Stacioners, 1610), ESTC S2405. ProQuest Ebook, http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.882003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:24176972

Dade, William, *a new almanacke and prognostication with the forraigne computation, in which you may behold the state of this yeare of our Lord God 1620, being the leape-yeare. made and set foorth by William Dade*, (London: Printed for the Company of Stationers, 1620), ESTC S2410. ProQuest Ebook, http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.882003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:24178120

Dade, William, *A new almanacke, and prognostication, with the forraigne computation. In which you may behold the state of this yeare of our Lord God. 1622. Being the second from the leape yeare. Made, and set foorth, by William Dade, Gent: practitioner in physicke,* (London: Printed for the Company of Stationers, 1622), ESTC S90118. ProQuest Ebook, http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.882003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:838167961

Dade, William, *a new almanack, and prognostication, with the forraigne computation, in which you may behold the state of this yeare 1640, for the meridian of London, and may serve for the most part of Great Britaine: being the leap yeare, by William Dade, gent,* (London: Printed by R.O. for the Company of Stationers, 1640), ESTC R36768. ProQuest Ebook, http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.882003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:21724081

Frende, Gabriel*, an almanacke and prognostication for the yeere of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ M.D.XCVII, which is from the creation of the worlde 5559, done according to arte by*

Gabriel Frende, (London: By Richarde Watkins and James Robertes, 1597), ESTC S40. ProQuest Ebook, http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.882003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:21475194

Frende, Gabriel, *a new almanacke and prognostication in which you may behold the state of this present yeere of our Lord God, 1614, being the second yeare from the leape yeare: calculated for the famous citty of London, and generally for all Great Brittaine, by Gabriel Friend,* (London: For the Company of Stationers, 1614), ESTC S2423. ProQuest Ebook, http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.882003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:24183302

Frende, Gabriel, *a new almanacke and prognostication wherein you may behold the state of this present yeare of our Lord God, 1620, being bissextile or leape-yeare: calculated for the citty of London, and generally for all England, by Gabriell Friend,* (London: Printed for the Company of Stationers, 1620), ESTC S2426. ProQuest Ebook, http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.882003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:24184105

Frende, Gabriel, *A new almanacke, and prognostication, wherein you may behold the state of this present yere of our Lord God. 1621 Being the first from the leape year. Calculated for the meridian of the renowned citty London. By Gabriell Friend,* (London: Printed for the Company of Stationers, 1621), ESTC S112528. ProQuest Ebook, http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.882003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:99847777

Frende, Gabriel, *a new almanacke and prognostication, with the accompt beyond seas: wherin you may behold the state of this present yeare 1623, being the third from the leap-yeare: calculated for the latitude and meridian of the honourable citie of London, by Gabriel Friend,* (London: Printed for the Company of Stationers, 1623), ESTC S2428. ProQuest Ebook, http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.882003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:24184418

Gilden, G*, A new almanacke and prognostication for the yeare of our Lord God. 1616. Being bissextile or leape yeare. Calculated and composed according to art for the latitude, and meridian of the honorable city of London. and may wel serve for al the south parts of great Britaine. By G: Gilden Philomathe,* (London: Printed for the Company of Stationers, 1616), ESTC S125181. ProQuest Ebook, http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.882003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:99898447

Gilden, G, *a new almanacke and prognostication for the yeare of our Lord God 1620, being bissextile or leape-yeare: calculated and composed according to arte for the latitude and meridian of the towne of Shipston upon Stowre in the county of Worcester, and may well serve for all the south parts of Great Brittaine by G. Gilden,* (London: Printed for the Company of Stationers, 1620). ESTC S2431. ProQuest Ebook, http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.882003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:24187361

Gilden, G, *a new almanacke and prognostication for the yeere of our Lord God 1632, being bissextile or leape yeere: calculated according to arte for the latitude and meridian of the towne of Shipston upon Stowre in the county of Worcester, and may well serve for all the south parts of Great Britaine by G. Gilden,* (London: Printed for the Company of Stationers, 1632), ESTC S2436. ProQuest Ebook, *http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.882003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:24189057*

Gresham, Edward, *An almanack and prognostication. Serving for the meridian of the honorable citie of London, especially: and indifferentlie for diverse other places, this yeare of our God 1603. Arte & opere Edw. Gresham, medici ac mathematici,* (London: By the assignes of James Roberts, 1603), ESTC S126822. ProQuest Ebook, http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.882003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:838167983

Gresham, Edward, *A new almanacke and prognostication for the yere of our Lord God. 1607. being the third from the leape yere. Astracted and argued from the mutuall habitude of this of ours, to the other fire movuable opatouse orbs, and to the fired globe of light. Serving indifferently any place within this our English-Empyre but more especially the scite of the honorable cittie of Yorke and the north parte. By Edward Gresham,* (London: for the Company of the Stationers, 1607), ESTC S125747. ProQuest Ebook, http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.882003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:99893062

Heyman, John, *An Almanack for the Year of Christ 1660 being Bissextile Or Leap-Year, Calculated for the Meridian of Maidstone Where the Pole-Artick is Elevated Above the Horizon 51 Degrees, 24 Minutes by John Heyman,* (London, Printed by D. Maxwell for the Company of Stationers, 1660), ESTC R30702. Birkbeck Library, http://ezproxy.lib.bbk.ac.uk/books/almanack-year-christ-1660-being-bissextile-leap/docview/2240854235/se-2?accountid=8629

Keene, John, *an new almanacke and prognostication for the yeare of our Lord God 1612, being leap-yeare by John Keene,* (London: Printed for the Company of Stacioners, 1612), ESTC S67. ProQuest Ebook,

http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.882003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:21487727

Keene, John, *an new almanack and prognostication for this yeere of our Lord God, 1614: being the second after the bissextile : composed properly for the latitude and meridian of that thrice famous citty of London, and may well serve for the south part of Great Brittaine, by John Keene,* (London: For the Company of Stationers, 1614), ESTC S597. ProQuest Ebook, http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.882003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:33143198

Keene, John*, an new almanacke and prognostication for this yeare of our Lord God 1615, being the third after the leap yeare, or bissextile, the 33 from the reformed computation, and from the beginning of the world 5577: composed properly for the latitude and meridian of London, and may well serve for the south part of Great Brittaine by John Keene, teacher of the mathematickes, and practioner of phisicke,* (London: Printed for the Company of Stationers, 1615), ESTC S598. ProQuest Ebook, http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.882003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:21989862

Keene, John, *an almanacke and prognostication for the yeare of our Lord God, 1617 : being the first yeare after the bissextile or leape yeare, the 35 from the reformed computation, and from the beginning of the world 5579: composed properly for the latitude and meridian of London, and may well serve for the south part of Great Brittaine by John Keene,* (London: For the Company of Stationers, 1617), ESTC S3228 ProQuest Ebook, http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.882003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:33143199

Langley, Thomas, *A new almanacke and prognostication in which you may behold the state of his present yeere of our Lord God 1635. Being the third from the leape-yeere. Composed for the meridian of the famous city of London, and will serve generally for all Great Britaine. By Thomas Langley,* (London: Printed by William Stansby and N. Okes for the Company of Stationers, 1635), ESTC S125185. ProQuest Ebook, http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.882003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:99892970

Langley, Thomas, *a new almanacke and prognostication for the yeere of our Lord God, 1638: being the second after the leape-yeare: composed for the meridian of the famous towne of Shrewsbury, and generally for the north-west parts of Great Britaine by Thomas Langley,* (London: Imprinted by F.K. for the Company of Stationers, 1638), ESTC S3231. ProQuest Ebook, http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.882003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:33143202

Langley, Thomas, *a new almanack and prognostication for this yeare of our Lord God, 1640, being bissextile or leape-yeare: conteining necessary instructions to be observed throughout the whole kingdome: rectified and referred to the meridian of the famous mayor towne of Shrewsbury, and generally for all the North-west parts of Great Britain by Thomas Langley, philomath,* (London: Printed by R. Bishop for the Company of Stationers, 1640), ESTC S603. ProQuest Ebook, http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.882003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:21991394

Neve, Jefferey, *a new almanacke and prognostication, serving for the yeere of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ 1604, being the bisextile or leape year : rectified for the elevation of the poole Articke, & meridian of Great Yarmouth in Norff., and may serve generally for all England. practised, penned, and collected according to arte by Jeffery Neve,* (London: By E. Allde for the Company of Stationers, 1604), ESTC S1457. ProQuest Ebook, http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.882003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:20183679

Neve, John, *A new almanack, and prognostication, with the forraigne computation, serving for the year of Our Lord God, and Saviour Jesus Christ, 1640 being the bissextile, or leap-yeare: rectified for the elevation of the pole artick, and meridian of the ancient and famous city of Norwich, and may serve generally for the most part of Great Brittain practised, penned and published, by John Neve, gent,* (London: Printed by R.O. for the Company of Stationers, 1640), ESTC R216390. ProQuest Ebook, http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.882003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:953793072

Perkins, Samuel, *A new almanacke and prognostication for the yeere of our Lord God 1625. and from the creation 5587. Being the next yeere after the leape yeere. Made and set forth by Samuel Perkins, well-willer to the mathematicks. For the meridian of London,* (London: printed for the Companie of Stationers, 1625), ESTC S125188. ProQuest Ebook, http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.882003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:99898454

Perkins, Samuel, *A new almanacke and prognostication for the yeere of our Lord God, 1630. being the second after the bissextile or leape yeere. For the meridian of London and from the worlds creation 5592. Made & set forth by Samuel Perkins, well-willer to the mathematickes,* (London: printed by Eliz. Allde for the Company of Stationers, 1630), ESTC S124155 ProQuest Ebook, http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.882003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:99898950

Perkins, Samuel, *a new almanacke and prognostication for the yeere of our Lord God, 1633: being the first after the bissextile, or leape yeere, and from the worlds creation 5595: composed,*

and chiefly referred to the meridian of the famous city of London/ made and set forth by Samuel Perkins, (London: Printed for the Company of Stationers, 1633), ESTC S3296. ProQuest Ebook, http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.882003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:33143282

Perkins, Samuel, *a new almanack and prognostication for the yeere of our Lord God, 1636: being the bissextile, or leape yeere, and from the worlds creation 5598: composed, and chiefly referred to the meridian of the famous city of London made and set forth by Samuel Perkins*, (London: Printed by E.A. for the Company of Stationers, 1636), ESTC S123557. ProQuest Ebook, http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.882003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:33143283

Perkins, Samuel, *A new almanack and prognostication, for the yeare of Our Lord God, 1640 being bissextile or leape yeare, and from the worlds creation, 5602: composed and chiefly referred to the meridian of the famous city of London made and set forth by Samuel Perkins well-willer to the mathematicks,* (London: Printed by I.N. for the Company of Stationers, 1640), ESTC R15782. ProQuest Ebook, http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.882003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:953793073

Pond, Edward, *A new almanacke and prognostication for the yeare of the Nativitie of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ [M.DC.I,] being the first after leape yeare. [Calculated and rectified for] the latitude and meridian of the honorable citie of London, and may very well serve for all England: wherein are contayned divers necessary and profitable rules for all men to know, more then heretofore hath bine written: the contentes wherof do declare the same in the next two pages following the mathematicks,* (London: by E. White the assigne of James Roberts, 1601), ESTC S125598. ProQuest Ebook, http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.882003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:99892991

Pond, Edward, *Enchiridion, or, Pond his Eutheca 1604 a new almanacke for this present yeare of our Lord MDCIIII, being bissextile or leape yeare: calculated for the latitude and meridian of the honorable cittie of London & generally for all England : amplified with divers additions as well canonicall & historicall as astronomicall & phisicall: beneficiall to all men that well doth use them, not hurtfull to any that doth not abuse them by Edward Pond*, (London: By E. Allde, 1604), ESTC S82. ProQuest Ebook, http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.882003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:21494273

Pond, Edward, *A president for prognosticators. An almanacke for the yeare of Christ 1610. current. Being the second after leap yeare: Calculated for the citty of London, and generally for all*

England. By Edward Pond, (London: For the Company of stationers, 1610), ESTC S122257 ProQuest Ebook, http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.882003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:44920259

Pond, Edward, *A new prognostication for the yeare of our Lord Christ 1626. Beeing the second after the leape yeare whereunto is added a plaine and perfect almanack for more then two yeares from the nativity of Christ shewing for every yeare, past, present, or to come, all things whatsoever is usually contained in a yearly almanacke. calculated by Edward Pond, for the auncient burrough towne of Stanford,* (Cambridge: Printed by the Printers to the Universitie, 1626), ESTC S90202, ProQuest Ebook, http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.882003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:72797955

Pond, Edward, *A new almanack for the yeare of our Lord Christ MDCXXX. Being the second after leap-yeare; and since the conquest by Duke William 564. Again amplified with many things of very good use, both for pleasure and profit, not heretofore published. Exactly calculated according to art by Edward Pond, for the ancient citie of Peterburgh,* (Cambridge: Printed by the Printers to the Universitie of Cambridge, 1630), ESTC S122362 ProQuest Ebook, http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.882003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:838153892

Pond, Edward, *An almanack for the yeare of our Lord Christ MDCXL. Being the bissextile or leap-yeare: and since creation of the world. 5589. Lately amplified with many things of very good use both for pleasure and profit. Exactly rectified according to art by Edward Pond,* (Cambridge: Printed by Thomas Buck, one of the Printers to the Universitie of Cambridge. And are to be sold by William Harris, in Colemanstreet in London, 1640), ESTC S90210. ProQuest Ebook, http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.882003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:838168025

Ranger, Philip, *an almanacke serving for the yeare of our Lord MDCXVII, being the yeare from the worlds creation 5579, & the first from the leap yeare: calculated and properly referred to the paralell and meridian of the honourable citty of Yorke, where the pole is mounted above the horizon 54. deg. 20. mi., and may serve without sensible error all the parts of Great Brittaine which lie betwixt the rivers of Trent and Tweed by Phillip Ranger,* (London: For the Company of Stationers, 1617), ESTC S2447. ProQuest Ebook, http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.882003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:24206507

Ranger, Philip, *a new almanacke and prognostication for the yeere of our Lord God 1627, being from the worlds creation 5576 and the third after leape yeare: calculated and properly referred to the meridian of the honourable citie of Yorke, where the pole is raysed above the*

horizon 54. degrees, 20. minutes, and whose longitude is reckoned 22. degrees, 25 minutes so that it may well serve for all eclipses and aspects for the honourable city of London without any sensible errour. by Philip Ranger, (London: Printed for the Companie of Stationers, 1627), ESTC S85. ProQuest Ebook, http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.882003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:21498326

Rudston, John, *an almanacke and prognostication for the yeare of our Lord God 1617, being the first after the bissextill or leap yeare: calculated for the meridian and latitude of the city of London, and may well serve for this whole monarchie of Great Brittaine: whereunto is added many necessary rules, tables & directions never before published by any by John Rudston*, (London: For the Company of Stationers, 1617), ESTC S2451. ProQuest Ebook, http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.882003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:24220384

Rudston, John, *a new almanacke and prognostication for the yere of grace 1627, being the third after bissextile or leap-yeare: calculated for the meridian and latitude of the honourable city of London, and may well serve for the whole monarchy of Great Britaine: wherunto are added many necessary rules, tables and directions not heretofore published, by John Rudston,* (London: Printed for the Company of Stationers, 1627), ESTC S93. ProQuest Ebook, http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.882003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:21500020

Smith, Reinold, *a new almanacke and prognostication with the forraine computation, serving for the yeare of our Lord God 1622, being the second after the bissextile or leape-yeare: calculated for the latitude and meridian of the most honourable citie of London, and may well serve for all the south parts of Great Brittaine by Reinold Smith*, (London: Printed for the Company of Stationers, 1622), ESTC S2458. ProQuest Ebook, http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.882003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:24222253

Sofford, Arthur, *a new almanacke and prognostication for the yeare of our Lord God 1618, being the second from the bissextile or leape-yeare: calculated and precisely verified for the latitude and meridian of the most honourable citie of London, where the pole is exalted 51 degr. and 34 min. and may very well serve for most parts of Great Britaine, by Arthur Sofford,* (London: Printed for the Company of Stationers, 1618), ESTC 515. ProQuest Ebook, http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.882003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:24222466

Sofford, Arthur, *a new almanacke and prognostication for the yeare of our Lord God 1620, being bissextile or leape-yeare: calculated for the latitude and meridian of the most honorable citty of London, where the pole is exalted 51 grad. and 32 min. and may very well serve for*

most parts of Great Brittaine, by Arthur Sofford, (London: Printed for the Company of Stationers, 1620), ESTC S2460. ProQuest Ebook, http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.882003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:24222617

Sofford, Arthur, *a new almanacke and prognostication for the yeere of our Lord God 1623, being the third from the bissextile or leape-yeare: calculated for the latitude and meridian of the most honorable city of London, where the pole is exalted 51 degr. and 32 min. and may very well serve for most parts of Great Britaine,* (London: Printed for the Company of Stationers, 1623), ESTC S2462. ProQuest Ebook, http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.882003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:24223573

Sofford, Arthur, *a new almanacke and prognostication for the yeare of our Lord God 1625, being the first from the bissextile or leape yeare: calculated for the latitude and meridian of the most honourable citie of London, where the pole is exalted aboue the horizon 51 deg. and 32 min. and may very well serve for most parts of Great Britaine,* (London: Printed for the Company of Stacioners, 1625), ESTC S2463. ProQuest Ebook, http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.882003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:24225527

Sofford, Arthur, *a new almanacke and prognostication for the yeere of our Lord God 1630, being the second from the bissextile or leape yeere: calculated for the latitude and meridian of the most honourable cittie of London, where the pole is elevated aboue the horizon 51. degrees and 32. minutes, and may very well serve for the most parts of Great Britaine by Arthure Sofford*, (London: Printed for the Company of Stationers, 1630), ESTC S101. ProQuest Ebook, http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.882003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:21504772

Sofford, Arthur, *a new almanack, and prognostication, for the yeere of our Lord God, 1640, being the bissextile, or leap-yeare: calculated especially for the latitude and meridian of the most honourable city of London, but may very well serve for most parts of Great Brittain by Arthur Sofford philomathist,* (London: Printed by R. O. for the Company of Stationers, 1640), ESTC S123565. ProQuest Ebook, http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.882003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:21999049

White, John, *A new almanacke and prognostication, for the yeare of our Lord God. 1613. Being the third from leape-yeere. Composed for the meridian of the most famous cittie of London, and will serve generally for the monarchie of Great Brittaine. By John White*, (London: For the Company of Stationers, 1613), ESTC S90259. ProQuest Ebook,

http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.882003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:76698166

White, John, *a new almanacke and prognostication for the yeare of our Lord God 1618, being the second after ye leap yeare: composed for the meridian of the most honorable citty of London, and will serve generally for the monarchie of Great Brittaine by John White*, (London: For the Company of Stationers, 1618), ESTC S2478. ProQuest Ebook, http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.882003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:24231603

White, John, *a new almanack and prognosticatio[n] for the yeare of our Lord God 1620, being the bissextile or leape yeare: calculated for the meridian of the most honorable citty of London, & will serve generally for the monarchy of Great Brittaine by John White,* (London: Printed for the Company of Stationers, 1620), ESTC S629. ProQuest Ebook, http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.882003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:24233159

White, John, *a new almanacke and prognostication for the yeere of our Lord God 1625, being the next after the bissextile or leape yeere: calculated for the meridian of the most honorable citie of London and will serve generally for the monarchie of Great Brittaine by John White*, (London: Printed for the Companie of Stationers, 1625), ESTC S114. ProQuest Ebook, http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.882003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:21509737

White, John, *A new almanacke and prognostication for the yeere of our Lord God. 1630. being the second after bissextile, or leape yeere. Calculated for the meridian of the most honourable city of London, and will serve generally for the monarchie of great Britaine. By John White, wel-willer to the mathematicks,* (London: printed for the Companie of Stationers, 1630). ESTC S124628. ProQuest Ebook, http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.882003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:99898958

White, John, *a new almanacke and prognostication for the yeere of our Lord God 1635, being the third after the leape-yeere: calculated for the meridian of the most honorable citie of London, and will serve generally for the monarchie of Great Britaine by John White,* (London: Printed by William Stansby for the Company of Stationers, 1635), ESTC S2482. ProQuest Ebook, http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.882003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:24233673

White, John, *a new almanacke and prognostication, for the yeere of our Lord God, 1640, being the bissextile or leape-yeare: calculated for the meridian of the most honourable citie of London, and will serve generally for the monarchy of Great Britaine by John White, welwiller to the mathemat,* (London: Imprinted by F.K. for the Company of Stationers, 1640), ESTC S630. ProQuest Ebook, http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.882003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:22038501

Wilson, Jeffrey, *A new almanacke and prognostication for the yeere of our Lord God M. DC. XXV. Being the first from bissextile or leape-yeere. Containing the change fulls, and quarters of the moone: the aspects of the planets, with the inclination of the ayre. Properly referred to the parallel of the most honorable citie of London elev. poli 51 grad 32. By Jeffery Wilson philomath,* (London: Printed for the Company of Stationers, 1625), ESTC S90268. ProQuest Ebook, http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.882003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:751969699

Wilson, Jeffrey, *A new almanacke and prognostication for the yeare of our Lord God. 1626. Being the second after bissextile or leape-yeare. Containing the changes, fulls, and quarters of the moone, the aspects of the planets, with the inclination of the aire for every quarter, properly referred to the meridian of the famous city of London, Elev: poli 51. gra. 32 min,* (London: printed for the Company of Stationers, 1626), ESTC S124494. ProQuest Ebook, http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.882003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:99899136

Wilson, Jeffrey, *a new almanacke and prognostication, for the yeere of our Lord God, 1633, being the first after the leape yeere: containing sundry rules and directions necessary for most sorts of men: calculated especially for the latitude of the honorable city of London, being 51. degrees 30. minutes, but indifferently serving for the whole kingdome of Great Btitaine by Jeffery Wilson*, (London: Printed for the Company of Stationers, 1633), ESTC S631. ProQuest Ebook, http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.882003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:22038773

Wilson, Jeffrey, *a new almanacke and prognostication for the yeere of our redemption 1634, being the second after leape yeere: wherein is contained many things concerning the state of the yeer, amongst the rest, the time of the rising of the moone, a thing not heretofore published in the same kind, very necessary for all sorts of men: faithfully supputated for the meridian and inclination of London but indifferently serving most of the northernerne and souththerne parts of England Galfrido Wilsono,* (London: Printed for the Company of Stationeres, 1634). ESTC S1478. ProQuest Ebook, http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.882003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:20186394

Woodhouse, William, *an almanacke and prognostication for the yeare of our Redemption MDCII: necessary for all men, chiefly for gentlemen, lawyers, marchants, mariners, husbandmen, travellers, artificers, and all other: faithfully supputated for the meridian and inclination of London by William Woodhouse,* (London: For E. White the assigne of James Roberts, 1602), ESTC S2494. ProQuest Ebook, http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.882003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:24237833

Woodhouse, William, *new almanack and prognostication for the yeere of our redemption M.DC.IIII: necessary for all men, chiefely for gentlemen, lawyers, marchants, mariners, husbandmen, travellers, artificers, and all other: faithfully supputated for the meridian and inclination of London by William Woodhouse,* (London: For the assignes of James Roberts, 1604), ESTC S95968. ProQuest Ebook, http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.882003&res_id=xri:e<ebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:21514348>

Woodhouse, John, *An almanacke and prognostication, for the yeere of our Lord God 1624. Being bissextile or leape yeare: Containing sundrie rules, notes and directions, necessary for most sorts of men, serving indifferently for all this kingdome of Great Britaine, but more specially for the southerne parts ad latitudinis gradum 52. By John Woodhouse philomath*, (London: Printed for the Companie of Stationers, 1624), ESTC S125787. ProQuest Ebook, http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.882003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:60449073

Woodhouse, John, *An almanacke and prognostication for the yeere of our Lord God 1625. being the first after the bissextile or leape yeere. Contayning sundry rules, notes, and directions, necessary for most sorts of men, serving indifferently for all this kingdome of Great Britaine, but more especially for the Southerne parts ad latitudinis gradum, 52. Whereunto is annexed, and diarily compared, the new kalender, of the Romans, usefull for all, whosoever, shal have cause to travell, trade, or traffique into any nation, which hath received the same. By John Woodhouse Philomath,* (London: Printed for the Companie of Stationers., 1625), ESTC S90270. ProQuest Ebook, http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.882003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:751969700

Wybard, John, *an almanacke and prognostication with the forraine raine [sic] computation, serving for the yeare of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, 1636, being bissextile or leape yeare: collected, composed and especially referred to the meridian and inclination of the most honourable city of London, whose graduation is for latitude 51 degrees 34 minutes, longitude 25 degrees 50 minutes, and may serve (without sensible errour) any part of this kingdome, in which you may behold the state and disposition of the whole yeare by John Wyberd*, (London: Printed by Mary Dawson for the Company of Stationers, 1636), ESTC S2495. ProQuest Ebook,

http://gateway.proquest.com/openurl?ctx_ver=Z39.882003&res_id=xri:eebo&rft_id=xri:eebo:citation:24237947.

Appendix 2 - Ballads

Ballads have been placed in an appendix and a numbering system used for ease of reference, as explained in footnotes. Unless otherwise stated, ballads were accessed from the English Broadside Ballad Archive and Early English Books Online. The advantages and strengths of these websites are discussed fully in chapter two (p.52).

1. Anon, *A brave warlike Song. Containing a briefe rehearsall of the deeds of Chivalry, performed by the Nine Worthies of the world, the seaven Champions of Christendome, with many other remarkable Warriours*, (London: for Fr Coules), Magdalene College – Pepys Ballads 1.88-89, ESTC S124610, EBBA 20277

2. Anon, *Cheapsides Triumphs, and Chyrones Crosses Lamentation,* (Printed for F. Coules, at the upper end of the Old Baily), Magdalene College – Pepys Ballads 1.66-67, ESTC S3138, EBBA 20266

3. Anon, *A Courtly new Ballad of the Princely wooing of the faire Maid of London, by King Edward,* (London: Printed for Henry Gosson), British Library – Roxburghe C.20.f.7.58, ESTC S121097, EBBA 30042

4. Anon, *Death's Dance,* (London: Printed at London for H. Gosson), Magdalene College – Pepys Ballads 1.56-57, ESTC S113479, EBBA 20263

5. Anon, *Dice, Wine and Women OR The unfortunate Gallant gull'd at London,* (London: Printed for T.L), Magdalene College – Pepys Ballads 1.200-201, ESTC S126226, EBBA 20089

6. Anon, *The Honour of a London Prentice. Being an Account of his matchless Manhood and brave Adventures, done by him in Turkey, and by what means he married the King's Daughter of the same Country, &c,* (London: Printed by and for A.M. and sold by the Booksellers of Pye corner and London-bridge), National Library of Scotland, Crawford.EB.944, ESTC R178113, EBBA 33439

7. Anon, *A Lamentable BALLAD of the Earl of ESSEX's Death,* (London: Printed for A.M. W.O. and T. Thackeray, at the Angel in Duck lane), Beinecke Library - Michell-Jolliffe, Shelfmark 2000, Folio 6 288, , ESTC R217611, EBBA 35962

8. Anon, *A lamentable Dittie composed upon the death of Robert Lord Devereux late Earle of Essex, who was beheaded in the Tower of London, upon Ash wednesday in the morning. 1601,* (London: for Margret Allde, and are to be solde at the long shop under Saint Mildreds Church in the Poultry, 1603), Huntington Library – Britwell, Shelfmark HEH 18290, ESTC S121738, EBBA 32221

9. Anon, *The lamentable fall of Queene Elnor, who for her pride and wickednesse, by Gods judgment, sunke into the ground at Charing crosse, and rose up againe at Queene hive,* (London: for William Blackwall), Huntington Library – Britwell HEH 18297, ESTC S121791, EBBA 32230

10. Anon, *Londons Glory, and Whittingtons Renown OR, A Looking-Glass for Citizens of LONDON. Being a Remarkable Story, how Sir Richard Whittington (a poor Boy bred up in Lancashire) came to be three times Lord Mayor of London in three several Kings Reigns, and how his rife was by a Cat, which he sent for a Venture beyond Sea. Together with his Bountiful Gifts and Liberality given to this Honourable City: And the vast Sums of Money he lent the King to maintain the wars in France. And how at a great Feast to which he invited the King, the Queen, and the Nobility, He Generously Burnt the Writings, and freely forgave his Majesty the whole Debt*, (London: Printed for R. Burton at the Horse-shoe in West Smithfield), British Library – Roxburghe C.20.f.9.58-59, ESTC R216022, EBBA 30404

11. Anon, *The Maidens complaint of her Loves inconstancie. Shewing it forth in every degree, Shee being left as one forlone With sorrowes she her selfe to adorne, And seemes for to lament and mourne,* (London: Printed for H.G, c.1601), British Library – Roxburghe C.20.f.7.248-249, ESTC S104413, EBBA 30172

12. Anon, *A merry Progresse to London to see Fashions, by a young Country Gallant, that had more Money then Witte*, (London: Imprinted for J. White, 1615), Magdalene College – Pepys ballads 1.198-199, ESTC S124570, EBBA 20088

13. Anon, *Newes good and New,* (London: Printed for I. Trundle), Magdalene College – Pepys Library, Pepys Ballads 1.210-211, ESTC S126228, EBBA 20094

14. Anon, *A pleasant new Songe of a joviall Tinker,* (London: for I. Trundle), Magdalene College – Pepys Ballads 1.460-461, ESTC S5338, EBBA 20215

15. Anon, *A pleasant Song of the Valiant Deeds of Chivalry, achiev'd by that Noble Knight, Sir Guy of Warwick, who for the love of fair Phillis became a Hermit, and dyed in a Cave of a Craggy Rock, a mile distant from Warwick*, (London: Printed for F. Coles, T. Vere, J. Wright, and J. Clarke), British Library – Roxburghe 3.50, 3.51, Shelfmark C.20.f.9.50-51, ESTC R216017, EBBA 30400

16. Anon, *[?]e pitty, to all people that shall heare of it in [?]ull fire that hapned on London-Bridge, the 11*, Manchester Central Library - Blackletter Ballads BR f 821.04 B49, ESTC S124245, EBBA 36041

17. Anon, *Queen Eleanor's confession Shewing how King Henry, with the Earl Martial, in Fryars Habits, came to her instead of two Fryars from France, which she sent for,* (London: Printed for C. Bates, at the Whitehart, in West Smithfield), British Library, C.22.f.6.(71.), ESTC R227376, EBBA 37691

18. Anon*, A Sorrowfull Song, Made upon the murther and untimely death of Sir Thomas Overbury Knight, w[ho] was poysoned in the Tower of London, by the consent and damnable practices of divers envious persons in this Land,* (London: for I.W), Magdalene College – Pepys Ballads 1.216-217v, ESTC S94542, EBBA 20098

19. Anon, *There's nothing to be had without money, OR Hee that brings mony in his hand Is sure to speed by sea or land, But he that hath no coyne in s purse His fortune is a great deale worse, Then happy are they that alwayes have A penny in purse their credit to save,* (London: Printed for H.G), British Library – Roxburghe, Pages 1.400, 1.401, C.20.f.7.400-401, ESTC S119971, EBBA 30275

20. Anon, *Truths Integrity: or A curious Northerne Ditty, called, Love will finde out the way*, (London: for F Coules), British Library – Roxburghe Pages 1.426, 1.427, Shelfmark C.20.f.7.426-427, ESTC S102032, EBBA 30290

21. Anon, *A Whetstone for Lyers. A Song of strange wonders, beleeue them, if you wil, As true as some Stories that Travellers tell*, (Printed for Francis Groue, dwelling on Snow-hill), Magdalene College – Pepys Library, Ballad 1.466-467r, ESTC S126301, EBBA 20218

22. Anon, *The wofull lamentation of Mistris Jane Shore a Goldsmiths wife of London, sometimes K. Edwards Concubine, who for her wanton life came to a most miserable end. Set forth for an example to all lewd women*, (London: printed by G.P), Manchester Central Library - Blackletter Ballads BR f 821.04 B49, ESTC S124241, EBBA 36025

23. Anon, *The Worldlings Farewell: Or The State of a Dying-Man, who had alwayes preferred Temporal before Eternal Things, the Flesh before the Spirit,* (London: Printed for W. Thackeray, T. Passenger, and W. Whitwood), Magdalene College – Pepys Ballads 2.15, ESTC R234241, EBBA 20641

24. Deloney, Thomas, *A new Sonnet, containing the Lamentation of Shore's Wife, who was sometimes Concubine to King Edward the Fourth; setting forth her great Fall, and withal her most miserable and wretched end, in The Garland of Good-Will Divided into Three Parts: Containing Many Pleasant Songs and Pretty Poems to Sundry New Notes: With a Table to Find the Names of all the Songs Written by T.D*, (London: Printed for J. Wright, 1678), ESTC S91636.

25. Ford, Edward, *A merry Discourse betweene Norfolke Thomas, and Sisly Standtoo't his Wife; Together with their thanklesse journey from Norfolk to London, onely to see their friends, and how they doe respect and entertaine 'um for their love and labour. Which shewes that this same Age most certaine true, Is onely for to aske yee how ye doe,* (London: Printed by M.P. for F.C, 1638), British Library – Roxburghe, pages 1.270, 1.271, C.20.f.7.270-271, ESTC R214480, EBBA 30192

26. Guy, R., *The witty Westerne Lasse OR You maids that with your friends whole nights have spent Beware of back-fallings; for feare of the event,* (London, for F. Coles, 1631), Magdalene College – Pepys Library, Pepys Ballads 1.304-305, ESTC S126244, EBBA 20144

27. Johnson, Richard, *A delightfull song, of the foure famous feasts of England, the one of them ordayned by King Henry the seventh, of the honor of Marchant Taylers, shewing how seaven Kings have bin free of that company, and now mostly graced with the love of our renowned Prince Henry of great Brittaine, in A Crowne Garland of Goulden Roses Gathered Out of Englands Royall Garden. being the Lives and Strange Fortunes of Many Great Personages of this Land. Set Forth in Many Pleasant New Songs and Sonetts Never before Imprinted*, (London: Printed by G. Eld for John Wright and are to be sold at his shop at Christ Church gate, 1612), ESTC S119112.

28. Johnson, Richard, *A Song of Sir Richard Whittington, who by strange fortunes, came to bee thrice Lord Maior of London, with his bountifull guifts and liberallity given to this honorable Citty, in A Crowne Garland of Goulden Roses Gathered Out of Englands Royall Garden. being the Lives and Strange Fortunes of Many Great Personages of this Land. Set Forth in Many Pleasant New Songs and Sonetts Never before Imprinted*, (London: Printed by G. Eld for John Wright and are to be sold at his shop at Christ Church gate, 1612), ESTC 14672.

29. Johnson, Richard, *A Courtly new Song of the Princely wooing of the faire Maide of London by K. Edward, in The Golden Garland of Princely Pleasures and Delicate Delights Wherin is Conteined the Histories of Many of the Kings, Queenes, Princes, Lords, Ladies, Knights, and Gentlewomen of this Kingdome. being most Pleasant Songs and Sonnets to Sundry New Tunes Now most in use: The Third Time Imprinted, Enlarged and Corrected by Rich. Johnson. Devided into Two Parts*, (London: by A. Mathewes for Thomas Langley, and are to be sold at his shop over against the Sarazens Head without Newgate, 1620), ESTC S106558.

30. Parker, Martin, *A new Medley, OR, A Messe of All-together*, (London: printed for H. Gosson), British Library – Roxburghe C.20.f.7.292-293, ESTC S119378, EBBA 30205

31. Parker, Martin, *The Wandring Jews Chronicle: OR The Old Historian His Brief Declaration, Made in a mad fadhion, of each Coronation, That pas'd in this Nation, Since William's Invasion, For no great Occasion, But meer Recreation, To put off Vexation*, (Printed for F. Coles, T. Vere, J. Wright, and J. Clark), British Library – Roxburghe C.20.f.9.47, ESTC R216016, EBBA 30399

32. Parker, Martin, *An excellent new Medley, Which you may admire at (without offence) For every line speakes a contrary sences,* (Printed at London for H.G., c.1625), British Library – Roxburghe C.20.f.7.112, ESTC S124204.

33. Rhodes, Matthew, *The Dismall Day, at the Black-Fryers. Or, A deplorable Elegie, on the death of almost an Hundred Persons, who were lamentably slaine by the fall of a House in the Blacke-Fryers, being all assembled there (after the manner of their Devotions) to heare a Sermon on Sunday-Night, the 26. of October last past. An. 1623,* London, by G. Eld, 1623), Society of Antiquaries of London – Broadsides 3.205, Shelfmark Cab Lib g, ESTC(2nd ed.) / 20961.5, EBBA S3170

Contemporary Printed Works and other Primary Sources

Unless otherwise stated, works listed here were consulted on ProQuest Early English Books Online

Catalogue of Pepys library at Magdalene College Cambridge vol.5: Manuscripts Part ii: Modern, compiled by C.S. Knighton (Suffolk: D.S. Brewer, Rowman and Littlefield, 1981)

A Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London 1554-1640, ed. by Edward Arber vol.3 (London: privately printed, 1875)

Anonymous, *An address to my Lord Mayor* (London: [n.pub.], 1672), ESTC R221006

Anon, *The Book of Sir Thomas More* (Oxford: Malone society, 1911)

Anon, *A Description of Love with Certaine Epigrams, Elegies, and Sonnets: And Also Johnsons Answer to Withers: With The Crie of Ludgate and the Song of the Begger* (London: Printed by Edw. Griffin, 1620), ESTC S91696

Anon, *The Liberty of the Mannor of Stepney in the County of Middlesex* (London: Stationers Index, [n.d]), ESTC S110884

Anon*, The Life and Death of Jack Straw, a notable Rebell in England: Who Was Kild in Smithfield by the Lord Maior of London* (London: by John Danter, and are to be solde by William Barley at his shop in Gratious-street over against Leaden-Hall, 1593), ESTC S111285

Anon, *The True Tragedie of Richard the Third* (London: Printed by Thomas Creede, and are to be sold by William Barley, at his shop in Newgate Market, neare Christ Church doore, 1594), ESTC S111104

Agas, Ralph, 'Agas Map of London', c.1633, London Metropolitan Archives, Main Print Collection, Record No: 34370

Anderson, Anthony, *A Sermon Profitably Preached in the Church Within Her Majesties Honourable Tower, Neere the Citie of London* (London: Printed by Robert Waldegrave, and are to be solde at the signe of the white Horse in Cannon lane, 1586), ESTC S108526

Basse, William, *A Helpe to Discourse: Or, a Miscelany of Merriment* (London: Printed by Bernard Alsop for Leonard Becket, and are to be sold at his shop in the Temple, neere the Church, 1619), ESTC S117185

Beaumont, Francis and Fletcher, John, *The Knight of the Burning Pestle,* ed. by Michael Hattaway (London: A and C Black, 1998)

Bolton, Edmund, *The Cities Advocate* (London: Printed by Miles Flesher for William Lee, at the signe of the Turkes Head next to the Miter and Phoenix in Fleet-street, 1629), ESTC S106271

Boys, John, *An Exposition of the Proper Psalmes Used in our English Liturgie* (London: Imprinted by Felix Kyngston, for William Aspley, 1616), ESTC S106193

Breton, Nicholas, *Machivells Dogge* (London: Printed by Barnard Alsop for Richard Higgenbotham, and are to be solde at his shop at the signe of the Cardinals Hatte, neere S. Sepulchres Church, 1617), ESTC S109778

W. C., *The fatall vesper, or A true and punctuall relation of that lamentable and fearefull accident, hapning on sunday in the afternoone being the 26. of october last, by the fall of a roome in the black-friers, in which were assembled many people at a sermon, which was to be preached by father drurie a iesuite together with the names and number of such persons as therin unhappily perished, or were miraculously preserved* (London: [n.pub],1623), ESTC S109060

Camden, William, *Britannia, or A chorographicall description of the most flourishing kingdomes, England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the ilands adjoyning, out of the depth of antiquitie beautified with mappes of the severall shires of England: written first in Latine by William Camden Clarenceux K. of A. Translated newly into English by Philémon Holland Doctour in Physick: finally, revised, amended, and enlarged with sundry additions by the said author* (London: Printed by F. Kingston, 1637), ESTC S2550

Carleton, George, *A Thankfull Remembrance of Gods Mercy in an Historicall Collection of the Great and Mercifull Deliverances of the Church and State of England, since the Gospell Began here to Flourish, from the Beginning of Queene Elizabeth: Collected by Geo: Carleton, Doctor of Divinitie, and Bishop of Chichester* (London, [n.pub], 1624), ESTC S107513

Chamberlain, John, *The Letters of John Chamberlain,* ed. by Norman Egbert McLure, (Vol. 2), (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1939)

George Chapman, Jonson, Ben, Marston John, *Eastward Hoe*, In *The Works Of John Marston*, vol.3, ed. by A.H. Bullen (London: John C. Nimmo, 1887)

Churchyard, Thomas, *Churchyards challenge* (London: Printed by John Wolfe, 1593), ESTC S104961

Churchyard, Thomas, *A Handeful of Gladsome Verses, Given to the Queenes Majesty at Woodstocke This Prograce* (Oxford: Printed by Joseph Barnes, printer to the Universitie, 1592), ESTC S112587

Churchyard, Thomas, *Howe Shores Wife Kinge Edwarde the fowerthes Concubine, was by king Richard despoyled of al her goodes, and forced to doe open pennaunce: in The Last Part of the Mirour for Magistrates Wherein may be Seene by Examples Passed in this Realme, with Howe Greenous Plagues, Vyces are Punished in Great Princes & Magistrats, and How Frayle and Unstable Worldly Prosperity is Founde, Where Fortune Seemeth most Highly to Favour* (London: In Fleetstreete, neere unto Sainct Dunstanes Church, by Thomas Marsh, 1578), ESTC S104935

Chute, Anthony, *Beawtie Dishonoured Written Under the Title of Shores Wife* (London: Imprinted by J. Windet for John Wolfe, 1593), ESTC S116495

Cornwallis, William, *Essayes of Certaine Paradoxes* (London: Printed by George Purslowe for Th. Thorp, 1616), ESTC S105004

Crimsal, Richard, *The Forlorne Traveller* (London: For F. Coules, 1634), ESTC S108775

Daniel, Samuel, *Delia and Rosamond Augmented Cleopatra* (London: James Roberts and Edward Allde for Simon Waterson, and are to be sold in Paules Church-yarde at the signe of the Crowne, 1594), ESTC S105172

Day, Angel, *The English Secretory*, *Wherin is Contayned, a Perfect Method, for the Inditing of all Manner of Epistles and Familiar Letters, Together With Their Diversities, Enlarged By Examples Under Their Severall Tytles. In Which is Layd Forth a Path-Waye, so Apt, Plaine and Easie, to any Learners Capacity, as the Like Wherof Hath Not At Any Time Heretofore Beene Delivered* (London: Printed by Robert Waldegrave, and are to be solde by Richard Jones, dwelling at the signe of the Rose and the Crowne, neere unto Holburn Bridge, 1586), ESTC S1077

De Chassanion, Jean, *The Theatre of Gods Judgements: or, a Collection of Histories out of Sacred, Ecclesiasticall, and Prophane Authours* (London: printed by Adam Islip, 1597), ESTC S101119

Dekker, Thomas, *Brittannia's Honor Brightly Shining in Severall Magnificent Shewes or Pageants, to Celebrate the Solemnity of the Right Honorable Richard Deane, at his Inauguration into the Maioralty of the Honourable Citty of London, on Wednesday, October 29th 1628. At the Particular Cost, and Charges of the Right Worshipfull, Worthy, and Ancient Society of Skinners. Invented by Tho. Dekker* (London: N. Okes and J. Norton, 1628), ESTC S115219

Dekker, Thomas, *The dead tearme: Or, Westminsters Complaint for Long Vacations and Short Termes Written in Manner of a Dialogue Betweene The Two Cityes London and Westminster* (London: printed by W. Jaggard and are to be sold by John Hodgets at his house in Pauls Churchyard, 1608), ESTC S105243

Dekker, Thomas, *Londons Tempe, or, The Feild of Happines. In Which Feild are Planted Severall Trees of Magnificence, State and Bewty, to Celebrate the Solemnity of the Right Honorable James Campebell, at his Inauguration in to the Honorable Office of Prætorship, or Maioralty of London, on Thursday the 29 of October, 1629. All the Particular Inventions, for the Pageants, Showes of Triumph, both by Water and Land being here fully set downe, at the Sole Cost, and Liberall Charges of the Right Worshipfull Society of Ironmongers* (London: Nicholas Okes, 1629), ESTC S1084

Dekker, Thomas, *Newes From Hell* (London: printed by R. Blower, S. Stafford, and Valentine Simmes for W. Ferebrand, and are to be sold at his shop in Popes head Alley, neere unto the Royall Exchaunge, 1606), ESTC S105254

Dekker, Thomas, *The Shoemaker's Holiday: A comedy,* ed. by Karle Warnke and Ludwig Proescholdt (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1886)

Dekker, Thomas, *Troia-Nova Triumphans: London Triumphing, or, The Solemne, Magnificent, and Memorable Receiving of that Worthy Gentleman, Sir John Swinerton Knight, into the Citty of London, after his Returne From Taking the Oath of Maioralty at Westminster, on the morrow next after Simon and Judes day, being the 29. of October. 1612. All the Showes, Pageants, Chariots of Triumph, with other Devices, (both on the water and land) here fully expressed. By Thomas Dekker* (London: printed by Nicholas Okes, and are to be sold by John Wright dwelling at Christ Church-gate, 1612), ESTC S105286

Deloney, Thomas, *The Garland of Good-Will Divided into Three Parts: Containing Many Pleasant Songs and Pretty Poems to Sundry New Notes: With a Table to Find the Names of all the Songs Written by T.D* (London: Printed for J. Wright, 1678), ESTC S91636

Deloney, Thomas, *The Gentle Craft*, ed. by Alexis F. Lange (Berlin: Mayer and Moller, 1903)

Dorrell, Henry, *Willobie his Avisa: Or the True Picture of a Modest Maid, and of a Chast and Constant Wife* (London: by John Windet, 1594), ESTC S111748

Drayton, Michael, *The Second Part, or a Continuance of Poly-Olbion From the Eighteenth Song* (London: Printed by Augustine Mathewes for John Marriott, John Grismand, and Thomas Dewe, 1622), ESTC S121637

Fabyan, Robert, *Fabyans Cronycle Newly Prynted, Wyth the Cronycle, Actes, and Dedes Done in the Tyme of the Reygne of the Moste Excellent Prynce Kynge Henry The VII Father unto our Most Drad Souerayne Lord Kynge Henry The VIII to Whom be All Honour, Revere[N]Ce, and Joyfull Contynaunce of his Prosperous Reygne, to the Pleasure of God and Weale of This his Realme Amen (*London: by wyllyam Rastell, 1533), ESTC S121369

Farley, Henry, *The Complaint of Paules, to all Christian Soules: or an Humble Supplication, to our Good King and Nation, for her Newe Reparation* (Cambridge: Printed by Cantrell Legge, 1616), ESTC S4673

Fletcher, Giles, *Licia, or Poemes of love* (Cambridge: printed by John Legat, 1593), ESTC S105618

Forman, Simon, *The Autobiography and Personal Diary of Dr Simon Forman*, ed. by J.O. Halliwell (London: Camden Society, 1849)

Foxe, John, *Actes and Monuments of Matters most Speciall and Memorable, Happenyng in the Church with an Universall History of the Same, Wherein is Set Forth at Large the Whole Race and Course of the Church, from the Primitve Age to these Latter Tymes of Ours, with the Bloudy Times, Horrible Troubles, and Great Persecutions Agaynst the True Martyrs of Christ, Sought and Wrought as Well by Heathen Emperours, as Nowe Lately Practised by Romish Prelates, especially in this Realme of England and Scotland. Newly Revised and Recognised, Partly also Augmented, and Now the Fourth Time Agayne Published and Recommended to the Studious Reader, by the Author (through the Helpe of Christ our Lord) John Foxe, which Desireth Thee Good Reader to Helpe Him with Thy Prayer* (London: imprinted by John Daye, dwellyng over Aldersgate beneath S. Martins, 1583), ESTC S122167

Geoffrey of Monmouth, *History of the Kings of Britain*, trans. by A. Thompson and J. Giles (Ontario: In Parenthesis publications, 1999)

Grafton, Richard, *A Chronicle at Large and Meere History of the Affayres of Englande and Kinges of the Same Deduced from the Creation of the Worlde, Unto the First Habitation of Thys Islande: And so by Contynuance unto the First Yere of the Reigne of our most Deere and Sovereigne Lady Queene Elizabeth: Collected Out of Sundry Aucthors, Whose Names are Expressed in the Next Page of this Leafe* (London: by Henry Denham, dwelling in Paternoster Rowe, for Richarde Tottle and Humffrey Toye, 1569), ESTC S121210

A. H, *An Exact Legendary Compendiously Containing The Whole Life of Alderman Abel, the Maine Proiecter and Patentee for the Raising of Wines. His Apprentiship with a Vintener, Betrothing to his Wife, the Manner of his Rising Reigning, and after Delinquencie, whereby he Stands Liable to a Severe Censure and Penalty in Parliament* (London: [n.pub.] 1641), ESTC R209942

Hall, Edward, *The Union of the Two Noble and Illustre Famelies of Lancastre and Yorke, Beeyng Long in Continual Discension for the Croune of this Noble Realme with all the Actes done in Bothe the Tymes of the Princes, Bothe of the One Linage and of the Other, Beginnyng at the Tyme of Kyng Henry the Fowerth, the First Aucthor of this Devision, and so Successively Proceadyng to the Reigne of the High and Prudent Prince Kyng Henry the Eight, the Undubitate Flower and very Heire of both the Sayd Linages* (London: In officina Richardi Graftoni typis impress, 1548), ESTC S121062

Harrison, Stephen, *The Arch's of Triumph Erected in Honor of the High and Mighty Prince James, the First of that Name King, of England and the Sixt of Scotland at His Majesties Entrance and Passage through His Honorable Citty & Chamber of London. Upon the 15th. Day of March 1603. Invented and Published by Stephen Harrison Joyner and Architect And Graven by William Kip* (London: by John Windet, printer to the honourable citie of London, and are to be sold at the authors house in Lime-street, at the signe of the Snayle, 1604), ESTC S122021

Harvey, Gabriel, *Pierces Supererogation or A New Prayse of the Old Asse* (London: Imprinted by John Wolfe, 1593), ESTC S103899

Harvey, Richard, *Philadelphus, or a Defence of Brutes, and the Brutans History* (London: by John Wolfe, 1593), ESTC S125405

Haughton, William, *Englishmen for My Money or A Woman Will Have Her Way,* ed. by Albert Croll Baugh (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1913)

Heywood, Thomas, *An Apology for Actors Containing Three Briefe Treatises: 1 their Antiquity, 2 their Ancient Dignit,. 3 the True use of their Quality* (London: printed by Nicholas Okes, 1612), ESTC S106113

Heywood, Thomas, *The Famous and Remarkable History of Sir Richard Whittington Three Times Lord Major of London, Who Lived in the Time of King Henry the Fift, in the Year 1419: With all the Remarkable Passages and Things of Note which Hapned [Sic] in His Time, with His Life and Death Written by T.H* (London, printed by W. Wilson, and are to be sold by Frances Coles, 1656), ESTC R10116

Heywood, Thomas, *The First and Second Parts of King Edward IV*, ed. by Richard Rowland, The Revels Plays (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2005)

Heywood, Thomas, *The History of Sir Richard Whittington, by T. H,* ed. by Henry B. Wheatley (London: Villon Society, 1885)

Heywood, Thomas, *If You Know Not Me, You Know Nobody Part I and Part II* (Oxford: Benediction Classics, 2008)

Heywood, Thomas, *Londini Speculum: Or, Londons Mirror Exprest in Sundry Triumphs, Pageants, and Showes, at the Initiation of the Right Honorable Richard Fenn, into the Mairolty [Sic] of the Famous and Farre Renowned City London. all the Charge and Expence of these Laborious Projects both by Water and Land, being the Sole Undertaking of the Right Worshipful Company of the Habberdashers. Written by Tho. Heywood* (London: [n.pub], 1637), ESTC S106211

Heywood, Thomas, *Londini Status Pacatus: or Londons Peaceable Estate Exprest in Sundry Triumphs, Pageants, and Shewes, at the Innitiation of the Right Honourable Henry Garway, into the Majoralty of the Famous and Farre Renowned City London. All the Charge and Expence, of the Laborious Projects both by Water and Land, being the Sole Undertakings of the Right Worshipfull Society of Drapers. Written by Thomas Heywood* (London: by John Okes, 1639), ESTC S104064

Heywood, Thomas, *Porta Pietatis, or The port or Harbour of Piety Exprest in Sundry Triumphes, Pageants, and Showes, at the Initiation of the Right Honourable Sir Maurice Abbot Knight, into the Majoralty of the Famous and Farre Renowned City London. All the Charge and Expence of the Laborious Projects both by Water and Land, being The Sole Undertaking of the Right Worshipfull Company of the Drapers. Written by Thomas Heywood* (London: by J. Okes, 1638), ESTC S104071

Holinshed, Raphael, *The firste [laste] volume of the chronicles of England, Scotlande, and Irelande conteyning the description and chronicles of England, from the first inhabiting vnto the conquest: the description and chronicles of Scotland, from the first original of the Scottes nation till the yeare of our Lorde 1571: the description and chronicles of Yrelande, likewise from the first originall of that nation untill the yeare 1571, faithfully gathered and set forth by Raphaell Holinshed* (London: Imprinted for John Hunne, 1577), ESTC S3985

Jaggard, William, *A View of all the Right Honourable the Lord Mayors of this Honorable Citty of London with the Personages, and also such Chiefe Occasions as Happened in Every Severall Mayors Time, as also their Charitable Gifts are Set Downe, and the Places of their Burials. Beginning at the First Yeare of Her Maiesties Happy Raigne, and Continued unto this Present Yeare 1601, by W.J. of London* (London:[n.pub], 1601), ESTC S109094

Jerome, Stephen, *Englands Jubilee, or Irelands Joyes Io-Paean, for King Charles his Welcome* (Dublin: Printed by the Society of Stationers, 1625), ESTC S103354

Johnson, Richard, *A Crowne Garland of Goulden Roses Gathered Out of Englands Royall Garden. being the Lives and Strange Fortunes of Many Great Personages of this Land: Set Forth in Many Pleasant New Songs and Sonetts Never before Imprinted* (London: printed by G. Eld for John Wright and are to be sold at his shop at Christ Church gate, 1612), ESTC S119112

Johnson, Richard, *The Golden Garland of Princely Pleasures and Delicate Delights Wherin is Conteined the Histories of Many of the Kings, Queenes, Princes, Lords, Ladies, Knights, and Gentlewomen of this Kingdome. being most Pleasant Songs and Sonnets to Sundry New Tunes Now most in use: The Third Time Imprinted, Enlarged and Corrected by Rich. Johnson. Devided into Two Parts* (London: by A. Mathewes for Thomas Langley, and are to be sold at his shop over against the Sarazens Head without Newgate, 1620), ESTC S106558

Johnson, Richard, *The Nine Worthies of London, Explayning the Honourable Exercise of Armes, the Vertues of the Valiant, and the Memorable Attempts Of Magnanimious Minds. Pleasant for Gentlemen, not Unseemly for Magistrates, and most Profitable for Prentises* (London: imprinted by Thomas Orwin for Humfrey Lownes, 1592). ESTC S107397

Johnson, Richard, *The Pleasant Walkes of Moore-fields Being the Fuift Of Two Sisters, Now Beautified, to the Continuing Fame of this Worthy Citty* (London: by W. Jaggard for Henry Gosson, and are to be sold at the signe of the Sun in Paternoster Row, 1607), ESTC S109194

Lloyd, Richard, *A Brief Discourse of the Most Renowned Actes and Right Valiant Conquests of those Puisant Princes, called the Nine Worthies wherein is Declared their Severall Proportions and Dispositions, and What Armes Everie one Gave, as also in what Time ech of them Lived, and how at the Length they Ended their Lives* (London: by R. Warde, dwelling at the signe of the Talbot neere unto Holburne Conduit, 1584), ESTC S119668

Lykosthenes, Konrad, *The Doome Warning all Men to the Judgemente* (London: imprinted by Ralphe Nubery assigned by Henry Bynneman, 1581), ESTC S101062

Lyte, Henry, *The Light of Britayne. A Recorde of the Honorable Originall & Antiquitie of Britaine* (London: printed by J. Charlewood, 1588), ESTC S125490

Machyn, Henry, *The Diary of Henry Machyn, Citizen and Merchant-Taylor of London, 1550-1563,* ed. by JG. Nichols (London: Camden Society, 1848)

Machyn, Henry, *A London Provisioner's Chronicle, 1550–1563, Manuscript, Transcription, and Modernization*, created by Richard W. Bailey, Marilyn Miller, and Colette Moore, <https://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/machyn/> [Accessed 08 June 2022]

Middleton, Thomas, *The Sunne in Aries: A Noble Solemnity Performed through the Citie, at the Sole Cost and Charges of the Honourable and Ancient Fraternity of Drapers, at the Confirmation and Establishment of their most Worthy Brother, the Right Honourable, Edward Barkham, in the High Office of His Majesties Lieutenant, the Lord Maior of the Famous Citie of London. Taking Beginning at His Lordships Going, and Perfecting it*

Selfe After His Returne from Receiving the Oath of Maioralty at Westminster, on the Morrow After Simon Judes Day, being the 29 of October. 1621. by Tho. Middleton, Gent (London, printed by Ed. Allde, for H. Gosson, 1621), ESTC S112596

Middleton, Thomas, *The Triumphs of Health and Prosperity A Noble Solemnity Performed through the City, at the Sole Cost and Charges of the Honorable Fraternity of Drapers, at the Inauguration of their most Worthy Brother, the Right Honorable, Cuthbert Hacket, Lord Major of the Famous City of London* (London: by Nicholas Okes, dwelling in Foster-lane, 1626), ESTC S110007

Middleton, Thomas, *The Tryumphs of Honor and Industry A Solemnity Performed through the City, at Confirmation and Establishment of the Right Honorable, George Bowles, in the Office of His Maiesties Lieuetenant, the Lord Mayor of the Famous Citty of London. Taking Beginning at His Lordships Going, and Proceeding After His Returne from Receiuing the Oath of Maioralty at Westminster, on the Morrow Next After Simon and Judes Day, October 29 1617* (London: printed by Nicholas Okes, 1617), ESTC S112598

Middleton, Thomas, *The Triumphs of Honor and Vertue. A Noble Solemnitie, Performed through the City, at the Sole Cost and Charges of the Honorable Fraternitie of Grocers, at the Confirmation and Establishment of their most Worthy Brother, the Right Honorable Peter Proby, in the High Office of His Majesties Lieutenant, Lord Maior and Chancellor of the Famous City of London. Taking Beginning at His Lordships Going, and Perfecting it Selfe After His Returne from Receiving the Oath of Maioralty at Westminster, on the Morrow After Simon and Judes Day, being the 29 of October, 1622* (London: printed by Nicholas Okes, 1622), ESTC S110012

Middleton, Thomas, *The Triumphs of Integrity A Noble Solemnity, Performed through the City, at the Sole Cost and Charges of the Honorable Fraternity of Drapers, at the Confirmation and Establishment of their most Worthy Brother, the Right Honorable, Martin Lumley, in the High Office of His Majesties Lieutenant, Lord Maior and Chancellor of the Famous City of London. Taking Beginning at His Lordships Going, and Perfecting it Selfe After His Returne from Receiving the Oath of Maioralty at Westminster, on the Morrow After Simon and Judes Day, being the 29 of October. 1623. by Tho. Middleton Gent* (London: printed by Nicholas Okes, dwelling in Foster-lane, 1623), ESTC S110011

Middleton, Thomas, *The Triumphs of Love and Antiquity an Honourable Solemnitie Performed through the Citie, at the Confirmation and Establishment of the Right Honourable Sir William Cockayn, Knight, in the Office of His Majesties Lieutenant, the Lord Maior of the Famous Citie of London. Taking Beginning in the Morning at His Lord-Ships Going, and Perfecting Itselfe After His Returne from Receiving the Oath of Mayoralty at Westminster, on the Morrow After Symon and Judes Day, October 29. 1619. by Tho: Middleton Gent* (London: printed by Nicholas Okes, 1619), ESTC S119886

Middleton, Thomas, *The Triumphs of Truth A Solemnity Unparaleled for Cost, Art, and Magnificence at the Confirmation and Establishment of that Worthy and True Nobly-*

Minded Gentleman, Sir Thomas Middleton, Knight, in the Honorable Office of His Majesties Lieuetenant, the Lord Maior of the Thrice Famous Citty of London. Taking Beginning at His Lordships Going and Proceeding After His Returne from Receiving the Oath of Maioralty at Westminster, on the Morrow Next After Simon and Judes Day, October 29. 1613. All the Showes, Pageants, Chariots, Morning, Noone, and Night Triumphes. Directed, Written, and Redeem'd into Forme, from the Ignorance of some Former Times, and their Common Writer, by Thomas Middleton (London: Printed by Nicholas Okes, 1613), ESTC S119885

More, Thomas, *The Historie of the Pitifull Life, and Unfortunate Death of Edward the Fifth, and the then Duke of Yorke, His Brother with the Troublesome and Tyrannical Government of Usurping Richard the Third, and His Miserable End Written by the Right Honorable Sir Thomas Moore* (London: printed by Thomas Payne for the Company of Stationers, and are to be sold by Mich. Young, 1641), ESTC R221380

Munday, Anthony, *A Briefe Chronicle, of the Successe of Times, from the Creation of the World, to this Instant* (London: printed by W. Jaggard, printer to the Honourable Citty of London, and are to be sold at his house in Barbican, 1611), ESTC S112963

Munday, Anthony, *Chruso-thriambos: The Triumphes of Golde. At the Inauguration of Sir James Pemberton, Knight, in the Dignity of Lord Maior of London: on Tuesday, the 29. of October. 1611. Performed in the Harty Loue, and at the Charges of the Right Worshipfull, Worthy and Ancient Company of Golde-smithes. Devised and written by A.M. cittizen and draper of London* (London: imprinted by William Jaggard, printer to the Honourable Citty of London, 1611), ESTC S124580

Munday, Anthony, *Chrysanaleia: the Golden Fishing: or Honour of Fishmongers* (London: by George Purslowe, 1616), ESTC S112982

Munday, Anthony, *Himatia-Poleos. The Triumphs of Olde Draperie, or the Rich Cloathing of England: Performed in Affection, and at the Charges of the Right Worthie and First Honoured Companie of Drapers: at the Enstalment of Sr. Thomas Hayes Knight, in the High Office of Lord Maior of London, on Satturday, being the 29 day of October, Devised and Written by A.M. Citizen and Draper of London* (London: printed by Edward Allde, 1614), ESTC S120605

Munday, Anthony, *Metropolis Coronata, the Triumphes of Ancient Drapery: or Rich Cloathing of England, in a Second Yeeres Performance In Honour of the Advancement of Sir John Jolles, Knight, to the High Office of Lord Maior of London, and taking his oath for the same authoritie, on Monday, being the 30. day of October 1615. Performed in Heartie Affection to him, and at The Bountifull Charges of his Worthy Brethren the Truely Honourable Society of Drapers, the First that Received Such Dignitie in this Citie. Devised, and Written, by A.M. Citizen, and Draper of London* (London: by George Purslowe, 1615), ESTC S112990

Munday, Anthony, *The Triumphes of Re-United Britania. Performed at the cost and charges of the Right Worship: Company of the Merchant-Taylors, in honor of Sir Leonard Holliday kni: to Solemnize his Entrance as Lorde Mayor of the Citty of London, on Tuesday the 29. of October. 1605, Devised and written by A. Mundy, cittizen and draper of London* (London: by W. Jaggard, 1605), ESTC S113000

Nashe, Thomas, *The Apologie of Pierce Pennilesse. Or, Strange Newes, of the Intercepting Certaine Letters* (London: by John Danter, dwelling in Hosse-Lane neere Holburne Conduit, 1593), ESTC S103117

Nelson, Thomas, *The Device of the Pageant Set Forth by the Worshipfull Companie of the Fishmongers, for the Right Honorable John Allot: Established Lord Maior of London, and Maior of the Staple for this Present Yeere of our Lord 1590,* (London: S.n, 1590), ESTC S120997

Niccols, Richard, *Londons Artillery* (London: printed by Thomas Creede, and Bernard Allsopp, for William Welby, and are to be sold at his shop in Paules Church-yard at the signe of the Swan, 1616), ESTC S113204

Ogle, John, *The Lamentation of Troy, for the Death of Hector* (London: printed by Peter Short for William Mattes, 1594), ESTC S110186

Overton, John *The Common Cryes of London*, c.1640, paper, 178 x253 mm, <https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/P_I-7-86> [accessed 14 May 2019]

Peele, George, *The Device of the Pageant Borne before Woolstone Dixi Lord Maior of the Citie of London. an. 1585* (London: by Edward Allde, 1585), ESTC S100368

Peele, George, *The Famous Chronicle of King Edward the first, sirnamed Edward Longshankes, with his Returne From the Holy Land. Also the Life Of Llevellen Rebell in Wales. Lastly, the sinking of Queene Elinor, who sunck at Charingcrosse, and rose againe at Potters-hith, now named Queenehith* (London: printed by Abell Jeffes, and are to be solde by William Barley, at his shop in Gratious streete, 1593), ESTC S110371

Penkethman, John, *Artachthos or A new booke Declaring the Assise or Weight of Bread not Onely by Troy Weight, According to the Law, but by Avoirdupois Weight the Common Weight of England at what Price Soever, not Exceeding Five Pound the Quarter Of Wheate, Shall be Sold in the Market and Conteining Divers Orders and Articles Made and set forth by The Right Honourable The Lords And Others Of His Majesties Most Honourable Privie Councell, for the Making and Assising of all Sorts Of Bread Lawfull and Vendible, Within This Realme ... Whereunto is Prefixed a Briefe and Plaine Introduction to the Art of Numeration. and Lastly Hereunto Is Added a True Relation or Collection of the Most Remarkeable Dearths and Famines which Have Happened in England Since the Comming in of William The Conquerour, as Also the Rising and*

Falling of the Price of Wheate and Other Graine, With the Severall Occasions thereof (London: Printed by Edward Griffine and R. Bishop and are to be sold at the stationers shops, or at the chamber of John Penkethman in Simonds Inn in Chancerie lane, 1638), ESTC S114433

Pepys, Samuel, *The Diary of Samuel Pepys. Vol. 8: 1668-9*, ed. by Robert Latham and William Matthews (London: Harper Collins, 1971)

Robinson, Richard, *The Auncient Order, Societie, and Unitie Laudable, of Prince Authure, and His Knightly Armory of the Round Table with a Threefold Assertion Frendly in Favour and Furtherance of English Archery at this Day. Translated and Collected by R.R* (London: imprinted by R. Jones for John Wolfe dwelling in Distaffe lane neere the signe of the Castle, 1583), ESTC S100245

Shakespeare, William, *Henry VI: Part II,* ed. by Norman Sanders (London: Penguin classics, 2015)

Shakespeare, William, *King Richard III,* ed. by Janis Lull (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009)

Shirley, James, *The Constant Maid: A Comedy* (London: printed by J. Raworth for R. Whitaker, 1640), ESTC S117315

Slatyer, William, *The History of Great Britanie* (London: printed by W: Stansby, for Rich: Meighen, and are to be sold at his shop at St. Clements Church, 1621), ESTC S117415

Slatyer, William, *Psalmes, or Songs of Sion* (London: printed by Robert Young, 1631), ESTC S113750

Speed, John, *The History of Great Britaine under the Conquests of the Romans, Saxons, Danes and Normans* (London: by William Hall and John Beale, to be solde by John Sudbury & Georg Humble, in Popes-head alley at the signe of the white Horse, 1611), ESTC S117937

Speed, John, *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britaine* (London: by William Hall and are to be solde by John Sudbury & Georg Humble, in Popes-head alley at the signe of the white Horse, 1612), ESTC S117937

Stow, John, *The Abridgement Or Summarie of the English Chronicle, First Collected by Master John Stow, and After Him Augmented with Sundry Memorable Antiquities, and Continued with Maters Forrein and Domesticall, Unto this Present Yeare 1607* (London: Printed by John Windet for the companie of Stacioners, 1607), ESTC S117859

Stow, John, *The Abridgement of the English Chronicle, First Collected by M. John Stow, and After Him Augmented with very Many Memorable Antiquities, and Continued with Matters Forreine and Domesticall, unto the End of the Yeare 1610. by E.H. Gentleman. There is a Briefe Table at the End of the Booke* (London: by N. Okes, W. Hall, and T. Haveland for the Company of Stationers, 1611), ESTC S117861

Stow, John, *The Abridgement of the English Chronicle, First Collected by M. John Stow, and After Him Augmented with very Many Memorable Antiquities, and Continued with Matters Forreine and Domesticall, unto the Beginning of the Yeare, 1618. By E.H. Gentleman*. *There is a Briefe Table at the End of the Booke* (London: by Edward Allde and Nicholas Okes for the Company of Stationers, 1618), ESTC S117863

Stow, John, *Annales, Or, a Generall Chronicle of England. Begun by John Stow: Continued and Augmented with Matters Forraigne and Domestique, Ancient and Moderne, Unto the End of this Present Yeere, 1631. By Edmund Howes, Gent* (London: printed by John Beale, Bernard Alsop, Thomas Fawcett, and Augustine Mathewes impensis Richardi Meighen, 1632), ESTC S117586

Stow, John, *The Chronicles of England from Brute Unto this Present Yeare of Christ 1580* (London: by Henry Bynneman for Ralphe Newberie, at the assignement of Henrie Bynneman: Cum privilegio Regiæ Maiestatis, 1580), ESTC S117590

John Stow, *A Summarie of Englyshe Chronicles Conteynyng the True Accompt of Yeres, Wherein Every Kyng of this Realme of England Began Theyr Reigne, Howe Long they Reigned: And what Notable Thynges Hath Bene Doone Durynge Theyr Reygnes. Wyth also the Names and Yeares of all the Baylyffes, Custos, Maiors, and Sheriffes of the Citie of London, Sens the Conqueste, Dyligentely Collected by John Stow Citisen of London, in the Yere of our Lorde God 1565, Wherunto is Added a Table in the End, Conteynyng all the Principall Matters of this Booke. Perused and Allowed Accordyng to the Quenes Maiesties Injunctions* (London: In ædibus Thomæ Marshi, 1565), ESTC S117862

Stow, John, *The summarie of English chronicles (lately collected and published) nowe abridged and continued tyl this present moneth of Marche, in the yere of our Lord God* (London: [n.pub.], 1566), ESTC S124615

Stow, John, *A Summarie of the Chronicles of Englande Diligently Collected and Continued Unto this Present Yeare of Christ* (London: imprinted by Raph Newberie and Henrie Denham, 1587), ESTC S114857

Stow, John, *A Summarie of the Chronicles of England from the First Arriving of Brute in this Island, Unto this Present Yeere of Christ 1590* (London: by Ralph Newbery, 1590), ESTC S111745

Stow, John, *A Summarie of the Chronicles of England. Diligently Collected, Abridged, & Continued Unto this Present Yeere of Christ, 1598* (London: Imprinted by Richard Bradocke, 1598), ESTC S117864

Stow, John, *A Summarie of the Chronicles of England Diligently Collected, Abridged, and Continued Unto this Present Yeare of Christ, 1604* (London: Imprinted by John Harison, 1604), ESTC S1733

Stow, John, *A Survay of London Contayning the Originall, Antiquity, Increase, Moderne Estate, and Description of that Citie, Written in the Yeare 1598. by John Stow Citizen of London. also an Apologie (Or Defence) Against the Opinion of some Men, Concerning that Citie, the Greatnesse Thereof. with an Appendix, Containing in Latine, Libellum De Situ & Nobilitate Londini: Written by William Fitzstephen, in the Raigne of Henry the Second* (London, [n.pub], 1598), ESTC S117887

Stow, John, *A Survey of London: Reprinted From the Text of 1603*, ed. by C.L. Kingsford (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000)

Stow, John, *The Survey of London Containing the Original, Increase, Modern Estate and Government of that City, Methodically Set Down: with a Memorial of those Famouser Acts of Charity, which for Publick and Pious Uses Have Been Bestowed by Many Worshipfull Citizens and Benefactors: as also all the Ancient and Modern Monuments Erected in the Churches, not only of those Two Famous Cities, London and Westminster, but (now newly added) Four Miles Compass begun first by the Pains and Industry of John Stow, in the year 1598; afterwards Inlarged by the Care and Diligence of A.M. in the year 1618; and now Compleatly Finished by the Study and Labour of A.M., H.D. and others, This Present Year 1633; whereunto, besides Many Additions (as appears by the contents) are annexed Divers Alphabetical Tables, Especially Two, the First, an Index of Things, the Second, a Concordance of Names* (London: printed for Nicholas Bourn, and are to be sold at his shop at the south entrance of the Royal-Exchange, 1633), ESTC S4459

Taylor, John, *The Triumphs of Fame and Honour, Or, the Noble Accomplish'd Solemnity, Full of Cost, Art and State, at the Inauguration and Establishment of the True Worthy and Right Nobly Minded Robert Parkhurst, into the Right Honourable Office of Lord Maior of London the Particularities of Every Invention in all the Pageants, Shewes and Triumphs both by Water and Land, are here Following Fully Set Downe, being all Performed by Loves, Liberall Costs, and Charges of the Right Worshipfull and Worthy Brother-Hood of the Cloth-Workers the 29 of October 1634, Written by John Taylor* (London: [n.pub], 1634), ESTC S5206

Taylor, John, *The Workes of John Taylor the Water-Poet* (London: printed by John Beale, Elizabeth Allde, Bernard Alsop, and Thomas Fawcet for James Boler; at the signe of the Marigold in Pauls Churchyard, 1630), ESTC S117734

Trussel, John *A continuation of The collection of the history of England* (London: Printed by M. Dawson for Ephraim Dawson, and are to bee sold in Fleet-street at the signe of the Rainebowe neere the inner Temple-gate, 1636), ESTC S107345

Wallington, Nehemiah, *The Notebooks of Nehemiah Wallington, 1618-1654,* ed. by David Booy (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007)

Warner, William, *Albions England Or historicall Map of the Same Island: Prosecuted From The Lives, Actes, and Labors of Saturne, Jupiter, Hercules, and Æneas: originalles of the Brutons, and English-men, and Occasion of the Brutons their First Aryuall in Albion. Continuing the Same Historie unto the Tribute to the Romaines, Entrie of the Saxones, Invasion by the Danes, and Conquest by the Normaines. With Historicall Intermixtures, Inuention, and Varietie: Proffitably, Briefly, and Pleasantly, Performed an Verse and Prose by William Warner* (London: by George Robinson and R. Ward for Thomas Cadman, dwelling at the great north-doore of S. Paules Church at the signe of the Byble, 1586), ESTC S111586

Webbe, William, *A Discourse of English Poetrie Together, with the Authors Judgment, Touching the Reformation of our English Verse,* (London: [n.pub], 1586), ESTC S111629

Webster, John, *Monuments of Honor Derived from Remarkable Antiquity, and Celebrated in the Honorable City of London, at the Sole Munificent Charge and Expences of the Right Worthy and Worshipfull Fraternity, of the Eminent Merchant-Taylors. Directed in their most Affectionate Love, at the Confirmation of their Right Worthy Brother John Gore in the High Office of His Majesties Liuetenant Over His Royoll [Sic] Chamber. Expressing in a Magnificent Tryumph, all the Pageants, Chariots of Glory, Temples of Honor, Besides a Specious and Goodly Sea Tryumph, as Well Particularly to the Honor of the City, as Generally to the Glory of this our Kingdome* (London: by Nicholas Okes, 1624), ESTC S111504

Weever, John, *Ancient Funerall Monuments Within the United Monarchie of Great Britaine, Ireland, and the Islands Adjacent with the Dissolved Monasteries Therein Contained: their Founders, and what Eminent Persons Have Beene in the Same Interred. As also the Death and Buriall of Certaine of the Bloud Royall; the Nobilitie and Gentrie of These Kingdomes Entombed in Forraine Nations. A Worke Reviving the Dead Memory of the Royall Progenie, the Nobilitie, Gentrie, and Communaltie, of these his Maiesties Dominions. Intermixed and Illustrated with Variety Of Historicall Observations, Annotations, and Briefe Notes, Extracted out of Approved Authors Whereunto is Prefixed a Discourse of Funerall Monuments Composed by the Studie and Travels of John Weever* (London: printed by Thomas Harper, and are to be sold by Laurence Sadler at the signe of the Golden Lion in little Britaine, 1631), ESTC S118104

Whitney, Isabella, *A Sweet Nosgay, Or Pleasant Posye Contayning a Hundred and Ten Phylosophicall Flowers &c* (London: R Jones, 1573), ESTC S119702

Willet, Andrew, *An Antilogie or Counterplea to An apologicall (he should have said) Apologeticall Epistle Published by a Favorite of the Romane Separation, and (as is supposed) one of the Ignatian Faction* (London: printed by Richard Field and Felix Kingston for Thomas Man, 1603), ESTC S120023

Wright, Benjamin, *The Armes of all the Cheife Corporatons of England Wt. the Companees of London Described by Letters for Ther Severall Collores* (London: Are to be sould at the hartshorne in pater-noster-rowe, 1596), ESTC S122239

Wright, Henry, *The First Part of the Disquisition of Truth, Concerning Political Affaires* (London: printed by Nicholas Okes, 1616), ESTC S120336

Bibliography of Secondary Works

Alsop, J.D., 'William Fleetwood and Elizabethan Historical Scholarship', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 25.1 (1994), 155-176

Anglin, Sally, 'Subject Formation in *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside'*, *Rocky Mountain Review*, 66.1 (2012), 11-31

Appleford, Amy, 'The Good Death of Richard Whittington: Corpse to Corporation', in *The Ends of the Body in Medieval Culture*, ed. by Suzanne Akbari and Jill Ross (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012), pp.86-110

Archer, Ian, 'The Arts and Acts of Memorialization in Early Modern London', in *Imagining Early Modern London: Perceptions and Portrayals of the City From Stow to Strype 1598-1720*, ed. by Julia Merrit (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp.89-113

Archer, Ian, 'Conspicuous Consumption Revisited: City and Court in the Reign of Elizabeth I', in *London and the Kingdom: Essays in Honour of Caroline M. Barron*, ed. by Matthew Davies and Andrew Prescott (Donnington: Shaun Tyas, 2008), pp.38-57

Archer, Ian, 'Discourses of History in Elizabethan and Early Stuart London', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 68. 1-2 (2005), 205-226

Archer, Ian 'Government in Early Modern London: The Challenge of the Suburbs', in *Two Capitals: London and Dublin 1500-1840* (Proceedings of the British Academy 2001), pp.133-147

Archer, Ian 'The Government of London, 1500–1650', *London Journal*, 26.1 (2001), 19-28

Archer, Ian, 'John Stow, Citizen and Historian', in *John Stow and the Making of the English Past,* ed. by Ian Anders Gadd and Alexandra Gillespie (London: British Library, 2004), pp.13-26

Archer, Ian, 'The Livery Companies and Charity in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', in *Guilds, Society and Economy in London 1450-1800,* ed. by Ian Anders Gadd and Patrick Wallis (London: Centre for Metropolitan History, 2002), pp.15-28

Archer, Ian, 'Popular Politics in the Sixteenth and Early Seventeenth Centuries', in *Londinopolis: Essays in the Cultural and Social History of Early Modern London,* ed. by Paul Griffiths and Mark Jenner (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), pp.26-47

Archer, Ian, 'The Nostalgia of John Stow', in *The Theatrical City: Culture, Theatre and Politics in London 1576-1649*, ed. by David Smith, Richard Strier and David Bevington (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp.17-34

Archer, Ian, *The Pursuit of Stability* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991)

Ardolino, Frank, 'The Protestant Context of George Peele's "Pleasant Conceited" *Old Wives Tale'*, *Medieval & Renaissance Drama in England*, 18 (2005), 146-165

Ashe, Dora Jean, 'The Text of Peele's *Edward I*', *Studies in Bibliography,* 7 (1955), 153-170

Atkinson, David, *The Ballad and its Pasts: Literary Histories and the Play of Memory* (Cambridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2018)

Baker, Philip, "London's Liberty in Chains Discovered": The Levellers, the Civic Past, and Popular Protest in Civil War London', *Huntington Library* Quarterly, 76.4 (2013), 559-587

Barbour, Reid, 'Peele, George (bap. 1556, d. 1596), poet and playwright' ODNB, (2022), <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-21768>

Barker, Nicolas, 'Editing the Past: Classical and Historical Scholarship', in *The Cambridge History of the Book: Vol. 4, 1557-1695,* ed. by John Barnard, D.F. Mckenzie and Maureen Bell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), pp.206-228

Barron, Caroline, 'Eyre, Simon (c. 1395–1458), merchant, mayor of London, and civic benefactor', ODNB, (2008), http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-52246>

Barron, Caroline, **'**Chivalry, Pageantry and Merchant Culture in Medieval London**'** in *Collected Papers of Caroline M. Barron*, ed. by Martha Carlin and Joel T. Rosenthal (Medieval Institute Publications: Arc Humanities Press Research in Medieval and Early Modern Culture Medieval Institute Publications, 2017), pp.481-512

Barron, Caroline*, London in the Later Middle Ages: Government and People 1200-1500* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004)

Barron, Caroline, 'Richard Whittington: The Man Behind the Myth', in *Studies in London History*, ed. by Albert Hollaender and William Kellaway (London: Hodder and Staughton, 1969), pp.197-250

Barry, Jonathan, 'Introduction', in *The Middling Sort of People: Culture, Society and Politics in England 1550-1800* ed. by Jonathan Barry and Christopher Brooks (London: Macmillan, 1994), pp.1-27

Bartolovich, Crystal, "London's the Thing": Alienation, the Market, and *Englishmen for My Money'*, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 71.1 (2008), 137-156

Bayer, Mark, 'Heywood's Epic Theater', *Comparative Drama*, 48.4 (2014), 371-391

Bayman, Anna, 'Printing, Learning, and the Unlearned' in *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture, Vol I: Cheap Print in Britain and Ireland to 1600*, ed. by Joad Raymond (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp.77-91

Beaven, Alfred, 'The Aldermen of the City of London Temp. Henry III – 1912' (London: Corporation of the City of London, 1908)

Beer, Barrett, 'English History Abridged: John Stow's Shorter Chronicles and Popular History', *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies*, 36.1 (2004), 12-27

Beer, Barrett, 'John Stow and the English Reformation, 1547-1559', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 16.2 (1985), 257-271

Beier A.L. and Roger Finlay, 'Introduction: The Significance of the Metropolis', in *London 1500-1700: The Making of the Metropolis* (London: Longman, 1986), pp.1-34

Beik, William, 'The Dilemma of Popular History' *Past & Present*, 141 (1993), 207-215

Bergeron, David, 'The Elizabethan Lord Mayor's Show', *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900,* 10.2 (1970), 269-285

Bergeron, David, *English Civic Pageantry* (London: Edward Arnold, 1971)

Bergeron, David, "Munday, Anthony (bap. 1560, d. 1633), playwright and translator", ODNB, (2022), <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-19531>

Berlin, Michael, 'Civic Ceremony in Early Modern London', *Urban History Yearbook,* 13 (1986), 15-27

Berlin, Michael, 'Re-ordering Rituals: Ceremony and the Parish 1520-1640', in *Londinopolis: Essays in the Cultural and Social History of Early Modern London*, ed. by Paul Griffiths and Mark Jenner (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 2000), pp.47-66

Bertelsen, Lance, *'*Popular Entertainment and Instruction, Literary and Dramatic: Chapbooks, Advice Books, Almanacs, Ballads, Farces, Pantomimes, Prints and Shows*',* in *The Cambridge History of English Literature 1660-1780*, ed. by John Richetti (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), pp.61-86

Bevington, David, 'Literature and the Theatre', in *The Cambridge History of Early Modern English Literature,* ed. by David. Loewenstein and Janel Mueller (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), pp.428-456

Blagden, Cyprian, 'The Distribution of Almanacs in the Second Half of the Seventeenth Century', *Studies in Bibliography,* 11 (1958), 107-116

Blanchard, Ian, "Gresham, Sir Thomas (c. 1518–1579)", ODNB, 2008, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-11505>

Boffey, Julia, 'Household Reading for Londoners? Huntington Library MS. HM 140', in *Medieval Londoners: Essays to Mark the Eightieth Birthday of Caroline M. Barron,* ed. by Elizabeth New and Christian Steer (London: University of London Press, 2019)

Bohna, Montgomery, 'Armed Force and Civic Legitimacy in Jack Cade's Revolt, 1450', *English Historical Review*, 118.477 (2003), 563-582

Bold, Alan, *'The Ballad': The Critical Idiom 41* (London: Methuen and Co, 1979)

Bonahue, Edward, 'Citizen History: Stow's Survey of London', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, 38.1 (1998), 61-85

Boulton, Jeremy, 'London 1540–1700', in *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain*: *Vol.2 1540-1840*, ed. by Peter Clark (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), pp.315–46

Boulton, Jeremy, 'Theatrical Cultures in Early Modern London', *Urban History*, 27.1 (2000), 89–104

Broadway, Jan, 'Symbolic and Self-Consciously Antiquarian: The Elizabethan and Early Stuart Gentry's Use of the Past', *Huntington Library* Quarterly, 76.4 (2013), 541-558

Brown, Barbara, ‘Sir Thomas More and Thomas Churchyard's *Shore's Wife’*, *Yearbook of English Studies*, 2 (1972), 41-48

Brown, Felicity ‘A Chivalric Show of Civic Virtue: The Society of Prince Arthur’s Archers’, *Review of English Studies*, 73.308 (2022), 42–58

Brooks, Christopher, ‘Apprenticeship, Social Mobility and the Middling Sort, 1500-1800, in *The Middling Sort of People: Culture, Society and Politics in England 1550-1800,* ed. by Jonathan Barry and Christopher Brooks (London: Macmillan, 1994), pp.52-83.

Peter Burke*, Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe* 3rd ed. (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009)

Burke, Peter, ‘Popular Culture in Seventeenth Century London’, in *Popular Culture in Seventeenth Century England*, ed. by Barry Reay (London: Croom Helm, 1985), pp.31-58

Burke, Peter, ‘Popular History’, in *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture: Vol. I: Cheap Print in Britain and Ireland to 1660,* ed. by Joad Raymond (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011)

Capp, Bernard, *Astrology and the Popular Press: English Almanacs 1500-1800*, (London: Faber &Faber, 1979)

Capp, Bernard, ‘Popular Literature’, in *Popular Culture in Seventeenth Century England*, ed. by Barry Reay (London: Croom Helm, 1985), pp.198-243

Carley, James ‘Polydore Vergil and John Leland on King Arthur: The Battle of the Books’ *Interpretations*, 15.2 (1984), 86-100

Carpenter, John, ‘Placing Thomas Deloney’, *Journal of Narrative Theory*, 36.2 (2006), 125-162

Carrel, Helen, ‘Food, Drink and Public Order in the London *Liber Albus’, Urban History*, 33.2 (2006), 176–194

Chandler, W.K, ‘The Topography of Dekker's *The Shoemaker's Holiday’*, *Studies in Philology*, 26.4 (1929), 499-504

Charlton, Kenneth, ‘"False Fonde Bookes, Ballades and Rimes": An Aspect of Informal Education in Early Modern England’, *History of Education Quarterly*, 27.4 (1987), 449-471

Charlton, Kenneth and Spufford, Margaret, 'Literacy, Society and Education', in *The Cambridge History of Early Modern English Literature,* ed. by David Loewenstein and Janel Mueller (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp.13-54

Chartier, Roger, 'Culture as Appropriation: Popular Cultural Uses in Early Modern France', in *Understanding Popular Culture: Europe from the Middle Ages to the Nineteenth Century,* ed. by Steven Kaplan (New York: Mouton, 1984), pp.229-53

Chi-Fang li, Sophia John Stow's Survey of London (1603) as the principal source for Dekker's Dead Tearme (1608), *Notes and Queries*, 58 (2011), 274-278

Clare, Janet, 'Greater Themes for Insurrection's Arguing': Political censorship of the Elizabethan and Jacobean Stage' *The Review of English Studies,* 38.150 (1987), pp.169-183

Clark, John, 'London Stone: Stone of Brutus or Fetish Stone—Making the Myth', *Folklore*, 121.1 (2010), 38-60

Clark, Peter,' Visions of The Urban Community: Antiquarians And The English City Before 1800' in *The Pursuit of Urban History,* ed. by Derek Fraser and Anthony Sutcliffe (London: Edward Arnold, 1983), pp.105-124

Clark, Peter, and Slack, Paul, *Crisis and Order in English towns I500-I700: Essays in Urban History* (London: Routledge, I972)

Clark, Peter, and Slack, Paul, *English Towns in Transition 1500-1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1976)

Collins, Eleanor, 'Repertory and Riot: The Relocation of Plays from the Red Bull to the Cockpit', *Early Theatre*, 13.2 (2010), 132-149

Collinson, Patrick, 'John Stow and Nostalgic Antiquarianism', in *Imagining Early Modern London: Perceptions and Portrayals of The City From Stow to Strype 1598-1720*, ed. by Julia Merritt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp.27-51

Connolly, Annaliese, 'Guy of Warwick, Godfrey of Bouillon, and Elizabethan Repertory', *Early Theatre*, 12.2 (2009), 207-222

Cook, Anne, *The Privileged Playgoers of Shakespeare's London 1576-1642* (Princeton: Guildford University press, 1981)

Corns, Thomas, 'Literature and London', in *The Cambridge History of Early Modern English Literature*, ed. by David Loewenstein and Janel Mueller (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp.544-564

Corrigan, Nora, 'The Merry Tanner, the Mayor's Feast, and the King's Mistress: Thomas Heywood's 1 *Edward IV* and the Ballad Tradition', *Medieval & Renaissance Drama in England*, 22 (2009), 27-41

Crane, Ronald, 'The Vogue of Guy of Warwick from the Close of the Middle Ages to the Romantic Revival', *PMLA*, 30.2 (1915), 125-194

Cressy, David, *Bonfires and Bells: National Memory and the Protestant Calendar in Elizabethan and Stuart England* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1989)

Cressy, David, 'Book Burning in Tudor and Stuart England', *Sixteenth Century Journal,* 36.2 (2005), 359-374

Cressy, David, *Literacy and the Social Order: Reading and Writing in Tudor and Stuart England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006)

Cressy, David, 'The Protestant Calendar and the Vocabulary of Celebration in Early Modern England', *Journal of British Studies*, 29.1 (1990), 31-52

Dean, Paul, 'Tudor Humanism and the Roman Past: A Background to Shakespeare', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 41.1 (1988), 84-111

DeCoursey, Christina, 'Society of Antiquaries (act. 1586–1607)', ODNB, <https://www-oxforddnb-com.ezproxy.lib.bbk.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-72906>

Deiter, Kristin, "What Citadels, What Turrets, and What Towers": Mapping the Tower of London in Thomas Heywood's Lord Mayors' Shows', *Comparative Drama*, 47.4 (2013), 473-503

Deiter, Kristin, 'Building Opposition at the Early Tudor Tower of London: Thomas More's *Dialogue of Comfort', Renaissance and Reformation,* 38.1 (2015), 27-55

DeMolen, Richard, 'The Library of William Camden', *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, 128.4 (1984), 326-409

Djordjevic, Igor, "No chronicle records his fellow": Reading *Perkin Warbeck* in the Early Seventeenth Century', *Renaissance and Reformation*, 40.2 (2017), 63-102

Dover-Wilson, John and R.W. Hunt, 'The Authenticity of Simon Forman's *Bocke of Plaies*', *Review of English Studies*, 23.91 (1947), 193–200

Dutton, Richard, *Jacobean Civic Pageants* (Bodmin: Keele University Press, 1995)

Dutton, Richard, '"Methinks the truth should live from age to age": The Dating and Contexts of *Henry V*', *Huntington Library* Quarterly, 68. 1-2 (2005), 173-204

Ellinghausen, Laurie, "Their Labour Doth Returne Rich Golden Gaine": Fishmongers' Pageants and the Fisherman's Labor in Early Modern London', *Comparative Drama*, 51.2 (2017), 134-156

Ellis, Jim, 'Archery and Social Memory in Sixteenth Century London', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 79.1 (2016), 21-40

Farmer, Alan and Lesser, Zachary, 'What is print popularity? A Map of the Elizabethan Book Trade', in *The Elizabethan Top Ten: Defining Print Popularity in Early Modern England*, ed. by Andy Kesson and Emma Smith (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2013), pp.125-133

Finlayson, Caitlin, 'Jacobean Foreign Policy, London's Civic Polity, and John Squire's Lord Mayor's Show, ''The Tryumphs of Peace'' (1620)' *Studies in Philology*, 110.3 (2013), 584–610

Foakes, Reginald, 'Playhouses and Players', in *The Cambridge Companion to English Renaissance Drama*, ed. by A.R Braunmuller and Michael Hattaway (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp.1-52

Forbes, John, 'Search, Immigration and the Goldsmiths Company: A Study in the Decline of its Powers', in *Guilds, Society and Economy in London 1450-1800,* ed. by Ian Anders Gadd and Patrick Wallis (London: Centre for Metropolitan History, 2002), pp.115-125

Forker, Charles, 'Royal Carnality and Illicit Desire in the English History Plays of the 1590s', *Medieval & Renaissance Drama in England*, 17 (2005), 99-131

Fox, Adam, 'Ballads, Libels and Popular Ridicule in Jacobean England', *Past & Present*, 145 (1994), 47-83

Fox, Adam, *Oral and Literate Culture in England 1500-1700* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000)

Fox, Liz, "These Very Pictures Will Surmount My Wealth", *Medieval & Renaissance Drama in England*, 32 (2019), 142-162

Fumerton, Patricia, and Guerrini, Anita, 'Straws in the Wind', in *Ballads and Broadsides in Britain, 1500 to 1800,* ed.by Patricia Thomason, Anita Guerrini and Kris McAbee (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), pp.1-9

Gadd, Ian Anders 'Early Modern Printed Histories of the London Livery Companies', in *Guilds, Society and Economy in London 1450-1800,* ed. by Ian Anders Gadd and Patrick Wallis (London: Centre for Metropolitan History, 2002), pp.29-50

Gadd, Ian Anders (ed.), *Guilds, Society and Economy in London, 1450-1800,* ed. by Ian Anders Gadd and Patrick Wallis (London: Centre for Metropolitan History, 2002)

Gadd, Ian Anders (ed.), *John Stow and the Making of the English Past,* ed. by Ian Anders Gadd and Alexandra Gillespie (London: British Library, 2004)

Gadd, Ian Anders and Patrick Wallis, 'Introduction' in *Guilds, Society And Economy in London 1450-1800,* ed. by Ian Anders Gadd and Patrick Wallis (London: Centre for Metropolitan History, 2002), pp.1-14

Gilman Sherman, Anita, 'The Status of Charity in Thomas *Heywood's If You Know Not Me You Know Nobody II'*, *Medieval & Renaissance Drama in England*, 12 (1999), 99-120

Gillespie, Alexandra, 'Stow's 'Owlde' Manuscripts of London Chronicles', in *John Stow and the Making of the English Past,* ed. by Ian Anders Gadd and Alexandra Gillespie (London: British Library, 2004)

Gillespie, Alexandra and Harris, Oliver, 'Holinshed and the Native Chronicle Tradition', in *The Oxford Handbook of Holinshed's Chronicles,* ed. by Paulina Kewes, Ian Archer and Felicity Heal (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp.135-152

Given-Wilson, Chris, *Chronicles: The Writing of History in Medieval England* (London: Hambledon and London, 2004)

Gordon, Andrew. ''If My Sign Could Speak'': The Signboard and the Visual Culture of Early Modern London', *Early Theatre*, 8.1 (2005), 35–51

Gransden, Antonia, *Historical Writing in England II c.1307 to the Early Sixteenth Century* (London: Routledge, 1996)

Griffin, Andrew, 'Thomas Heywood and London Exceptionalism', *Studies in Philology,* 10.1 (2013), 85-114

Griffin, Benjamin, 'Moving Tales: Narrative Drift in Oral Culture and Scripted Theater', *New Literary History*, 37.4 (2006), 725-738

Guerrini, Anita, 'Advertising Monstrosity: Broadsides and Human Exhibition in Early Eighteenth-Century London', in *Ballads and Broadsides 1500–1800,* ed. by Patricia Fumerton and Anita Guerrini (Vermont: Burlington, 2010), pp.109–27

Gurr, Andrew, *Playgoing in Shakespeare's London* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1996)

Gunn, Steven. 'Archery Practice In Early Tudor England', *Past & Present*, 209 (2010), 53–81

Hailwood, Mark, 'Broadside Ballads and Occupational Identity in Early Modern England*', Huntington Library Quarterly*, 79.2 (2016), 187-200

Hall, William, 'A Topography of Time: Historical Narration in John Stow's *Survey of London'*, *Studies in Philology*, 88.1 (1991), 1-15

Hamling, Tara, 'Visual Culture' in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Popular Culture in Early Modern England,* ed. by Andrew Hadfield, Matthew Dimmock and Abigail Shinn (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), pp.75-101

Hanham, Alison. 'The Texts of Thomas More's *Richard III*, *Renaissance Studies*, 21.1 (2007), 62–84

Hanna, Ralph, 'Images of London in Medieval English Literature', in *The Cambridge Companion to the Literature of London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp.19-33

Harbage, Alfred, *Shakespeare and the Rival Traditions* (New York: Macmillan, 1952)

Harding, Vanessa, 'Cheapside: Commerce and Commemoration', *Huntington Library Quarterly,* 71.1 (2008), 77-96

Harding, Vanessa, 'Citizen and Mercer: Sir Thomas Gresham and the Social and Political World of the City of London', in *Sir Thomas Gresham and Gresham College,* ed. by Francis Ames-Lewis (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1999)

Harding, Vanessa, 'Memory, History and the Individual in the Civic Context: Early Modern London', in *Memory, History and Autobiography in Early Modern Towns in East and West* (Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2015), pp.109-120

Harding, Vanessa, 'Pageantry on London Bridge', in *London Bridge: 2000 Years of a River Crossing,* ed. by Watson, B., Brigham, T., Dyson, T. (Suffolk: Museum of London, Lavenham Press, 2001)

Harding, Vanessa, 'The Population of London, 1550–1700: A Review of the Published Evidence', *London Journal*, 15:2 (1990), 111-128

Harding, Vanessa, 'Recent Perspectives on Early Modern London', *Historical Journal,* 47.2 (2004), 435-450

Harner, JL., "The Wofull Lamentation of Mistris Jane Shore": The Popularity of an Elizabethan Ballad', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 71.2 (1977), 137-149

Harris, Jonathan, 'Ludgate Time: Simon Eyre's Oath and the Temporal Economies of *The Shoemaker's Holiday'*, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 71.1 (2008), 11-32

Harris, Oliver, 'Stow and the Contemporary Antiquarian Network', in *John Stow and the Making of the English Past,* ed. by Ian Anders Gadd and Alexandra Gillespie (London: British Library, 2004), pp.27-35

Harris, Tim, 'Problematising Popular Culture', in *Popular Culture in England c.1500-1850,* ed. by Tim Harris (London: Macmillan, 1995), pp.1-27

Hart, Vaughn, 'Inigo Jones's Site Organization at St. Paul's Cathedral: "Ponderous Masses Beheld Hanging in the Air", *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 53.4 (1994), 414-427

Heal, Felicity, 'Appropriating History: Catholic and Protestant Polemics and the National Past', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 68. 1-2 (2005), 109-132

Heal, Felicity and Summerson, Henry, 'The Genesis of the Two Editions', in *The Oxford Handbook of Holinshed's Chronicles* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp.3-20

Herendeen, Wyman, 'William Camden: Historian, Herald, and Antiquary', *Studies in Philology*, 85.2 (1988), 192-21

Highley, Christopher, 'Holinshed and Company', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 77.3 (2014), 361-365

Highley, Christopher, 'Introduction: Exploring Neighbourhoods', *Early Theatre*, 19.2 (2016), 157-166

Hill, Alexandra, 'The Lamentable Tale of Lost Ballads in England, 1557–1640', in *Broadsheets: Single-Sheet Publishing in the First Age of Print,* ed. by Andrew Pettegree (Leiden: Brill, 2017), pp.442–58

Hill, Tracey, *Anthony Munday and Civic Culture*: *Theatre, History and Power in Early Modern London 1580-1633* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2004)

Hill, Tracey, *Pageantry and Power: A Cultural History of the Early Modern Lord Mayor's Show 1585-1639* (Manchester University Press: Manchester, 2011)

Hill, Tracey, 'Festivals' in *Ashgate research companion to popular culture in Early Modern England*, ed. by Andrew Hadfield, Matthew Dimmock and Abigail Shinn (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), pp.43-57

Hill, Tracey, "The Grocers Honour" or Taking the City Seriously in *The Knight of the Burning Pestle' Early Theatre,* 20.2 (2017), 159-178

Hill Curth, Louise, *English Almanacs, Astrology and Popular Medicine 1550-1700* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007)

Hirsh, John, 'Samuel Pepys as a Collector and Student of Ballads', *Modern Language Review*, 106.1 (2011), 47-62

Horrox, Rosemary, "Shore [née Lambert], Elizabeth [Jane] (d. 1526/7?), royal mistress", ODNB, 2004, <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-25451> [Accessed 04 July 2020]

Howard, Jean, *Theater of a City: The Places of London comedy 1598-1642* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania press, 2009)

Howard, Jean and Manley, Lawrence, 'London and the Early Modern Stage', in *The Cambridge Companion to the Literature of London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp.34–49

Houston, Robert, *Literacy in Early Modern Europe* (London: Routledge, 2002)

Hubbard, Eleanor, 'Reading, Writing, and Initialing: Female Literacy in Early Modern London' *Journal of British Studies*, 54 (2015), 553–577

Hunt, William, 'Civic Chivalry and the English Civil War', in *The Transmission of Culture in Early Modern Europe,* ed. by Anthony Grafton and Ann Blair (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990), pp.204-237

Hutton, Ronald, *The Rise and Fall of Merry England: The Ritual Year 1400-1700* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994)

Imray, Jean, *The Charity of Richard Whittington* (London: The Athlone Press, 1968)

Jackson, Peter, *London Bridge* (London: Cassell, 1971)

Johns, Adrian and Manley, Lawrence, 'London and the Early Modern Book', in *The Cambridge Companion to the Literature of London: Cambridge Companions to Literature*, ed. by Lawrence Manley (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), pp.50-56

Jenner, Mark, 'From Conduit Community to Commercial Network? Water in London 1500-1725, in *Londinopolis: Essays in the Cultural and Social History of Early Modern London,* ed. by Paul Griffiths and Mark Jenner (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), pp.250-272

Kastan, David, 'Print, Literary Culture and the Book Trade' in *The Cambridge History of Early Modern English Literature,* ed. by David Loewenstein and Janel Mueller (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp.81-116

Kathman, David, "Heywood, Thomas (c. 1573–1641), playwright and poet", ODNB, (2022), <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-13190>

Kaufman, Alex, 'A Desire for Origins: The Marginal Robin Hood of the Later Ballads', in *Studies in Medievalism XXIV: Medievalism on the Margins,* ed. by Karl Fugelso, Vincent Ferré and Alicia C. Montoya (Suffolk: Boydell & Brewer, 2015)

Kermode, Lloyd Edward, 'Money, Gender, and Conscience in Robert Wilson's *The Three Ladies of London'*, *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900*, 52.2 (2012), 265-291

Kesselring, Krista, 'Representations of Women in Tudor Historiography: John Bale and the Rhetoric of Exemplarity', *Renaissance and Reformation,* 22.2 (1998), 41-61

Kewes, Paulina, 'History and Its Uses: Introduction', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 68.1-2 (2005), 1-31

Kyle, Chris, 'Afterword: Remapping London', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 71.1 (2008), 243-253

Kilburn-Toppin, Jasmine, 'Material Memories of The Guildsmen. Crafting Identities in Early Modern London', in *Memory before Modernity: Practices of Memory in Early Modern Europe,* ed. by Erika Kuijpers, Judith Pollmann, Johannes Müller and Jasper van der Steen (Leiden: Brill, 2013), pp.165-82

Kipling, Gordon, 'Triumphal Drama: Form in English Civic Pageantry', *Renaissance Drama, New Series,* 8 (1977), 37-56

Kurtz, Martha, 'Rethinking Gender and Genre in the History Play', *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900*, 36.2 (1996), 267-87

Kuskin, William, 'Caxton's Worthies Series: The Production of Literary Culture', *ELH*, 66.3 (1999), 511-51

Ladd, Roger, 'Thomas Deloney and the London Weavers' Company', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 32.4 (2001), 981–1001

Lamb, Edel, 'Youth Culture', in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Popular Culture in Early Modern England,* ed. by Andrew Hadfield, Matthew Dimmock and Abigail Shinn (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), pp.31-42

Lancashire, Anne, London *Civic Theatre: City Drama and Pageantry from Roman Times to 1558* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009)

Levy, F.J, 'The Making of Camden's *Britannia*', *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et Renaissance*, 26.1 (1964), 70-97

Liebler, Naomi, 'Elizabethan Pulp Fiction: The Example of Richard Johnson', *Critical Survey*, 12.2 (2000), 71-78

Lindley, Keith, 'Riot Prevention and Control in Early Stuart London', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 33 (1983), 109–26

Lindley, Keith, 'Review: The Maintenance of Stability in Early Modern London, Reviewed Works: Worlds within Worlds: Structures of Life in Sixteenth Century London by Steve Rappaport: Dutch Calvinists in Early Stuart London: The Dutch in Austin Friars 1603-1642 by O. P. Grell: The Pursuit of Stability: Social Relations in Elizabethan London by I. W. Archer', *Historical Journal*, 34.4 (1991), 985-90

Lyon, Harriet, "A Pitiful Thing"? The Afterlife of the Dissolution of the English Monasteries in Early Modern Chronicles, ca.1540–ca.1640', *Sixteenth Century Journal,* 59.4 (2018), 1037-56

Mabillard, Amanda, 'Going to a Play in Shakespeare's London: Simon Forman's Diary', Shakespeare Online, 20 August 2000, < http://www.shakespeare-online.com/plays/simonforman.html" > [Accessed 01 March 2022]

Manley, Lawrence, 'Fictions of Settlement: London 1590', *Studies in Philology*, 88.2 (1991), 201-224

Manley, Lawrence, *Literature and Culture in Early Modern London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995)

Manley, Lawrence, 'London and Urban Popular Culture' in *Ashgate Research Companion to Popular Culture in Early Modern England*, ed. by Andrew Hadfield, Matthew Dimmock and Abigail Shinn (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), pp.357-372

Manley, Lawrence, 'Introduction' in *London in the Age of Shakespeare: An Anthology,* ed. by Lawrence Manley (Kent: Croom Helm, 1986)

Manley, Lawrence, 'Of Sites and Rites', in *The Theatrical City: Culture, Theatre and Politics in London 1576*-1649, ed. by David Smith, Richard Strier and David Bevington (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), pp.35-54

Mason, David, 'The Role of London's Urban Foundation Legends in Late-Medieval Historical and Political Cultures', *London Journal*, published online: 20 Feb 2022, < DOI: 10.1080/03058034.2022.2028451>

McEwan, John, 'Charity and the City: London Bridge, c.1176–1275', in *Medieval Londoners: Essays to Mark the Eightieth Birthday of Caroline M. Barron,* ed. by Elizabeth New and Christian Steer (London: University of London Press, 2019), pp.223-244

McLaren, Mary-Rose, *The London Chronicles of the Fifteenth Century: A Revolution in English Writing* (Cambridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2002)

McShane, Angela, 'Ballads and Broadsides', in *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture: Vol. 1: Cheap Print in Britain and Ireland to 1660,* ed. by Joad Raymond (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011)

McShane, Angela, *Political Broadside Ballads of 17th Century England: A Critical bibliography* (London: Pickering and Chatto, 2011)

Melnikoff, Kirk, *Elizabethan Publishing and the Makings of Literary Culture* (Ontario: University of Toronto Press, 2018)

Menzer, Paul, 'Crowd Control', in *Imagining the Audience in Early Modern Drama 1558-1642*, ed. by Nova Myhill and Jennifer Low (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), pp.1-19

Merriam, Thomas, 'The Misunderstanding of Munday as Author of *Sir Thomas More'*, *Review of English Studies,* 51.204 (2000), 540-581

Merrit, Julia (ed.), *Imagining Early Modern London: Perceptions and Portrayals of the City From Stow to Strype 1598-1720*, ed. by Julia Merrit (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001)

Merritt, Julia, 'Introduction', in *Imagining Early Modern London: Perceptions and Portrayals of the City from Stow to Strype 1598-1720*, ed. by Julia Merritt (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp.1-26

Meyer, Allison Machlis, '*Richard III's* Forelives: Rewriting Elizabeth's in Tudor Historiography', *Medieval and Renaissance Drama in England*, 26 (2013), 156-183

Molekamp, Femke, 'Popular Reading and Writing', in *Ashgate Research Companion to Popular Culture in Early Modern England*, ed. by Andrew Hadfield, Matthew Dimmock and Abigail Shinn (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), pp.59-73

Moon, Nicolas, *'*A People's History of England: Print, Authority and the Past in Early Modern English Ballads' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of York, 2013)

Mortimer, Ian, 'Tudor Chronicler or Sixteenth-Century Diarist? Henry Machyn and the Nature of His Manuscript', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 33.4 (2002), 981-998

Munro, Lucy, "O read me for I am of great antiquity": Old books and Elizabethan Popularity', in *The Elizabethan Top Ten: Defining print popularity in early modern England,* ed. by Andy Kesson and Emma Smith (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2013), pp.55-78

Munro, Lucy, 'Speaking History: Linguistic Memory and the Usable Past in the Early Modern History Play', *Huntington Library* Quarterly, 76.4 (2013), 519-540

Myers, Robin, 'The Stationers' Company and the Almanack Trade', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain: Vol. 5*, ed. by Michael Suarez and Michael Turner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), pp.723-735

Myhill, Nova and Jennifer Low, 'Introduction: Audience and Audiences', in *Imagining the Audience in Early Modern Drama 1558-1642*, ed. by Nova Myhill and Jennifer Low (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), pp.1-17

Nebeker, Eric, 'The Broadside Ballad and Textual Publics', *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900*, 51.1 (2011), 1–19

Neufeld, Matthew, 'Introduction: Putting the Past to Work, Working through the Past', *Huntington Library* Quarterly, 76.4 (2013), 483-497

Newman, Karen, "Goldsmith's Ware": Equivalence in *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside'*, *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 71.1 (2008), 97-113

Nicol, David, 'The Peaceable King, or the *Lord Mendall*: A Lost Jack Cade Play and its 1623 Revival', *Early Theatre*, 19.1 (2016), 137-145

Nightingale, Pamela, "Walworth, Sir William (d. 1386?), merchant and mayor of London", ODNB, 2003, <https://www-oxforddnb-com.ezproxy.lib.bbk.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-28660>

Orlin, Lena, 'Temporary Lives in London Lodgings', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 71.1 (2008), 219-242

Palmer, Daryl, 'Metropolitan Resurrection in Anthony Munday's Lord Mayor's Shows', *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900*, 46.2 (2006), 371-387

Palmer, Daryl, '*Edward IV*'s Secret Familiarities and the Politics of Proximity in Elizabethan History Plays', *ELH*, 61.2 (1994), 279-315

Patterson, Annabel*, Reading Holinshed's Chronicles* (London: University of Chicago Press, 1994)

Pearl, Valerie, 'Change and Stability in Seventeenth Century London', *London Journal,* 5 (1979), 3-34

Pocock, J.G.A, 'The Sense of History in Renaissance England', in *William Shakespeare: His World, His Work, His Influence*, ed. by John F. Andrews (New York: Scribner, 1985)

Porter, Gerald, 'The English Ballad Singer and Hidden History', *Studia Musicologica*, 49.1-2 (2008), 127-142

Pratt, Aaron and Kastan, David, 'Printers, Publishers, and the Chronicles as Artefact' in *The Oxford Handbook of Holinshed's Chronicles,* ed. by Paulina Kewes, Ian Archer and Felicity Heal (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp.21-42

Pratt, Samuel, 'Jane Shore and the Elizabethans: Some Facts and Speculations', *Texas Studies in Literature and Language*, 11.4 (1970), 1293- 1306

Proudfoot, Richard, "Johnson, Richard (fl. 1592–1622), writer", ODNB, (2022), <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-14909>

Raymond, Joad, 'Introduction: The Origins of Popular Print Culture', in *The Oxford History of Popular Print Culture, Vol 1: Cheap Print in Britain and Ireland to 1600*, ed. by Joad Raymond (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), pp.1-14

Raymond, Joad, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003)

Rappaport, Steve, *Worlds Within Worlds: Structures of Life in Sixteenth Century London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989)

Reddaway, T.F., 'The Livery Companies of Tudor London', *History*, 51.173 (1966), 287-29

Rivlin, Elizabeth, 'Forms of Service in Thomas Deloney's *The Gentle Craft*', *English Literary Renaissance*, 40.2 (2010), 191-214

Robertson, James, 'The Adventures of Dick Whittington and the Social Construction of Elizabethan London', in *Guilds, Society and Economy in London, 1450-1800,* ed. by Ian Anders Gadd and Patrick Wallis (London: Centre for Metropolitan History, 2002)

Robertson, James, 'Stuart London and the Idea of a Royal Capital City', *Renaissance Studies*, 15.1 (2001), 37-58

Rodman Jones, Mike, 'Early Modern Medievalism', in *The Cambridge Companion to Medievalism,* ed. by Louise D'Arcens (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016), pp.89-102

Rowland, Richard. *Thomas Heywood's Theatre 1599-1639* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010

Salzman, Paul, "Deloney, Thomas (d. in or before 1600), silkweaver and writer." ODNB, (2022), https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-7463

Schelling, Felix, *The English Chronicle Play: A Study in the Popular Historical Literature Environing Shakespeare* (London: Macmillan, 1902)

Schillinger, Stephen, "Begging at the Gate": *Jack Straw* and the Acting Out of Popular Rebellion', *Medieval & Renaissance Drama in England*, 21 (2008), 87-127

Schofield, John, 'An Introduction to the Three Known Sheets of the Copperplate Map', in *Tudor London: A Map and a View*, ed. by Anne Saunders and John Schofield, London Topographical Society, 159 (London: London Topographical Society, 2001), pp.1-7

Selwood, Jacob, *Diversity and Difference in Early Modern London* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010)

Seymour Lamboll, Alan, 'Richard Whittington', Guildhall Historical Association Paper (1979), <https://gha386.files.wordpress.com/2017/01/8-richard-whittington.pdf>.

Shepard, Leslie, *The Broadside Ballad* (London: Herbert Jenkins Ltd, 1962)

Sherlock, Peter, 'The Reformation of Memory in Early Modern Europe', in *Memory: Histories, Theories, Debates*, ed. by Bill Schwartz and Susannah Radstone (New York: Fordham University Press, 2010), pp.30-40

Simmons, RC, 'ABC's, Almanacs, Ballads, Chapbooks, Popular Piety and Textbooks' in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain: Vol. 4,* ed. by John Barnard, D.F. Mckenzie and Maureen Bell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002)

Slack, Paul, *The Impact of Plague in Tudor and Stuart England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990)

Smith, David, Strier, Richard and Bevington, David (ed), *The Theatrical City: Culture, Theatre and Politics in London 1576*-1649, ed. by David Smith, Richard Strier and David Bevington (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995)

Smith, Steven 'The London Apprentices as Seventeenth Century Adolescents', *Past and Present*, 61 (1973), 149-161

Smyth, Adam, 'Almanacs and Ideas of Popularity', in *The Elizabethan Top Ten: Defining Print Popularity in Early Modern England*, ed. by Andy Kesson and Emma Smith (Farnham: Ashgate Publishing, 2013), pp.125-133

Spain-Savage, Christi, "An Honest Pair of Oars": Players, Watermen, and *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside'*, *Early Theatre*, 19.2 (2016), 167-178

Spufford, Margaret, *Small Books and Pleasant Histories* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1982)

Steele Brokaw, Katherine, 'Epilogue: Popularity, Performance, and Repetition', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 79.2 (2016), 339-342

Steible, Mary, 'Jane Shore and the Politics of Cursing', *Studies in English Literature 1500-1900*, 43.1 (2003), 1-17

Stevenson, Laura, *Praise and Paradox: Merchants and Craftsmen in Elizabethan Popular Literature* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1984)

Stock, Angela, 'Stow's Survey and the London Playwrights', in *John Stow and the Making of the English Past,* ed. by Ian Anders Gadd and Alexandra Gillespie (London: British Library, 2004)

Story Donno, Elizabeth, 'Thomas More and Richard III', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 35.3 (1982), 401-447

Sutton, Anne, 'Whittington, Richard [Dick] (c. 1350–1423)', *ODNB, 2004,* <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-29330>

Suzuki, Mihoko, 'The London Apprentice Riots of the 1590s and the Fiction of Thomas Deloney', *Criticism*, 38.2 (1996), 181-217

Taylor, Gary, "Middleton, Thomas (bap. 1580, d. 1627), playwright." ODNB, (2022), <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-18682>

Thomas, Keith, *The Perception of the Past in Early Modern England*, The Creighton Trust Lecture (London, University of London, 1983), <https://openlibrary.org/works/OL2624277W/The_perception_of_the_past_in_early_modern_England?edition= [accessed 9 January 2022]

Tomlin, Rebecca, "I trac'd him too and fro": Walking the Neighbourhood on the Early Modern Stage', *Early Theatre*, 19.2 (2016), 197-208

Tomlin, Rebecca, 'Narratives of Exchange in Early Modern London 1580-1600', (unpublished doctoral thesis, Birkbeck University of London, 2016)

Tipton, Alzada, 'The Transformation of the Earl of Essex: Post-Execution Ballads and *The Phoenix and the Turtle', Studies in Philology*, 99.1 (2002), 57-80

Tittler, Robert, 'The Cookes and the Brookes: Uses of Portraiture in Town and Country Before the Civil War', in *The Country and the City Revisited,* ed. by Gerald Maclean, Donna Landry and Joseph Ward (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp.58-73

Tittler, Robert 'Portraiture, Precedence and Politics Amongst the London Liveries c. 1540-1640', *Urban History,* 35.3 (2008), 349-362

Tittler, Robert, 'Sir Thomas White of London: Civic Philanthropy and the Making of the Merchant Hero', in *Townspeople and Nation: English Urban Experiences 1540-1640,* ed. by Robert Tittler (California: Stanford University Press, 2001)

Trevor-Roper, Hugh, "Sutton, Thomas (1532–1611)", ODNB, 2004, <https://www-oxforddnb-com.ezproxy.lib.bbk.ac.uk/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-26806>

Turner, Celeste, 'The Elizabethan Female Worthies', *Studies in Philology*, 43.4 (1946), 628-643

Twyning, John, "Dekker, Thomas (c. 1572–1632), playwright and pamphleteer", ODNB, (2022), <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-7428>

Wallis, Patrick, 'Controlling Commodities: Search and Reconciliation in the Early Modern Livery Companies', in *Guilds, Society and Economy in London 1450-1800,* ed. by Ian Anders Gadd and Patrick Wallis (London: Centre for Metropolitan History, 2002), pp.85-100

Walsh, Brian, 'Performing Historicity in Dekker's *The Shoemaker's Holiday', Studies in English Literature 1500-1900,* 46.2 (2006), 323-348

Walter, John, "A Foolish Commotion of Youth"? Crowds and the 'Crisis of the 1590s' in London', *London Journal*, 44.1 (2019), 17-36.

Ward, Joseph, *Metropolitan Communities: Trade Guilds, Identity and Change in Early Modern London* (California: Stanford University press, 1997)

Ward, Joseph, 'Imagining the Metropolis in Elizabethan and Stuart London', in *The Country and the City revisited,* ed. by Gerald Maclean, Donna Landry and Joseph Ward (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp.24-40

Ward, Joseph, 'The Taming of the Thames: Reading the River in the Seventeenth Century', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 71.1 (2008), 55-75

Watson, Bruce, *Old London Bridge Lost and* Found (London: MoLAS, 2004)

Watson, Bruce, Brigham, Trevor and Dyson, Tony, *London Bridge: 2000 Years of a River Crossing:* MoLAS Monograph 8 (Suffolk: Lavenham Press, 2001)

Watt, Tessa, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety 1550-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991)

Wheatley, Chloe, *Epic, Epitome, and the Early Modern Historical Imagination* (Oxford: Routledge, 2016)

Wheatley, Chloe, 'The Pocket Books of English History' in *The Culture of Capital: Property, Cities, and Knowledge in Early Modern England*, ed. by Henry Turner (London: Taylor & Francis Group, 2002)

Whitfield White, Paul, 'The Admiral's Men, Shakespeare, and the Lost Arthurian Plays of Elizabethan England', *Arthuriana*, 24.4 (2014), 33-47

Winkler, Amanda, 'Digital and Multimedia Scholarship', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 67.3 (2014), 848–866

Witts, V., 'English Place Names in the Sixteenth Century: The Search for Identity', in *Sixteenth Century Identities*, ed. by A.J Piesse, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), pp.34-57

Womersley, David. 'Sir Thomas More's *History of King Richard III'*: A New Theory of the English Texts", *Renaissance Studies*, 7.3 (1993), 272–90

Woolf, Daniel, 'Historical Writing in Britain from the Late Middle Ages to the Eve of Enlightenment', in *The Oxford History of Historical Writing: Vol. 3: 1400-1800*, ed. by José Rabasa, Masayuki Sato, Edoardo Tortarolo and Daniel Woolf (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), pp.473-496

Woolf, Daniel, *The Social Circulation of the Past: English Historical Culture 1500-1730* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003)

Woolf, Daniel, 'Afterword: Shadows of the Past in Early Modern England', *Huntington Library Quarterly,* 76.4 (2013), 639-650

Woolf, Daniel, 'Genre into Artifact: The Decline of the English Chronicle in the Sixteenth Century', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 19.3 (1988), 321-354

Woolf, Daniel, 'From Hystories to the Historical: Five Transitions in Thinking about the Past 1500–1700', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 68.1-2 (2005), 33-70

Woolf, Daniel, 'Review of Levy, F.J.*, Tudor Historical Thought', H-Albion*, 2005, <URL**:** http://www.h-net.org/reviews/showrev.php?id=10124> [Accessed 14 May 2020]

Worden, Blair, 'Historians and Poets', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 68.1-2 (2005), 71-93

Wright, Louis, *Middle Class Culture in Elizabethan England* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1935)

Wrightson, Keith, ''Sorts of People' in Tudor and Stuart England', in *The Middling Sort of People: Culture, Society and Politics in England 1550-1800,* ed. by Jonathan Barry and Christopher Brooks (London: Macmillan, 1994), pp.28-51

Wurzbach, Natascha, *The Rise of the English Street Ballad 1550-1650* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990)