MARKETPLACES AS SPACES OF MORAL EDUCATION IN EARLY MODERN LONDON: REGULATION, PUNISHMENT AND ENTERTAINMENT

by

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Dalhousie University is located in Mi'kma'ki, the ancestral and unceded territory of the Mi'kmaq. We are all treaty people.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES **iii**

LIST OF FIGURES **iv**

ABSTRACT **v**

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS **vi**

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION **1**

1.1: Space & Morality 8
1.2: Moral Education 12
1.3: Methodology, Structure and Research Questions 14

CHAPTER 2: MARKETPLACE REGULATION **17**

2.1: Regulating Trade & Public Order 19
2.2: Communicating Marketplace Regulation 28
2.3: Agents of the Marketplace: Hugh Alley 36
2.4: Conclusion 50

CHAPTER 3: MARKETPLACE PUNISHMENT **52**

3.1: Space for Punishment 53
3.2: Punishing Petty Crime 58
3.3: Public Execution 69
3.4: Conclusion 82

CHAPTER 4: MARKETPLACE ENTERTAINMENT **83**

4.1: Space for Entertainment 84
4.2: Civic Entertainment: The Queen’s Procession 93
4.3: Popular Entertainment: London Fairs & Puppet Shows 103
4.4: Conclusion 118

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION **120**

BIBLIOGRAPHY **127**

LIST OF TABLES

Table 2.1 *Laws of the Market* overview 23

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1.1 Agas map of London (1563) highlighting Smithfield marketplace............3

Figure 2.1 Print of royal procession in Cheapside marketplace (1639)......................35

Figure 2.2 Hugh Alley's illustration of Stephen Soame and John Pinder 39

Figure 2.3 Hugh Alley's illustration of Billingsgate Market.....................................43

Figure 2.4 Hugh Alley's illustration of New Fish Street Market 44

Figure 2.5 Hugh Alley's illustration of Smithfield Market 45

Figure 2.6 Hugh Alley's illustration of Leadenhall Market.....................................478

Figure 2.7 Hugh Alley's illustration of Old Fish Street Market 49

Figure 3.1 Section of Hugh Alley's illlustration of Southwark Market......................54

Figure 3.2 Woodcut of the execution of Anne Askew..75

Figure 3.3 Woodcut of the executions of John Bradford and John Leafe 78

Figure 4.1 Stephen Harrison's depiction of the Garden of Plenty Arch....................99

ABSTRACT

Marketplaces were important spaces in the everyday lives of the inhabitants of early modern London. Their importance not only for trade but also for social and political activities has led some historians to explore morality in the marketplace. This thesis shows how marketplaces not only reflected popular morality but could also be used as a space for moral education. To that end, this thesis adopts a broad and non-linear scope to explore three functions of the marketplace: regulation, punishment, and entertainment. By focusing on what would have been seen and heard in the space, the chapters devoted to each function illustrate the different ways the marketplaces were used as a space for moral education. Although the authorities often dominated it as a space of moral education, the marketplace served as a platform for the communication of varying and contrasting moral messages.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

For as long as humans have been involved in trade, marketplaces have been an important part of everyday life as spaces for the exchange of goods and services as well as ideas and values. In early modern London, marketplaces provided for a growing, lively city through the trade of fresh food, textiles, luxury goods and more. Marketplaces were an important element in a rapidly expanding economic system, but they were also a hub for the exchange of information and ideas. At times, the functions of a marketplace could be compared to those of other urban spaces like churches, churchyards, courtrooms, and theatres. They could be used as spaces for preaching ideals or proclaiming news, for punishing criminals, or for providing entertainment to an eager audience. What makes the marketplace interesting is that it can fulfill all these functions within the same space, a space associated inextricably with exchange and transaction.

This thesis will explore the moral undertones of marketplace activities, and how the communication of such values could make them spaces of moral education. The connotation of exchange makes marketplaces different from other, more traditional, spaces of moral education, like churches or schools. For example, in Smithfield marketplace, one could purchase or sell livestock, make an order, or buy from one of the butchers. One could also interact with fellow visitors to the market, and the vendors. They might hear the call of a town crier announcing the latest regulation from the market cross, or the proclamation explaining why a criminal was being punished. They might be there at the end of the summer, to buy some textiles at the Cloth Fair or sample some gingerbread at Bartholomew Fair. They might stop to watch a ballad-singer perform or a

satirical puppet show criticizing the reigning monarchs. In some ways, all these activities could be considered a type of transaction or exchange, and it is exactly this broad range of utility which makes the London marketplaces interesting spaces.

London marketplaces are as old as the city itself, and for a long time were simply convenient, open spaces where goods could be sold, and people could meet. Over time, marketplaces became increasingly formalized. By the 12th century, most markets could only take place with the permission of a royal grant or charter, otherwise risk being closed.[1] Market days and the annual fairs held in these spaces were important dates in an early modern Londoner's schedule, as they had been for their medieval ancestors, presenting opportunities to buy and sell goods, to socialize, to hear news, or to be entertained.[2] There was no typical London marketplace, and a marketplace's primary trade was often unique within London, dedicated to the sale of particular goods. While Smithfield was dedicated to the sale of horses and livestock, and housed many butchers, other markets had equally distinct areas of trade: Billingsgate sold primarily fish, Cheapside was known for the good deals on fresh produce, at the Stocks one could find poultry, etc. The annual fairs also brought specialty goods to the city, such as the Cloth Fair which was part of the Bartholomew Fair at Smithfield.[3] At a time before shops, marketplaces were the only spaces for Londoners to buy the goods they needed.

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[1] For a thorough overview of all medieval markets granted by royal authority, see the "Gazetteer of Markets and Fairs in England and Wales to 1516", a website database put together by Dr. Samantha Letters, last updated in 2013. Access via https://archives.history.ac.uk/gazetteer/gazweb2.html.

[2] This thesis includes fairs in the analysis of marketplaces, since they occupied the space at regular intervals throughout the year. In some ways, fairs were an extension of a normal market day, as normal trade was supplemented by organized entertainment and the sale of specialty goods.

[3] Letters, "Gazetteer of Markets and Fairs in England and Wales to 1516." Alternatively, the marketplaces of London can be explored in the interactive version of the Agas map: https://mapoflondon.uvic.ca/agas.htm.

Figure 1.1 A section of the digital version of the 1561 Agas Map, which shows the main part of the City of London. Smithfield market can be seen in the upper left-hand corner, outlined and shaded in blue, just outside the city walls.[4]

Although this thesis will look at London marketplaces in general, one important marketplace will be returned to throughout: Smithfield marketplace, located in North-West London (see Figure 1.1). Smithfield exists today as a meat market, which is a nod to its origins as a livestock market, though gone are the days of herding testy livestock through the streets of London to be sold there. Renowned in the Middle Ages for tournaments, jousts, as well as the executions of well-known traitors, by the early modern period, Smithfield was no less notorious for being unruly and unkempt. Under the Tudor

[4] Janelle Jenstad and Kim Mclean-Fiander, eds. *Civitas Londinvm* or The Agas Map, *The Map of Early Modern London*. Victoria: University of Victoria, 2012, Access via http://mapoflondon.uvic.ca/map.htm. Highlight added.

monarchs, Smithfield was used as a venue for heresy executions, perhaps drawing on the space's unsavoury reputation in order to frame the executions in a certain way in the minds of the spectators.[5] Smithfield's already rowdy reputation was enhanced by the notorious St. Bartholomew's Day Fair, held each year in August, which incorporated three days of trade, food, drink, and entertainment. In an exhibition review, Tom Almeroth-Williams describes the transition between a market, an execution locale, and a fair as "an uncomfortable jolt that perfectly demonstrated the incongruous array of activities hosted by Smithfield."[6] Although London marketplaces will be considered broadly in this thesis, the relatively well-documented Smithfield market provides a good example when exploring the presence of moral education in marketplaces since it illustrates the way marketplaces could be used for so many different functions.

Early modern marketplaces existed against a backdrop of political and religious instability. The Protestant Reformation in Europe brought faith to the forefront of the English agenda, encouraged by reigning monarch, Henry VIII. Over the following century, England underwent a period of intense religious turbulence, as the successive monarchs of Edward VI, Mary I, Elizabeth I and James VI/I and their governments executed their own agendas concerning England's religion. Towards the end of the Elizabethan era, some of the religious turmoil had settled, although political trouble was again on the horizon when she died and was succeeded by the Stuart monarchs.

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[5] An estimated sixty heresy executions took place in Smithfield Market between 1530 and 1612, based on the information in John Foxe, *The Unabridged Acts and Monuments Online* or *TAMO* (1563 edition), The Digital Humanities Institute, Sheffield, 2011. Accessed through http://www.dhi.ac.uk/foxe.

[6] Tom Almeroth-Williams, "The Story of Smithfield Market" (exhibition review), *The London Journal* 36, no.1 (2011): 73.

This thesis will examine many primary sources dating from the late sixteenth century, under the reign of Elizabeth I, which some have described as a period of economic and social crisis within London. Although Ian Archer, in *The Pursuit of Stability*, has questioned the extent to which the 1590s was particularly troubled, it is apparent that bouts of plague, harvest failure, economic inflation, and intense taxation led early modern Londoners to feel as though they were in a period of crisis.[7] As the population of London grew, people worried about the perceived rise in crime and vagrancy, and put pressure on the governing elite to take action against it. Riots, which had not been seen in London since the 1520s, were one of the ways in which Londoners could send a clear message to those in power, and it seems as though this method of communication was somewhat effective. Archer essentially argues that the ruling elite's stricter and more cohesive control caused the crisis to abate, thanks in part to the relative religious stability of the time.[8]

The major shifts in religious thought and political governance which characterized the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries corresponded with a booming population in London and general economic expansion in England. Although exact figures can be difficult to determine, it is thought that the population of London grew more than nine times in the period from 1500 to 1700, when it had a population equal to almost half of England at the time.[9] Historians must interpret primary sources creatively

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[7] Ian Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability: Social Relations in Elizabethan London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 11-14.

[8] Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability,* 257-258.

[9] C. G. A. Clay, *Economic Expansion and Social Change: England 1500-1700 Vol. I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 197-198.

to make estimates about the population before the late seventeenth century. It was only in the 1660s when London tradesman, John Graunt, published the first record of the London population, based on burials and baptisms, as a method of predicting plague outbreaks.[10]

There has been some scholarly debate as to the cause of the growth in this period. C. G. A. Clay has suggested that fewer severe epidemics and crop failures between 1565 and 1585 made for a particularly productive twenty-year period.[11] B. E. Supple has suggested the London was growing because it was a "bottleneck," attracting more people from outside of London since it was the seat of the government and the primary trading hub.[12] This idea is further supported by the fact that, for much of the period, there were more burials than baptisms in London, meaning that migration played a significant role in the population boom.[13] Historians think that the rise in population had a major impact on the economy of London, particularly in the years after 1550. Although some consider the 'birth' of consumer culture in England to be dated as late as the eighteenth century, Craig Muldrew argues that the thirty years following 1550 was "the most intensely *concentrated* period of economic growth… and the means by which this new demand was met had much more immediate and far reaching social effects than any change before industrialization."[14]

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[10] Roger Finlay, *Population and Metropolis: The Demography of London 1580-1650* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 1-4.

[11] C. G. A. Clay, *Economic Expansion and Social Change,* 14-17.

[12] B. E. Supple, *Commercial Crisis and Change in England, 1600-1642* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964), 3-5.

[13] Finlay, *Population and Metropolis,* 56-66.

[14] Craig Muldrew, *The Economy of Obligation: The Culture of Credit and Social Relations in Early Modern England*, (New York: Palgrave, 1998), 20-21. Neil McKendrick, in *Birth of a Consumer Society*, considers the eighteenth century to have fostered increased consumerism. Robert Brenner's *Merchants and*

The growth of the economy and population impacted the London marketplace, particularly though increased commercialism. Although demand for luxury goods and commodities was increasing from roughly the 1540s, it flourished from the early seventeenth century. Linda Levy Peck, in her book *Consuming Splendor,* argues that "[u]nder James I, the contest between moralizing prescription and legislation on the one hand and demand on the other tilted in favor of luxury consumption."[15] Moral dilemmas accompanied the commercialization of the marketplace in the period, as sellers increasingly sought higher profits at the expense of the consumers.[16] Although the relative stability of the early seventeenth century was likely an opportunity for many to enhance their financial wealth, some considered the increased demand for commodities a symptom of wastefulness and idleness, a sinful temptation.[17]

Broadly speaking, the timeframe examined within this thesis will begin with the mid-sixteenth century, as economic and population growth and the subsequent rise in demand put pressure on the existing London marketplaces, amplifying their importance. The thesis will look at the various spatial functions of the London marketplaces up until roughly the time of the Great Fire of 1666. By no means did this catastrophic event bring an end to the importance of marketplaces, but rather the destruction within the city gave

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Revolution attributes the consumer society to international trade, which he tracks throughout the early modern period.

[15] Linda Levy Peck, *Consuming Splendor: Society and Culture in Seventeenth-Century, England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 3.

[16] For more details on the moral aspects of increasing consumerism, see James Davis' *Medieval Market Morality* or Woodruff Smith's *Consumption and the Making of Respectability*. For economic growth and change in England more generally, as well as Levy Peck's *Consuming* Splendor, see Brenner's *Merchants and Revolution,* Clay's *Economic Expansion and Social Change*, or Sara Pennell's article "Consumption and Consumerism in Early Modern England," as a small selection.

[17] Levy Peck, *Consuming Splendor*, 6-7.

governing powers an opportunity to change the structure and civic control of marketplaces as public spaces of trade in the process of rebuilding the city. Although this scope is set against a backdrop of expansion and transition within London, this thesis aims to use this time frame as a rough guideline to highlight the overlapping, non-linear negotiation of morality in the marketplace.

1.1: Space & Morality

The study of marketplaces as spaces of significance has grown in volume since the 1970s, corresponding to increased research into the everyday life of early modern people rather than that of the elite. This thesis will draw on the work of many historians and researchers of other disciplines who have studied various aspects of the marketplace and will analyze work on the themes of early modern regulation, punishment, and entertainment more broadly. Historians have often focused on how the marketplace was used and who was using it, and this existing body of research will help to establish a framework on which to explore the topic of morality in the marketplace.

Since French philosopher Henri Lefebvre's influential *The Production of Space,* first published in French in 1974, the significance of 'space' as a concept beyond a physical and local place is a subject of much interest in recent historical studies. Lefebvre introduced the idea that space, as well as being a 'place' was a social construct, negotiated through the use of the space by those within it.[18] Unsurprisingly, early modern London was full of significant spaces, marketplaces being only some of them. In the *Huntington Library Quarterly* issue entitled "The Places and Spaces of Early Modern

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[18] Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1991).

London," Deborah Harkness and Jean E. Howard offer a clear definition of space. They state that "[t]hrough rituals, through iterated actions and transactions, and through stories, places are transformed into spaces associated with particular practices, codes of behaviour, and social competencies."[19] When it comes to marketplaces specifically, Dave Postles defines the marketplace as a space of transformation and power. Postles adopts an outlook reminiscent of Lefebvre's theories on space, arguing that marketplaces are inherently transitional and changing spaces.[20] This thesis will adopt a definition of space which combines these two ideas put forward by Harkness and Postles, whereby a marketplace can be described as an inherently transitional space in which those "practices, codes of behaviour, and social competencies" can be affected or altered by what happens in the marketplaces, or what is perceived to happen. Furthermore, because the primary function of a marketplace is trade, they are spaces which have inherent connotations of transaction and exchange, which may facilitate the negotiation of the use and interpretation of the space.

Marketplaces and the market contain certain moral aspects that have been explored by several historians, especially when considering the idea of a 'fair price' or just selling practices.[21] In his book *Medieval Market Morality* (2012), James Davis

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[19] Deborah Harkness and Jean E. Howard, "Introduction: The Great World of Early Modern London," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 71, no. 1 (March 2008): 4.

[20] Dave Postles, "The Market Place as Space in Early Modern England," *Social History* 29, no. 1 (Feb., 2004): 55.

[21] A brief note on the use of the word 'market' in this thesis. Although this thesis will examine theories which explore 'the market', in the more abstract sense of an economic system of trade, the primary focus of this thesis is on 'market' as a place or space. In other words, the markets described in this thesis will typically be referring to the noun, 'market', rather than the verb, and in its concrete, physical sense unless stated otherwise.

examines the relationship between morality and the market and finds that there is a clear link, arguing that the market(place) reflects the morality of medieval people. Simply put, Davis argues that the popular idea of what is good, honest, or fair, is translated and reiterated in the way the marketplace is used and regulated.[22] Davis' approach is influenced by the concept of the 'moral economy' which is most closely associated with the historian E. P. Thompson and his influential 1971 article on the subject.[23] Both Davis and Thompson stress that the regulation of the market or economy (in the abstract sense) reflected a certain popular notion of fairness or justice. This thesis aims to show how that narrative shows only a partial story by focusing on the reflection.

There are many possible definitions for 'morality,' and this thesis will follow the footsteps of Davis and other historians in the field by adopting a broad interpretation of the term.[24] For most of this study, 'morality' will refer generally to popular understandings of good and bad, fairness and injustice, or honesty and dishonesty. Notions of justice not only had legal connotations, but also the idea of getting one's due more generally. Often when looking at the early modern period, morality has clear religious overtones: what it means to be a 'good' Christian or what is considered 'sinful.' What early modern people considered virtues and vices is not always readily recognizable as such to modern readers, like obedience. Obedience was an important

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[22] James Davis, *Medieval Market Morality: Life, Law and Ethics in the English Marketplace, 1200-1500,* (Cambridge: The Cambridge University Press, 2012).

[23] E. P. Thompson, "The Moral Economy of the English Crowd in the Eighteenth Century," *Past & Present*, No. 50 (Feb., 1971).

[24] A broad understanding of the idea of morality is the basis of such historical texts as James Davis' *Medieval Market Morality,* Craig Muldrew's *The Economy of Obligation*, Charlie Taverner's "Moral marketplaces" as well as E. P. Thompson's "Moral Economy and the English Crowd."

element in the social, political, and religious makeup of early modern London, and was considered virtuous. Taking a comprehensive approach to the definition means including *im*morality, since morality is in the eye of the beholder. For example, in the third chapter we will look at John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* (parts of which are sometimes known as *The Book of Martyrs)*. Thanks to their moral and religious beliefs, Foxe describes people as 'martyrs' who were considered 'heretics' by those who condemned them to death.[25] With this approach, it will be possible to examine the varying and sometimes competing moral messages being conveyed in the marketplace.

Davis focused on marketplace morality in the medieval period, and Thompson on the 'moral economy' of the eighteenth century, but other historians, influenced by their work, have turned to the early modern period. In a recent study, Charlie Taverner examines how morality infused everyday trade in marketplaces by examining how a fair price was negotiated through the buying and selling of goods, as represented in a Book of Fines spanning thirty-eight years.[26] Taverner's study is valuable, since it offers an interpretation of morality in the marketplace for the early modern period, but it is limited by focusing solely on trade and the laws governing it. Craig Muldrew's *The Economy of Obligation* (1998) looks at fairness and honesty in early modern exchange through loans and debts, but does not focus on the marketplace.[27] This thesis will bring together several existing studies in order to explore how the spaces of the London marketplaces were used

[25] John Foxe's *The Acts and Monuments* and the stories of executions which it describes will be explored in more detail in the Chapter 2: Punishment. All editions of the text have been digitalized and reproduced in a project called The Acts and Monuments Online (TAMO); https://www.dhi.ac.uk/foxe/.

[26] Charlie Taverner, "Moral marketplaces: regulating the food markets of late Elizabethan and early Stuart London," *Urban History* 1, no. 17, (2020).

[27] Muldrew, *The Economy of Obligation.*

and how they can be perceived as spaces where morality was negotiated, whether it be through trade and regulation, public punishment or entertainment. Furthermore, whereas many studies explore how morality was reflected by the marketplace, this thesis will also look at how morality was taught in the marketplace, making it a space of educational transaction as well as trade.

1.2: Moral Education

In the early modern period, the nature of education was, in part, to produce morally 'correct' conduct, although it is typically referred to in the more classical sense of schooling. In fact, the period from 1560 to 1640 has been described as producing an 'educational revolution', as it was a period when "the English education system was more vigorous, more purposeful, better funded and better equipped than ever before."[28] However, Helen M. Jewell qualifies this idea by pointing out that change to early modern education incorporated "surges forward, and lapses back."[29]

Moral teaching was an important part of schools and universities in this period.[30] In 1581, a contemporary school headmaster named Richard Mulcaster described the purpose of school for children as follows:

> They be to be set to school to qualify themselves, to learn how to be religious and loving, how to govern and obey, how to forecast and prevent, how to defend and

[28] David Cressy, *Education in Tudor and Stuart England* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1975), 9.

[29] Helen M. Jewell, *Education in Early Modern England* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1998), 6.

[30] For a thorough overview of formal education in Renaissance-era England, see William Harrison Woodward, *Studies in Education During the Age of the Renaissance, 1400-1600* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1906).

> assail and in short, how to perform that excellently by labour whereunto they are born but rudely by nature.[31]

It seems that Mulcaster valued two main qualifications which could be gained in school: learning to be a good Christian and an industrious, hard-working member of the commonwealth. This excerpt demonstrates how schools served as spaces of moral education in the period, alongside churches. Although schools were not specifically spaces of religious faith, the crown took an active interest in the curriculum and the teachers to ensure that the moral message was in accordance with the ideology of the governing powers.[32] Teaching in schools was inextricably associated with the use of corporal punishment, which contemporaries considered to be an essential component of education. Drawing on medieval and ancient roots, people considered physical chastisement a form of both moral and intellectual discipline.[33]

Contemporaries may not have considered a marketplace as a space of moral education in the same way they may have considered a church or school, but this thesis will explore how many similar characteristics of moral education can be found in the public marketplaces in London. In so doing, special attention will be paid to the various moral messages being expounded in the marketplace, and wherever possible evidence about the reactions and reception to the information will be examined.

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[31] Richard Mulcaster, "The Purpose of School" (1581) in Cressy, *Education in Tudor and Stuart England,* 18.

[32] Cressy, *Education in Tudor and Stuart England,* 7-8.

[33] For more on medieval punishment and education, see Ben Parsons, *Punishment and Medieval Education* (Cambridge: Boydell & Brewer Ltd., 2018).

1.3: Methodology, Structure and Research Questions

This thesis argues that alongside classic spaces of moral education like churches or schools, marketplaces constituted an important space for informing moral thought. In London, not every person would go to every market, since they all had different goods or services to sell, not to mention differing levels of respectability. However, marketplaces were generally spaces used and visited by many different sorts of people, making them melting pots of thoughts and opinions.

This thesis will adopt a multidisciplinary approach which focuses primarily on what would likely have been seen and heard in the marketplace, using court rolls and other official documents as well as personal, firsthand accounts.[34] This methodology must be approached with caution, since it is not always possible to speculate how people interpreted what was seen and heard. That being said, this approach has been used to good effect by James Davis in *Medieval Market Morality* as well as other historians.[35]

In each chapter, the thesis explores a different element of the marketplace and the moral messages within each. Chapter 2 will look at how the marketplace was regulated based on traditional principles of openness and fairness in the marketplace. The laws of the markets, which regulated trade and public order in the space, will be explored, with a focus on how they were communicated and received. This will lay the groundwork to

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[34] Due to the Covid-19 pandemic, this thesis relies primarily on digitalized primary sources, since it was not possible to access London archives. The court rolls used in this thesis represent only a small sample of what is available in the archives and will be used to illustrate the ways in which laws were enforced. Since this thesis is primarily concerned with the perception of marketplace punishment, contemporary witness accounts provide a more useful source.

[35] This approach has been used throughout James Davis' *Medieval Market Morality,* and by Fiona Williamson in *Social Relations and Urban Space, 1600-1700* and Paul Pickering in "Class without Words: Symbolic Communication in the Chartist Movement." This approach is also frequently used in the field of theatre history, which will be examined in the third chapter of this thesis.

explore ideas of fairness and honesty in trade, as well as ideas surrounding the 'just price.'

Chapter 3 will focus on how the marketplace was used as a space to enforce and communicate laws and values through public punishment. The punishment of petty crime, like infringement upon the marketplace regulations covering trade and public order, will be examined first, before moving on to the punishment of more serious crimes. In particular, the heresy executions, as described by John Foxe in *The Acts and Monuments*, will be used to understand how public punishment could be a performative spectacle and the messages that were communicated to the audience. These performative punishments and executions set the stage for Chapter 4 which is focused on marketplace entertainment. There is no doubt that people attended executions for some aspect of entertainment, but the focus of the final chapter is on the more traditional forms of entertainment found at the annual London marketplace fairs. One of the most popular amusements at the fairs were puppet shows, which had moral overtones that proved to be divisive.

This thesis seeks broadly to better understand if and how the early modern London marketplace may have served as a space for moral education. From official proclamations to lewd puppet shows, a broad variety of primary sources will be used to analyze the moral messages which would have been interpreted in the marketplace. By examining different functions of the marketplace - regulation, punishment, and entertainment - this thesis will attempt to answer three focused research sub-questions: How did marketplace laws and regulation influence early modern people's understanding of what is fair or just? How did punishment which was executed in the marketplace

impact spectators' moral compass? In what ways did marketplace entertainment and performance convey moral messages to an audience?

CHAPTER 2: MARKETPLACE REGULATION

In the spring of 2020, the beginning of the Covid-19 pandemic brought a state of sustained uncertainty which many had never experienced before. Personal protection equipment and hand sanitizer was highly sought after, causing significant shortages. Some individuals took advantage of the situation, hoarding stocks of these items and then selling them at a high profit, inciting general outrage. Many felt that it was not fair that some people and businesses were taking advantage of a situation in a way that could possibly be dangerous and create a disadvantage for average people. Even some well-established companies raised their prices, since they knew the demand was so high.[1]

In sixteenth and seventeenth century England and beyond, this process would have been known as 'engrossing' which was treated like a cardinal sin of the marketplace, along with forestalling and regrating. Marketplace laws and regulations prohibiting forestalling, regrating, and engrossing, as well as other methods of manipulating the open market, were in place to ensure a level of equity and fairness in the marketplace. Just as many people in 2020 felt it was unfair to make a high profit on a necessary good, early modern people had an acute sense of what was fair and what was not, much of which was reinforced in their laws and regulations. The negotiation of fairness and honesty through regulation, and how it would have been interpreted in the transactional space of the marketplace, will be the focus of this chapter. More specifically, this chapter aims to answer the first research question of this thesis: how did

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[1] Many similar stories can be found from March and April 2020. Sophia Harris, "Customers complain of price gouging as hand sanitizer sells out in stores," CBC News, March 11, 2020, https://www.cbc.ca/news/business/coronavirus-price-gouging-hand-sanitizer-amazon-ebay-1.5492887.

marketplace laws and regulation influence early modern people's understanding of what is fair and just?

Marketplaces were spaces which were strictly controlled in two main categories, and this regulation shaped how the marketplaces were used. The first had to do with trade itself, the so-called 'laws of the marketplace,' which dictated what could be sold, how, when, and by whom. In the early modern period, the ruling elite reiterated existing marketplace laws several times and specifications were made for different products and services. The second aspect of marketplace regulation concerns attempts made to control public order in the space. Public order will be considered broadly, from steps taken to improve the marketplace spaces, to the regulations in place to control people's actions.

From at least the twelfth century, royal grants or charters formalized marketplaces as a type of civic institution. Indeed, markets operating without royal permission could be shut down. Not only did the grant or charter legitimize a place of trade, but it also meant that the users of the marketplace inherently agreed to sets of norms and regulations. The grant or charter typically dictated which day the market could be held, as well as the dates for the periodic fairs.[2] A royal grant or charter for a marketplace also required adherence to certain norms and laws, which historian James Davis argues were "connected to the predominant moral assumptions of the age, and notions of social justice and the common good figure prominently."[3]

Drawing together the regulations and how they were communicated within the marketplace, this chapter aims to understand how the marketplace could have acted as a

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[2] Letters, "Gazetteer of Markets and Fairs in England and Wales to 1516," access https://archives.history.ac.uk/gazetteer/gazweb2.html.

[3] Davis, *Medieval Market Morality,* 137.

space of moral education as well as serving all its other functions of transaction and exchange. The most significant challenge to combining the laws with the communication is finding a way to understand how all this information from the marketplace might have been perceived. This chapter will look at a rare manuscript from 1598 which indicates at least one man's opinion of morality in the marketplace and how it links to regulation.

2.1: Regulating Trade & Public Order

Controlling marketplaces and how the space was used, particularly when it came to trade, was considered to be a vital aspect of maintaining not only public order but also a sense of fairness in trade. Through various laws and regulations, the crown dictated how marketplaces ought to have functioned throughout England. These general laws were added to and reiterated by local governing bodies to ensure that the fundamental goal of maintaining the traditional notion of public order and fairness in exchange was met and adhered to within their jurisdiction. Written in the late twelfth century, the poem *The Vision and Creed of Piers Ploughman* by William Langland describes the responsibility of the governing elite to "punish on pillories" those people who cause the most harm to poor people through regrating. He mentions "privileged" tradesmen like brewers, bakers, butchers and cooks, perhaps indicating that these groups had the most opportunity for marketplace offenses.[4]

By 1300, all of the London marketplaces which are discussed in this thesis were established with a royal grant, and remained relatively unchanged until the restructuring

[4] William Langland, *The Vision and Creed of Piers Ploughman* (1370-1390?), ed. Thomas Wright (London: 1887), Reproduced online in the Gutenburg Project, https://www.gutenberg.org/files/43660/43660-h/43660-h.htm, 1510-1520, 48.

of the marketplaces after the Great Fire of 1666.[5] The royal grant generally established the day and time a market or fair could be held. By the late medieval period, the London marketplaces were further regulated such that different markets were restricted as to the goods or services they could sell. It seems that the priority in controlling when and where goods could be sold was to maintain a level of transparency in trade, and therefore fairness. That being said, the marketplace needed to balance the needs of several parties. Davis sums up the various perspectives clearly:

> [T]own authorities wanted stability, order and income; traders wanted flexible and secure facilities; burgesses wanted protection and profit in their trade and operations; guilds wanted high standards and exclusivity; and consumers wanted cheap and plentiful goods.[6]

The strict control of the marketplace most efficiently balanced these necessities. A typical example of such regulation can be found in the Smithfield market, which was designated as a livestock market. In fact, no one could sell or buy livestock on any day or at any time in London except for at Smithfield on Wednesdays or Fridays from eleven to one o'clock.[7] Other markets were devoted to fish, poultry, grain, cloth and textiles, fresh vegetables, etc., and had their own distinct day and time in which they could make sales. This meant that authorities and traders alike could keep a careful eye on the exchange of specific goods, in an attempt to keep the market open and honest.

Within marketplace regulation, three of the most 'sinful' acts in trade were forestalling, regrating, and engrossing. As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter,

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[5] Ian Archer, Caroline Barron, and Vanessa Harding, *Hugh Alley's Caveat: The Markets of London in 1598* (London: London Topographical Society, 1988), 1-3.

[6] Davis, *Medieval Market Morality,* 176.

[7] Archer, et al., *Hugh Alley's Caveat,* 9-10.

some aspects of these subjects can still be recognized in trade today, although they are no longer regulated in the same way. In fact, one could argue that some of these so-called 'sins' form an essential part of the current capitalist system, particularly when it comes to things like middlemen and adding value through manipulating supply and demand.

Forestalling was the act of preventing saleable goods reaching the public marketplace, and often the goods would be bought privately before later being brought to the market and then sold at a higher price. Regrating meant buying goods in one market to resell them in the same market or another nearby market, raising the price in the process. Finally, engrossing concerned purchasing large quantities of a good or type of goods, thereby manipulating the supply and demand, creating artificially high prices. Along with other marketplace infringements, people considered these three acts to be unfair and injurious. The perceived problem with these and other related offenses was that they unnaturally inflated the value of goods beyond the 'just price'. In turn, the price increases were thought to be most detrimental to poorer members of the community. It is here that fairness in trade connects to being a 'good' Christian; overpricing goods was sometimes considered to be a form of theft, as well as being harmful to the poor.[8] The marketplace served as a tool to protect the 'just price' through oversight and control. Faith in the system of the marketplace for finding the 'just price' dates from medieval times, and allows for traders to expect to make a living, but not an 'unfair' profit.[9] Over time, these customs were codified in law.

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[8] Davis, *Medieval Market Morality*, 54-56.

[9] Taverner, "Moral marketplaces," 15.

Typically entitled *Laws of the Market* or something similar, some sixty individual regulations were written, published, and posted in marketplaces throughout England. Local governance would be responsible for upholding the laws inscribed in these publications. The authorities republished the *Laws of the Market* several times between 1562 and 1677, each edition with almost identical phrasing.[10] Some historians have argued that the continual re-publication of these laws indicates a losing battle between those offenders of marketplace regulation and attempts to uphold the law made by the City of London.[11] More broadly, the continual reiteration of these laws reinforces the significance of morality in the marketplace, particularly in this period. Whether because the laws and their publication reacted to perceived dishonest or indecent behaviour in the marketplace or served purely as a reminder of the laws, it is clear that keeping the markets moral was an important part of early modern control of urban space.

Although all the editions of the *Laws of the Market* are almost identical, for the sake of simplicity, this thesis examines the publications from 1562 and 1662 as they fall within the time frame adopted in this study. The individual laws or qualifications included in the *Laws of the Market* have been grouped into three categories: "The Laws of the Market", "The Statutes of the Streets of this City: Against Nuisances", and "Old Laws and Customs of this City."[12] The *Laws* constitute an interesting blend of regulations

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[10] The "Laws of the Market" were republished with similar (if not identical) wording in 1562, 1595, 1620, 1653, 1662, 1668, and 1677.

[11] Taverner, "Moral Marketplaces," 5; Davis, *Medieval Market Morality,* 138.

[12] Spelling and formatting has been modernized. These three categories can be found in City of London (England). *The Lawes of the Markette* London, by John Cawoode, printer to the Quenes Maiestye, 1562, and City of London (England). *The Lawes, Orders, and Statutes, Authorised and Appointed for the Citizens of London,* London, Printed for G. Horton, 1662.

for trade and public order, and the respective moral undertones concerning fairness and honesty. As Charlie Taverner puts it in his article on the morality of marketplace trade, the *Laws* were "[a] guide for keeping order in the street… sandwiched between the rules for economic relations. Street behaviour and market management were intimately connected."[13] In Table 2.1 below, I have offered a categorization of the types of laws laid out in the *Laws of the Market* in order to see the weight given to trade compared to that of public order, and the interaction between the two.

Table 2.1 This table shows an overview of the three categories as described in the *Laws of the Market* can be found in the first column. The amount of entries in each section can be found under the column "Total." In the remaining three columns, the individual entries have been categorized as either concerning "Trade," "Public Order" or a combination of the two. This table illustrates the overlapping nature of regulating trade and public order.

Category as shown in *Laws of the Market*	**Total**	**Trade**	**Public Order**	**Trade & Public Order**
The Laws of the Market	7	5	-	2
The Statutes of the Streets of this City: Against Nuisances	46	-	43	3
Old Laws and Customs of this City	7	1	1	5

The first category, "The Laws of the Market," includes the offenses of forestalling, regrating, and engrossing. It also condemns the sale of unwholesome victuals

[13] Taverner, "Moral marketplaces," 6.

like tainted butter, poultry, and other goods.[14] The second and significantly lengthier category, "The Statutes of the Streets of this City: Against Nuisances," cites a broad range of public order regulations. Although some, like the reiteration against the selling of unwholesome food, can be considered to concern both public order and trade, most entries have to do with the way people behaved. From dictating where, when and how waste could be disposed of to the amount of noise which can be made at certain times, the governing elite sought to regulate how the space was used to maintain some degree of 'correctness' in behaviour.[15] The last section seems to be reiterating customs which certainly would have predated the codified laws, again incorporating a combination of both regulation of trade and public order. Most of these remaining entries have to do with jurisdiction and who has the power to do what within the marketplace.[16]

It is obvious from the evidence found in these publications that different offenses had different consequences, which could point to the degree of seriousness perceived by early modern people. The fact that forestalling, regrating, and engrossing have relatively high fines as punishment points to the idea that those offenses were considered to be more severe an offense than, for example, a huckster selling goods in a marketplace. When it came to public order, dumping waste into the canal would earn you a relatively minor punishment compared to damaging a city conduit, which could secure the offender

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[14] City of London, *Laws of the Market* (London: 1562), available in Early English Books Online (EEBO), sig. B2v-B3; and City of London, *The Lawes, Orders, and Statutes, Authorised and Appointed for the Citizens of London, Concerning the Price of all Kind of Provisions both for Meal, Butter, Cheese, Flesh, Poultery, and Other Kinds of Victuals* (London: 1662), available in EEBO, 1-2.

[15] City of London, *Laws of the Market* (1562), sig. A4r-B1v; City of London, *The Laws, Orders and Statutes* (1662), 2-5.

[16] City of London, *Laws of the Market* (1562), sig. B2r; City of London, *The Laws, Orders and Statutes* (1662), 6.

in prison. Of all the entries, only two offenses could land the perpetrator punishment at the pillory. The first was that of damaging a pipe which led to a city conduit or (attempting) to gather water from the pipe privately, which could be considered similar to the forestalling of water, which was something which was meant to be available to Londoners freely. The second was punishment for verbally or physically abusing aldermen or other city officials, emphasizing the virtue of obedience.[17]

Comparisons of the seriousness of crimes like these are rendered difficult for a modern historian by several factors. For one thing, fines may have also been tailored to the type of offender. For example, it is possible that someone with the resources to forestall goods would have been more able to pay a high fine than a 'common huckster', which may explain the disparity in the amounts fined. Another reason to doubt the accuracy of these comparisons lies in the fact that the punishment went almost completely unchanged from the early editions to the later. Due to the significant inflation which accompanied economic growth, a fine of twelve shillings in 1562 would have been a much more serious threat than the exact same amount in 1662. It is surprising, therefore, that the amount was not adjusted as prices and wages went up. This draws into question the impact such fines would have had on (potential) offenders.

When it came to enforcing marketplace law, urban London was a dense web of overlapping jurisdictions, which sometimes made administration difficult. The City of London had Aldermen who were appointed to oversee twenty-six wards, which themselves were divided into 242 precincts. Each ward was required to have a pillory for

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[17] City of London, *Laws of the Market* (1562), sig. B1r; City of London, *The Laws, Orders and Statutes* (1662), 5.

public punishment at the least.[18] Within all of that, a network of aldermen, beadles, constables, and informers worked together to enforce laws. Aside from those responsible for enforcing and policing marketplace law, several institutions had the authority to sentence and punish offenders, from individual livery companies and wardmotes, the market-based piepowder courts, to the Star Chamber court.[19] This complex network of law enforcement demonstrates the perceived importance of upholding laws such as those which protected the openness of the marketplace.

The power to enforce laws at the City level was, in most cases, drawn from within the influential livery companies of London. A descendent of the medieval guilds, livery companies were organizations which oversaw trade in London, and therefore would have been important players in the marketplace. All aldermen and wardens were chosen from the livery companies, usually men who had made significant money as merchants and traders.[20] As Stephen Alford puts it, "[p]ower in Tudor England rested for the most part in the hands of the landed elite of the Crown, nobility, gentry and Church, but in London the key to influence and high office was mercantile success."[21] Most sellers at marketplace stalls were producers rather than merchants, having brought their goods to market from a nearby farm, meaning that they likely did not belong to a livery company. However, the companies held some authority over the marketplace due to their involvement and control of London merchants and tradesmen.

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[18] Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability*, 219.

[19] Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability,* 219.

[20] Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability,* 19.

[21] Stephen Alford, *London's Triumph: Merchants, Adventurers, and Money in Shakespeare's City* (London: Bloomsbury, 2017), 4.

Official enforcement of market transparency and the sale of goods at the elusive 'just price' was sometimes considered insufficient. As a result, people would sometimes resort to rioting to take control of the marketplace, enforce what they considered to be 'just' trade, and to send a clear message to the governing elite. Particularly in rural areas, food riots were frequent in the period, often provoked by food shortages. In *Crowds and Popular Politics in Early Modern England*, John Walter identifies over seventy individual cases of food riots between 1585 and 1649. In most cases, the crowds would forestall the goods on their way to market in another location, seize the goods in order to sell them at a 'fair' price, or both.[22] In many ways, London's growing marketplace demands exacerbated the problems in rural areas, which may have prompted the riots. However, a riot in London echoed the instances in the countryside. In June 1595, a crowd of around three hundred apprentices took over the Southwark market, seized the stocks of fish and butter in order to sell them at their own determined prices, took control of the position of Clerk of the Market, and even made a proclamation against selling goods outside of the prescribed market times.[23] The examples of food riots in this period indicate how important the regulation of marketplace trade was to people as well as officials, and the extent to which the regulations were founded in moral principles of honesty, fairness, and justice. The apprentices, although they were punished for subverting the authorities, likely did not consider themselves to be breaking the law, but upholding it using the existing principles of a public and open marketplace.

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[22] John Walter, *Crowds and Popular Politics in Early Modern England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press), 68-70.

[23] *Star Chamber Reports: Harley MS 2143*, ed. K.J. Kesselring (Kew, 2018), no. 874.

The *Laws of the Market* represent the desire to maintain justice within the marketplace based on notions of fair dealings and just prices which in turn related to more traditional aspects of Christian virtue. It was 'just' to regulate trade in the market so that no one got an unfair advantage. Ensuring that poorer people could still be assured of a fair price and wholesome victuals was an important responsibility of the crown and the city, as well as everyone's duty as good Christians. Furthermore, taking care to maintain public order was likely considered to be an important ingredient for a successful society, facilitating oversight and obedience as well as honest behaviour. However, exploring the morality embedded within the marketplace regulations and laws only tells the historian half the story. It shows how those in governing positions sought to maintain a moral marketplace through regulation, but the question remains as to how this would have been received. To answer that question more fully, it is necessary to look at how marketplace laws and regulations would have been communicated, through explicit transfer of information and implicit symbolism, to educate people in the marketplaces.

2.2: Communicating Marketplace Regulation

It is the task of the historian to look past the sources to the people beyond and recognize the limitations of the resources available. The problem with using published historical sources is that it tempts the historian to treat people as "a silently receptive majority," as historian Paul Pickering terms it.[24] Pickering demonstrates how an historian can move beyond the published sources to understand more about the people themselves by examining modes of communication. Adopting a similar methodology, this thesis

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[24] Paul A. Pickering, "Class Without Words: Symbolic Communication in the Chartist Movement," *Past & Present*, no. 112 (Aug. 1986): 144.

explores two distinct ways in which regulation was communicated within marketplaces: proclamations on behalf of the city or crown and symbolic communication in the marketplace. A third and equally relevant aspect of communicating market regulation is the enforcement of marketplace law and public punishment, but that will be explored in more detail in Chapter 3: Marketplace Punishment.

The most straightforward way to understand the communication of marketplace regulation is to examine the role of proclamations. The crown or the City of London typically drew up proclamations, and if they were communicated to the public they usually were read aloud by town criers, bellmen or other officials, and were subsequently posted on a market cross or prominent building. In *Oral and Literate Culture in England*, Adam Fox underlines the importance of the combination of speech and print for disseminating information in a semi-literate society.[25]

Royal proclamations were less frequent than those made by the City of London, and therefore may have held more weight. They were also typically addressed to the whole realm, although some were directed only at London or the bigger cities. Royal proclamations typically reiterated the laws and customs which were already in place, and during the Tudor reign, officials debated the extent to which a royal proclamation could be considered legally binding on its own.[26] For this reason, the crown typically produced proclamations which either reacted to certain events or were time sensitive, such as the posting of set wages for trades and craftsmen in London.[27] Like royal proclamations, city

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[25] Adam Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England, 1500-1700* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), 5.

[26] Frederik Youngs, *The Proclamations of the Tudor Queens* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 27-28.

[27] Table 2 in Youngs' *The Proclamations of the Tudor Queens* shows an overview of the topics covered by royal proclamations given by Mary I and Elizabeth I. Although these are only two of the monarchs in the

proclamations often reiterated existing laws and customs under the name of the sitting Lord Mayor or the Aldermen. The *Laws of the Market* would likely have been communicated by way of proclamation.

The purpose of proclamations was to communicate news, and topics varied from announcing visiting dignitaries and important births or deaths, to proclaiming the details behind public punishment or reminding subjects of certain laws. In an article on the subject, Chris Kyle focuses on the public and performative ways that proclamations were used to disseminate news. He cites the example of the proclamation announcing the death of Elizabeth I the succession of James VI/I, arguing that "the ceremonial – and wisely celebratory – aspects of the proclamation were emphasized."[28] Proclamations also frequently concerned subjects directly related to the marketplace, such as coinage, price setting, laws about trade or public order, and more. In a diary he kept from 1550 to 1563, Henry Machyn frequently recorded hearing proclamations on a wide variety of such subjects.[29] In one case, he even records hearing a proclamation against regrating, engrossing, and usury. The proclamation would purportedly go into effect the day following, 1 May 1552, making it seem like the regulations were somehow new, although similar laws and customs had already been in effect for years.[30]

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period examined here, it is indicative of the weight given to economic concerns. Of the total Elizabethan proclamations, 49% pertained to economics in general, with 20% of that concerning wages and much of the rest with price setting.

[28] Chris Kyle, "Monarch and Marketplace: Proclamations as News in Early Modern England," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 78, no. 4 (Winter, 2015): 775.

[29] *The Diary of Henry Machyn, Citizen and Merchant-Taylor of London, 1550-1563*. Edited by J G Nichols. London: Camden Society 1848. *British History Online*, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/camden-record-soc/vol42.

[30] "Diary: 1552 (Jan - June)," in *The Diary of Henry Machyn, Citizen and Merchant-Taylor of London, 1550-1563*, 13-21. http://www.british-history.ac.uk/camden-record-soc/vol42/pp13-21.

Proclamations were often communicated in marketplaces, partially because they were central locations with a relatively large audience, but also because the information often pertained directly to marketplace activity. After being read, the proclamation itself would be posted in a prominent place in a marketplace. According to Frederic Youngs, who studied the proclamations of the Tudor Queens, several London marketplaces were typically used as spaces of communication, including Cheapside and Fish Street markets.[31] Making a proclamation, however, is only the first step towards communicating with people in markets; the information actually needs to be conveyed as well. Not a lot of research has been done on the role of town criers in early modern London, but a few notes in proclamations as well as documents noting their wages indicate that criers were at least sometimes responsible for reading out proclamations.[32]

Some historians count on the idea that proclamations would have effectively disseminated information to those who either heard or read them. Youngs describes how effective royal proclamations would have been, stating that "[t]he infrequency of their issue must have made the act of proclamation of great public interest."[33] However, not all historians share this level of confidence in the effectiveness of proclamations being made in central locations. In an interesting study by David Garrioch called "Sounds of the City: The Soundscape of Early Modern European Towns," the aural atmosphere of an early modern city is reconstructed. In so doing, Garrioch points out that someone like a town crier might have been drowned out by other marketplace noise, and unless something

[31] Youngs, *The Proclamations of the Tudor Queens*, 25.

[32] Youngs, *The Proclamations of the Tudor Queens*, 24-26.

[33] Youngs, *The Proclamations of the Tudor Queens*, 39.

really caught the attention of the listener, the message would likely have been missed. Referring to European cities in general, Garrioch states that "[t]own criers were also an integral part of the city scene, calling laws, criminal convictions, or in some places funerals and objects lost or for sale. All these cries were ignored unless some key word, note or half-heard phrase suggested their relevance."[34] It is possible that this fact was recognized by the ruling elite, as criers were sometimes accompanied by instruments which would indicate an official announcement, like drums or trumpets.[35]

Although the goal of reading laws and regulations aloud was to ensure that no tradesmen or buyer could pretend they did not understand the laws, the limitations of this method are clear. It was not only explicit transfer of information by word of mouth that conveyed a moral message in the marketplace, but also through symbols within the space itself. When it comes to symbolic communication in the marketplace, a good place to start is the site where proclamations would likely have been made: the market cross. The market cross was the recognized symbol of a legal and regulated market, implicitly promising anyone within sight of it that the laws and regulations mentioned above would be upheld and agreed upon by traders and buyers in the market. Referring to market crosses in the medieval period, James Davis says that "[t]he cross was the symbol of regulatory confidence and oversight, overlooking the public arena of the market. It also had status as an emblem of royal authority and 'market-peace'"[36]

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[34] David Garrioch, "Sounds of the City: the Soundscape of Early Modern European Towns," *Urban History*, 30 no. 1 (2003): 8.

[35] David Garrioch, "Sounds of the City," 17. This fact is also reinforced by an entry in the diary of Samuel Pepys, from August 25th, 1663, where he states that he came across "a fine fellow with trumpets," who turned out to be the Clerk of the Market in Leadenhall, announcing some of the entertainments to be found at St. Bartholomew's Fair.

[36] James Davis, "The Cross and the Pillory," *Staedtische Raeume*, no. 5 (2009): 250.

The crown and the city alike used the market cross as the location for their proclamations, as it is likely that the cross already conveyed a symbolic message of moral legitimacy. The market cross would also have been where officials would manage weights and measures for the marketplace, a further instrument and symbol of morality in trade. For several centuries, the responsibility of standardizing weights and measures throughout England fell to the Clerk of the Market. One of his responsibilities was to match the weights and measures, as approved by the crown, to those in every marketplace, the goal being to assure fair and honest dealings between tradesmen and buyers.[37] In 1587, Elizabeth I issued a proclamation which was intended to standardize weights and measures to facilitate honesty in trade and open marketplaces. The proclamation begins with "[f]orasmuch as by God's laws and man's laws there hath been and ought to be in all places true, just and certain weights and measures."[38] The proclamation implies that honest trade relates to being a good Christian as well as a good member of the commonwealth, drawing on the symbolic nature of the scales as a symbol of justice and equity. The notice about standardized weights and measures was to be proclaimed in every market town in England, and that the proclamation itself was to be "fastened in a table in the marketplace by an officer, where it may hang dry, to continue and be seen and read by any that will."[39] Interestingly, this proclamation was also to be

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[37] R. D. Connor, *The Weights and Measures of England* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1987), 325-328.

[38] "Establishing Standard Weights and Measures," Proclamation no. 695 in *Tudor Royal Proclamations,* Vol. II, edited by P. L. Hughes and J. F. Larkin (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1969), 543.

[39] "Establishing Standard Weights and Measures," Proclamation no. 695 in *Tudor Royal Proclamations*, 546.

read in every church once a year for a period of four years. The correct management of weights and measures, therefore, facilitated an open and honest marketplace by implicitly promising that each would be given their due.

The *Laws of the Market* showed that the regulation of public order was an important aspect of marketplace control, and like market crosses and weights and measures, was inextricably linked with morality in the marketplace. In this era, public order in the marketplace would have been a way to combat the persistent belief that trade tempted fraud and dishonesty.[40] However, the governing elite could not rely solely on announcing laws to facilitate public order in the marketplace, but needed other methods as well. One way they could influence public order was in the management of the space itself. In London, investments were made to improve the marketplaces. In the late sixteenth century, the decision was made to pave and raise Smithfield market in London to allow for cleaner and safer space for people and livestock to walk.[41] By the late sixteenth century, most London marketplaces and many other public spaces had a water conduit, water being an important resource and sometimes scarce in early modern London, as well as being considered to be a universal, God-given right.[42]

[40] Davis, "The Cross and the Pillory," 251.

[41] Henry Morley, *Memoirs of Bartholomew Fair,* (London: Ballantyne Press, 1880), 114-115.

[42] Mark Jenner, "From Conduit Community to Commercial Network? Water in London, 1500-1725," *Urban History,* Vol. 2, No. 21 (2001): 117-118.

Figure 2.1 In this print from 1639, which depicts a royal procession along Cheap Street, the prominent Cheapside market cross (highlighted in blue) and the Great Conduit (highlighted in green) can be seen.[43]

While the maintenance and improvement of the marketplace, and public spaces more generally, may seem like a minor aspect of moral symbolism, it was a way of implicitly regulating the way people interacted with the space. In so doing, the authorities could facilitate an open and safe marketplace, in the hopes of creating a space conducive to honest trade. The governing elite of London could remind and inform people in the marketplace of their moral responsibility for honest trade and transaction by expounding laws and regulations at the base the symbolically pious market cross, a moral message about honesty in trade and the importance of public order which was reinforced through the very symbols and infrastructure of the space of the marketplace.

[43] *Entree Royalle de la Reyne Mere du Roy tres-Chrestien dans la Ville de Londres,* 1639, 286x791mm, The British Museum (G,11.130).

2.3: Agents of the Marketplace: Hugh Alley

The final step towards understanding the relationship between marketplace regulation and morality is to look at the agents of the marketplace. Who were the people making and enforcing marketplace regulation? Who were the people on the receiving end of the moral communication, both symbolic and literal? Understanding the players and the role they played in negotiating morality in the early modern marketplace will help answer the core research question of this chapter.

Marketplace regulation was nothing new to the early modern era, and much of it would have been understood as implicit custom as well as being codified in law. Even so, it was important that such official documents be drawn up to give the city and crown the ability to hold people accountable for their actions. Historians have debated whether the laws and subsequent proclamations and reminders were proactive or whether they were reactions to particular misdeeds, as though the result of such a debate may help uncover the origins of honesty, fairness and justice in the marketplace.[44] This simplifies the discussion, since morality is more likely negotiated by all those involved. Whether the governing elite were reacting to specific events or not, their (re)actions were communicated to the public, which would have influenced one's understanding of morality in the marketplace.

[44] See James Davis' *Medieval Market Morality,* or Charlie Taverner's "Moral Marketplaces." Gwen Seabourne's *Royal Regulations of Loans and Sales in Medieval England* also looks at this topic, but suggests that the laws may not have been perceived to be long-term, and were thus reiterated every few years.

To gain a glimpse into the perspective of a contemporary, this thesis will explore a rare manuscript entitled *A Caveat for the City of London*, written by Hugh Alley in 1598. Alley was born in London in 1556 into a family of the middling sort, his father and grandfather being craftsmen.[45] Not much is known about Alley, but historians think that he worked most of his life in administration. By 1590, Alley had become an informer of the Exchequer. Informers played an interesting role in early modern society, as they were licensed people responsible for informing wardens or aldermen of infringement of certain laws. Interestingly, informers got a percentage of the fine paid by the offender, making the position itself morally questionable in the eyes of some.

However, it does not seem that Alley was someone concerned with informing for the sake of making money alone; rather, his *Caveat* indicates that Alley was himself very concerned with the moral consequences of breaking the law. Historians Ian Archer, Caroline Barron and Vanessa Harding have published the most complete account of Alley's life to date, alongside a reproduction of the original manuscript, in *Hugh Alley's Caveat* (1988). In the book, they describe Alley as likely having been "bumptious and meddlesome" and a "busybody… always on the lookout for some new field for the exercise of his reformist inclinations."[46] Determined and pious, Alley was primarily concerned with upholding marketplace laws and regulations, and seriously considered the marketplace as a space infused with morality.

Alley's *Caveat* was presented to the sitting Lord Mayor, Sir Richard Saltonstall, in 1598. It does not appear that it was ever printed or distributed, but rather looks as

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[45] Archer, et al., *Hugh Alley's Caveat,* 17.

[46] Archer, et al., *Hugh Alley's Caveat, 17-18.*

though it found its way into the hands of another administrative official who passed it down through his family, to be rediscovered in the 1920s.[47] Alley addresses a short foreword "To the courteous Reader," indicating that he hoped or expected that his work might reach a wider audience. In the dedication to Saltonstall, Alley states his intention to "publish and set forth" the *Caveat*, so it should be kept in mind that Alley likely intended it to be seen by more than just the Lord Mayor.[48]

Most of the *Caveat* manuscript is not text, but is comprised of beautifully detailed illustrations of London marketplaces, as well as the wardens or aldermen assigned to each jurisdiction. Examples of the marketplace depictions can be found in Figures 2.3-2.7 below. Figure 2.2 shows an example of the illustrations of the richly dressed alderman and ward of the Cheapside district. The final pages of the manuscript include somewhat less detailed illustrations of the main gates in and out of the City of London.

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[47] Archer, et al., *Hugh Alley's Caveat*, 29-30.

[48] Hugh Alley, *A Caveat for the City of London,* in *Hugh Alley's* Caveat, ed. Ian Archer, Caroline Barron and Vanessa Harding (London: London Topographical Society, 1988), 36. Spelling has been modernized.

Figure 2.2 Alley's illustration of Alderman Stephen Soame, who became Lord Mayor the year following publication (on the right) and Cheap ward deputy John Pinder (left).[49]

Archer places Alley's work in the context of the perceived crisis of the 1590s, characterized by plague outbreaks, harvest failures, rampant inflation, and a decline in both domestic and international trade. As a result of these difficulties, prices were especially high and many felt that there was more crime and vagrancy as a result.[50] It is probably not a coincidence that the *Laws of the Market* were also republished in 1595, an indication that the governing elite were also concerned with the perceived degradation of

[49] Alley, *A Caveat to the City of London* in *Hugh Alley's Caveat*, 24.

[50] Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability*, 9.

marketplace behaviour.[51] Having been an informer for eight years at the time of producing the *Caveat*, Alley provides a rare and little-studied contemporary interpretation of marketplace regulations and the problems surrounding it. Although it is hard to know how the *Caveat* might have impacted policy, it is known that in 1600, Alley was part of a small group established by the Common Council to address specific problems in the market. The act laments idleness in London, stating that:

> [people] use and frequent the markets of this city to regrate, forestall and engross all kinds of victuals… to the great enhancing of the price, and hindrance and disprofit of the inhabitants of said city, which is like to continue and increase if some good law be not made to redress the same.[52]

Living and writing around the same time as Alley, John Stow published his *Survey of London* in 1595, just a few years before the creation of the *Caveat*, but still within the years of the so-called 'crisis'. Although Stow occasionally seems to lament the way London grew and changed, he takes a somewhat more optimistic view of the state of London during the 1590s. He implies that the bulk of the population were not idle, but productive merchants, craftsmen, and labourers. Stow states that although "[c]ovetousness, that other sire of sedition, possesseth the miserable and needy sort.... They bear not any great sway, seeing the multitude and most there is of a competent wealth, and earnestly bent to labour."[53] It is possible that, in a published work, Stow wanted to set an example to readers by emphasizing 'good' behaviour rather than

[51] Archer, et al., *Hugh Alley's Caveat, 24-25.*

[52] Act of the Common Council, reproduced in Archer, et al., *Hugh Alley's Caveat*, 15.

[53] John Stow, *The Survey of London*, produced online by Henry B. Wheatley, Gutenberg Project (2013), https://www.gutenberg.org/files/42959/42959-h/42959-h.htm, 491.

focusing on the problems in London, as Alley does. In his work, Stow does not specifically focus on marketplace regulation as such, but it is interesting that he still finds the connection between morality and the economic market.

In the *Caveat*, it is clear from the dedication to the Lord Mayor that Alley feels that the marketplace is increasingly immoral, an opinion supported by his perception of an increase of offenses to marketplace regulations. He says that in creating this work, he "might stir up the minds of some kind of people, to carry better consciences, and not to rack and sack, all unto their own greedy covetous purses and paunches: to the enriching of themselves, and impoverishing of their poor neighbours, but upon lawful warning to take good head, in breach of the same laws."[54] It seems that both Stow and Alley were concerned with covetousness and greed, sins which seem to have been the primary threat to the open and honest dealings in the market. Alley is more specific in his concerns about the morality of marketplaces, drawing together what it means to be a good or bad citizen, faith, and the marketplace:

> To the great offense of almighty God, and impoverishing of good citizens, and the best degree, of common sorts of her majesty's loving subjects: in forestalling, regrating and engrossing of all kind of provisions brought into all the said markets, and enhancing and raising up of all prices… [And] of like greedy kind of people inhabiting in and about the city… called hagglers, hawkers, hucksters, and wanderers… the inconvenience whereof, in these few late years, hath bred this great dearth and scarcity.[55]

[54] Alley, *A Caveat to the City of London* in *Hugh Alley's Caveat*, 47.

[55] Alley, *A Caveat to the City of London* in *Hugh Alley's Caveat*, 35.

According to Alley, "good and godly deed[s]" were the solution to these marketplace problems, such that would ensure approval from God, Queen, Council and all "good people."[56]

What those good deeds entailed, however, is somewhat ambiguous in the *Caveat.* Alley does not convey any specific advice, but rather seems to hope that his words and illustrations will inspire 'better' actions. It does seem likely, as someone directly involved in marketplace regulation, that Alley may have equated 'good deeds' with stricter control of the marketplaces. Indeed, early in the dedication Alley mentions that a "lack of due punishing" for those in violation of the "wholesome statute" could be a reason for increasing immorality of the marketplace.[57]

To understand Alley's views more fully, it is useful to return to those two aspects of marketplace regulation discussed above: trade and public order. From his statements in the dedications, Alley draws together the problems in the marketplace, focusing on threats to the open and honest marketplace. Condemning forestalling, regrating, and engrossing as well as hawkers, hucksters and vagabonds, Alley clearly believed that conserving open and honest trade was an important aspect of maintaining a moral marketplace. In fact, almost all the aspects of marketplace regulation that Alley is concerned with have to do with people buying or selling outside of the designated space or time, which subverts the process of open and honest trade.

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[56] Alley, *A Caveat to the City of London* in *Hugh Alley's Caveat*, 36.

[57] Alley, *A Caveat to the City of London* in *Hugh Alley's Caveat*, 35.

Figure 2.3 Hugh Alley’s illustration of Billingsgate Market in *A Caveat to the City of London*. Reproduced in black and white in *Hugh Alley’s Caveat* by Ian Archer, et al. The word “forestallers” on the market cross has been highlighted in red.[58]

[58] Alley, *A Caveat to the City of London* in *Hugh Alley’s Caveat*, 53.

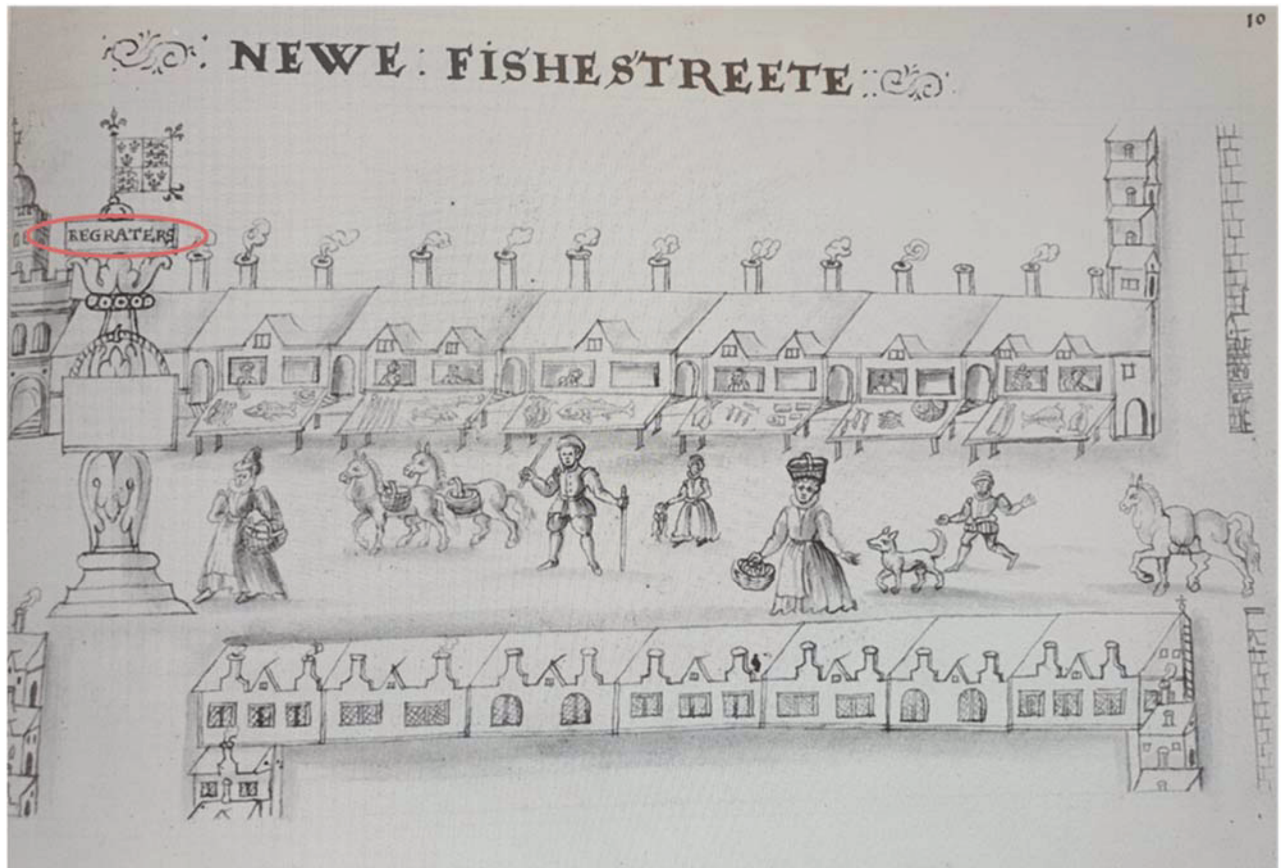

Figure 2.4 Hugh Alley's illustration of New Fish Street Market in *A Caveat to the City of London*. Reproduced in black and white in *Hugh Alley's Caveat* by Ian Archer, et al. The word "regraters" on the market cross has been highlighted in red.[59]

[59] Alley, *A Caveat to the City of London* in *Hugh Alley's Caveat*, 55.

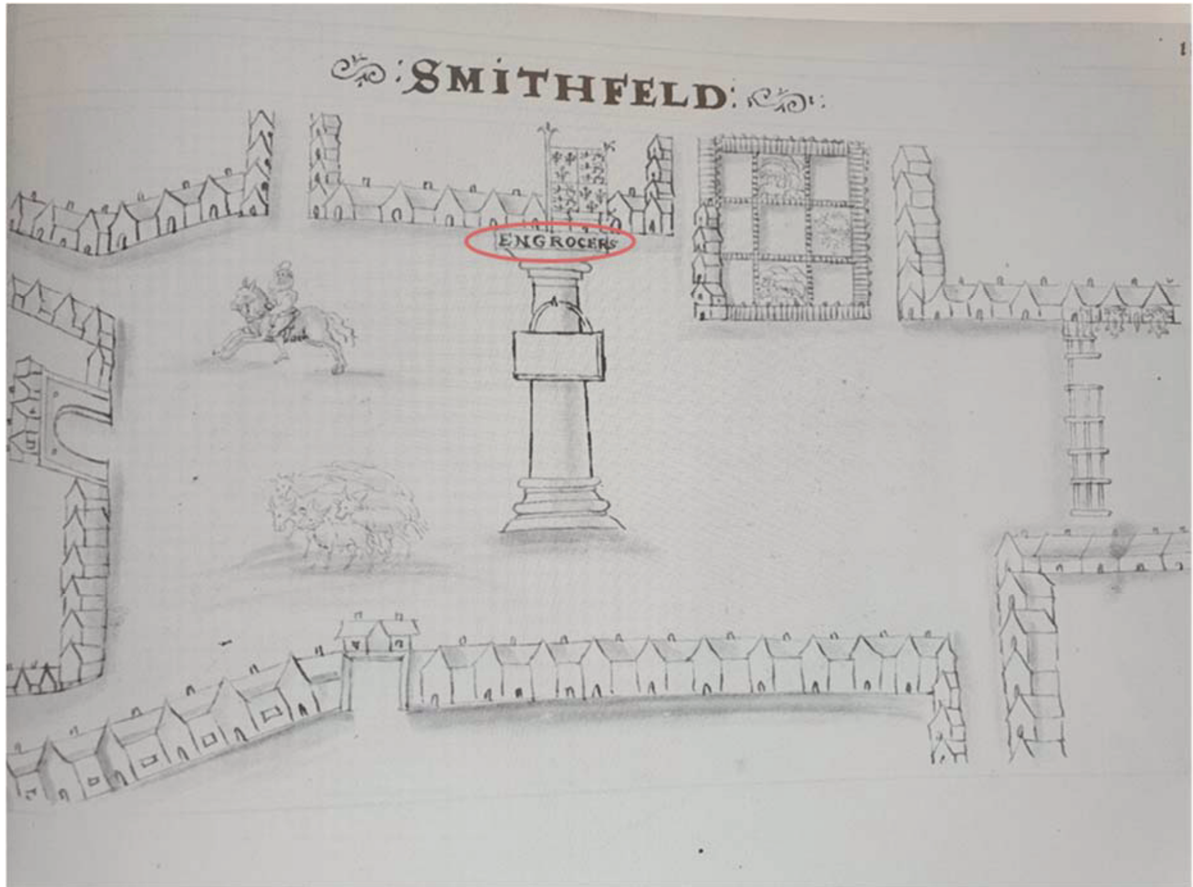

Figure 2.5 Hugh Alley's illustration of Smithfield Market in *A Caveat to the City of London*. Reproduced in black and white in *Hugh Alley's Caveat* by Ian Archer, et al. The word "engrossers" on the market cross has been highlighted in red.[60]

Of the thirteen markets which Alley illustrated, eight of them have either the word "forestallers," "engrossers," or "regraters" inscribed on the market cross. Whether those specific markets were particularly troubled by the respective offense is not clear, but the placement of the word on the cross is significant. The market cross was a symbol not only for the legitimacy of the market as a space for trade and transaction, but also as a

[60] Alley, *A Caveat to the City of London* in *Hugh Alley's Caveat*, 71.

reminder that people were being held accountable as Christians. It seems that Alley also felt the importance of this link and recognized the power of symbols in the marketplace to remind people of the moral message behind the laws governing trade. It is possible that in placing these terms in such a central location, Alley indicates that the marketplace is a space where moral messages can and should be conveyed to people. It seems that in his case, at least, it would be a space where he expected to be reminded of the laws which upheld honest trade and where a moral message could be effective.

It is not clear what Alley intended with these depictions and the word placement. Perhaps he simply wished to illustrate to the reader how connected the crimes were with the marketplace, and it was not a call to action. It is also possible that he was, in fact, indicating to the Lord Mayor that the link between these offenses and Christian goodness could be made more clear in the space itself, perhaps through actually having the words carved into the market cross or otherwise displayed. This certainly would not have been an unusual sight at the market cross, given the practice of using a written sign to proclaim the specific offense of criminals.[61] It seems that Alley wanted his readers to draw the same connections between morality, the open market, and marketplace regulation as he did.

Hugh Alley was also concerned with public order in the marketplace and valued the idea that steps could be taken by the city to encourage fairness and honesty through the management of the space itself. Of the thirteen markets illustrated by Alley, twelve of them depict obvious advice on how to best organize the market space to facilitate public order. Several of the illustrated markets are like the example shown in Figure 2.6, which

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[61] More on this in Chapter 3: Marketplace Punishment.

shows Leadenhall Market. The pillars of the market indicate where sellers should stand, based on where they come from, to distinguish foreigner tradesmen from citizens. Figure 2.7 shows the Old Fish Street market, which is a representative example of how Alley depicted the neat ordering of the stalls themselves, seen in several of the illustrations. Again it is not clear from these illustrations to what extent Alley was depicting what was already there, or whether these were aspects of his own advice to the Mayor, but it is again clear that he felt that the key to an open, honest, and moral marketplace was through strict regulation of public order and trade.

Figure 2.6 Hugh Alley's illustration of Leadenhall Market in *A Caveat to the City of London*, where he has inscribed nearby counties on the tops of the market pillars to indicate where different tradesmen ought to sell their goods. Reproduced in black and white in *Hugh Alley's Caveat* by Ian Archer, et al.[62]

[62] Alley, *A Caveat to the City of London* in *Hugh Alley's Caveat*, 61.

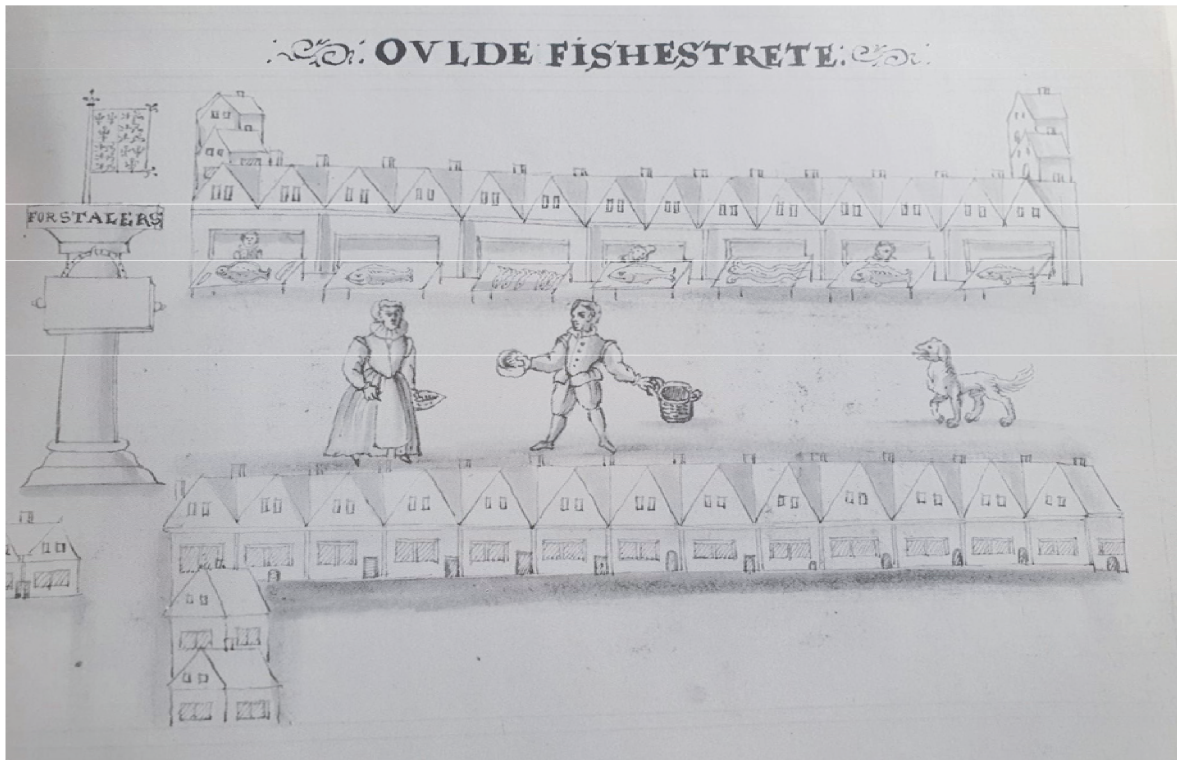

Figure 2.7 Hugh Alley's illustration of Old Fish Street Market in *A Caveat to the City of London*. Notice how he depicted the goods being sold at neat and orderly stalls set up outside the houses of the fishmongers. This was typical of the way he illustrated maintaining public order in the marketplace. Reproduced in black and white in *Hugh Alley's Caveat* by Ian Archer, et al.[63]

From Alley's perspective, the control of trade and public order was essential to honest and fair trade deals in the marketplace. Moral marketplaces were threatened by the sins of the marketplace, offenses which were motivated by greed, covetousness, and idleness. Alley felt that this was an increasing risk in London in the 1590s, which was most harmful to members of the community who good Christians should be protecting,

[63] Alley, *A Caveat to the City of London* in *Hugh Alley's Caveat*, 73.

not taking advantage of through inflating prices, and manipulating the market. It appears Alley learned all of this through his observations of the marketplace and the ways it was governed, but it is likely that others, witnessing similar things, came to different conclusions. Just as now, there would not have been only one understanding of what a fair and honest marketplace looked like. Whether or not Alley's work influenced the way marketplaces were regulated or overseen, his work provides an example of how the marketplace could influence thoughts about morality, even if he was unusual in having such strong opinions. As Archer puts it, Hugh Alley was "energetic [and] genuinely concerned to eradicate malpractices in the food markets of London and he had a vision which, while being rooted in the streets and stalls, people and shops of his native city, suffused London in a cloud of righteousness and justice."[64]

2.4: Conclusion

In setting out to answer the research question for this chapter, I aimed to discover how marketplace laws influenced and reflected the moral understanding of fairness, justice, and honesty in the space of a market. The early modern *Laws of the Market* illustrated some of the primary concerns of the ruling elite, as they sought to facilitate an open and honest marketplace. In so doing, they assigned a moral value to the behaviour behind exchange in the marketplaces, which was then communicated through proclamations within the same space. After all, fairness in trade and exchange was thought to be essential to being a good Christian, avoiding idleness or greed and supporting poorer members of society. The 'fair price' was determined through honest

[64] Archer, et al., *Hugh Alley's Caveat, 33.*

trade, which was promoted by strict control of where and when goods could be bought and sold. Hugh Alley and other contemporaries felt that greed and covetousness were threats to honest trade, and therefore threats to morality. Although it is difficult to know whether Alley's opinions were shared by others, the *Caveat* shows that he learned from what he saw in the marketplace, recognized the moral issues behind trade and exchange, and agreed with authorities that stricter regulation could help to solve these problems. If people felt that goods were being sold at an unfair price, they sometimes took matters into their own hands, as shown by the apprentice food riots in marketplaces. It seems that marketplaces were not only spaces where goods could be sold and purchased, but also spaces in which people negotiated ideas of fairness and honesty.

CHAPTER 3: MARKETPLACE PUNISHMENT

The early modern London marketplace was not only governed by certain laws and customs, but also often served as the space in which infractions of those laws could be punished. Public punishment which took place in marketplaces went beyond the repercussions for infringing upon trade laws or the regulation of public order, and the space was also used for the punishment of more serious crimes. This chapter will explore how several types of public punishment, enacted in the London marketplaces, may have conveyed moral messages to spectators. After examining how marketplaces were used not only for trade but also for legal enforcement and punishment, the punishment for petty crime will be examined as a continuation from the discussion in the first chapter on marketplace regulation. The final section of this chapter will examine public punishment more broadly, particularly looking at the punishment for more serious crimes, such as heresy. Both sections will pay particular attention to the different ways that the marketplace could have been used as a space for moral education when enacting public punishment.

This chapter makes use of a combination of legal sources, such as published laws or court rolls, as well as contemporary accounts of public punishment. By broadly examining public punishments which commonly took place in the transactional space of the marketplace, I aim to answer the second research question of this thesis: how did punishment which was executed in the marketplace impact spectators' moral compass?

3.1: Space for Punishment

Marketplaces being used as spaces for public punishment in the early modern period was nothing new, but it does seem that in the mid-sixteenth century, people increasingly understood and demanded the enforcement of laws, particularly market laws. As Stuart Minson argued, this period saw an increased "preference for such standards to be policed and enforced by civic authorities, and for this to be *seen* to be so."[1] Early modern London authorities were not only enforcing laws, but were also, to some degree, expected to do so by the general public. This engagement with law enforcement points to the important negotiations taking place between authorities and the public, and the complex moral aspects of the laws.

Before looking at specific examples of public punishment and the perception thereof, it is important to examine the space itself and how marketplaces were used as a legal space. Marketplaces were first and foremost spaces for trade and exchange, and it was important that honourable and honest trading was enforced, to minimize temptations to cheat for unfair profit. To this end, marketplaces would have been a convenient space for punishing trade-related offenses, following a long-held tradition of enacting punishment at the place of the related infringement. Southwark market, on the southern side of the Thames, was well known as a space for punishing offenders against market laws, such as forestalling, regrating or engrossing. Perhaps that is why Hugh Alley chose only Southwark to depict a figure being punished at the pillory in the marketplace (Figure 3.1).[2]

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[1] Stuart Minson, "Public Punishment and Urban Space in Early Tudor London," *London Topographical Record* 30 (2010): 8.

[2] Archer, et al., *Hugh Alley's Caveat*, 97.

Figure 3.1 Section of a black and white reproduction of Hugh Alley's depiction of the Southwark Market, showing the market cross and pillory. According to Ian Archer, the Southwark pillory was often used to punish those flouting market laws. It is not clear whether the pillory was, in fact, a raised cage or whether Alley perhaps forgot to illustrate the lower halves of the bodies.[3]

It is likely that authorities were expected, and perhaps to some degree supported, by the public to punish tradesmen for infringing upon market laws like forestalling, regrating, or engrossing. This public engagement with market laws is likely thanks to a widespread feeling that someone cheating the market was cheating the community. Dave

[3] Alley, *A Caveat to the City of London* in *Hugh Alley's Caveat*, 77.

Postles argues that this support for law enforcement was caused by a feeling that "civic honour" ought to be protected. He says that "[t]o perpetrate an abuse in [the marketplace] space was to abuse the dignity of the town; to improve market facilities enhanced the dignity of the town."[4] Hugh Alley indicates a similar line of thought, stating in the dedication that "[t]o the great offence of almighty [G]od, and impoverishing of good citizens, and the best degree, of common sorts of her majesty's loving subjects: in forestalling, regrating and engrossing of all kind of provisions brought into all the said markets…"[5] This is not to say that law enforcement and the judicial authorities were blindly supported by the general public, but rather to emphasize how the public and authorities interacted.

The two sections below outline how marketplaces were a venue in which interaction and negotiation between officials and the public could occur, particularly when it came to punishment and public reactions. Ian Archer has argued that the legal system in the 1590s was in fact a sort of communication line, allowing tentative negotiation between governing bodies and the public. Although Archer discusses the riots and crises of the 1590s at length, he admits that 'peaceful' forms of communication were often preferred to "taking it to the streets," while also arguing that "[d]eference could not be taken for granted, and social tensions emerged when the governors failed to meet popular expectations."[6]

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[4] Postles, "The Market Place as Space," 41.

[5] Alley, *A Caveat to the City of London* in *Hugh Alley's Caveat*, 42.

[6] Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability,* 60.

Early modern London did not have a police force in the same way as we think of it today. Instead, a system of governing elites including (but not limited to) the crown, the City of London, aldermen of the wards, constables and informers purportedly worked to keep urban space honest and safe for the inhabitants. This was, at least, the claim they used to try to legitimize their own authority. Aldermen and informers would have had a clear understanding of the laws as determined by the crown or the Lord Mayor, as well as experience with how the marketplaces worked. Hugh Alley was such an informer, spending many years reporting to the Exchequer about trade infringement, particularly when it came to the assize of bread and ale.[7] Informers played an interesting role in the legal system of early modern London, as they typically received a percentage of the fines collected from offenders. Furthermore, their reports tended to be based on hearsay, especially when it came to unwholesome victuals or reputations of sexual misconduct.[8] This incentive to apprise authorities of an offense made for diligent informers, but it also created a morally dubious situation where informers could directly and personally benefit from reporting crime.[9]

Marketplace law was not only punished in the marketplace, but typically also judged in the marketplaces themselves, or nearby. The market, wardmote, city and borough courts, were often the sites of legal authority when it came to market laws and other petty crimes. One interesting example of a marketplace court was the court of piepowder. Not much is known about the piepowder courts, in all probability because

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[7] Archer, et al., *Hugh Alley's Caveat,* 18-20.

[8] Helen Carrel, "The Ideology of Punishment in Late Medieval English Towns," *Social History* 34, no. 3 (Aug., 2009): 302.

[9] Archer, et al., *Hugh Alley's Caveat,* 20-21.

their 'pop-up' judicial style meant that there was little reason to keep detailed records. Piepowder courts would often take place in the marketplace on market days or during fairs, and judge petty crimes for which the sentence and punishment was often immediate or completed within a couple of days.[10] One of the surviving records from a piepowder court in Canterbury illustrates the speed at which this court could work. Accused of owing rent money, defendant Edward Brook was brought to court at 2:00PM on 15 January 1602, asked to return that same evening at 5:00PM, and finally sentenced at 1:00PM on 19 January 1602, the whole process taking no more than three days.[11]

Aside from the dedicated legal system of informers and courts to enforce marketplace laws, the space itself had certain legal connotations. The market cross, often in the center of the marketplace, represented legal legitimacy bestowed by the crown. As a civic institution, marketplaces were legally regulated to ensure that the primary function of the marketplace, namely trade and exchange, was executed fairly by the standards of the day. In this sense, the marketplace itself was imbued with a sense of legal honesty and justice. Disobedience would, in theory, be met with justice in the same space.

This brings us to one of the most prominent tools of the marketplace law enforcement, where many punishments would be executed: the pillory. As James Davis puts it, "[i]f the [market] cross represented assertions of authority and paternal oversight, then the pillory represented the enforcing mechanism for those that transgressed."[12] Although only a few of the *Laws of the Market* stated that the punishment for

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[10] Charles Gross, "The Court of Piepowder," *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 20, no. 2 (Feb., 1906).

[11] "Court of Piepowder," *Kent at Law, 1602*, Vol. II, ed. Louis A. Knafla (Kew, 2011), 890.

[12] Davis, "The Cross and the Pillory," 251.

infringement should be time in the pillory, evidence points to the fact that the pillory was frequently used to punish a wide variety of offenses, from dishonest trading to adultery. For example, Star Chamber records from the mid-sixteenth century show pillory sentences for perjury, forgery, slander, counterfeit, extortion, robbery, adultery, sorcery, and more.[13] This means that not only was the pillory an ever-present symbol in the space of legal authority, but also likely often had an offender locked uncomfortably, sending an even more explicit moral message about the consequences for wrongdoing.[14]

3.2: Punishing Petty Crime

Public punishment is one of the most notorious aspects of the early modern period, featuring prominently in popular culture depicting English history. Public punishment was a common occurrence in early modern London and fit into a very particular legal and social context. For an early modern Londoner, no two public punishments would have been perceived in the same way, depending on the crime committed, the person being punished, and the location where the punishment took place. This section focuses on the type of public punishment which historian Martin Ingram termed "shame penalties," since these were usually the type of punishments dealt to people who committed petty crimes. Ingram argues that the primary purpose for the

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[13] *Star Chamber Reports: Harley MS 2143*, ed. K.J. Kesselring (Kew, 2018).

[14] For more on the symbolism embedded in public punishment, see Mitchell B. Merback, *The Thief, the Cross and the Wheel* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1998). Although he is not looking at early modern England, his exploration of the deeply Christian symbolism behind execution tools such as the wheel and the cross illustrates the importance of these types of structures when it came to conveying a moral message.

punishment of petty crimes was to shame and humiliate the offender, and that the bodily harm caused in the process was secondary.[15]

The term 'petty crimes' is a relatively subjective term, but this thesis uses it to distinguish between crimes which might land the perpetrator with a death sentence (felonies) and crimes which might earn a lesser punishment. That should not imply that petty crime was unimportant, especially given the prevalent opinion that serious crimes followed petty crimes, a snowballing effect of sinful behaviour.[16] Paul Griffiths quotes a Norwich mayor from 1562, warning a petty criminal to "hold upon God's grace and live in ye fear of God or else he should come to ye rope."[17] This section concentrates on the punishment and the moral message, making the crime itself a secondary detail, whether it be marketplace regulations, slander, adultery, or any other form of petty crime. Furthermore, punishment was variable, meaning that judges could base their sentence on individual cases. This meant that serious crimes could sometimes be met with a less serious punishment, and vice versa, making the distinction between petty and serious crime blurred when it comes to punishment.

Failure to adhere to the customs defined in the *Laws of the Market* most often resulted in monetary fines, monetary compensation, or the forfeiture of goods. This was true for forty-one out of the sixty entries in the *Laws of the Market*. For infringing upon

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[15] Martin Ingram, "Shame and Pain: Themes and Variations in Tudor Punishments," in *Penal Practice and Culture, 1500-1900: Punishing the English*, ed. Simon Devereaux and Paul Griffiths (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2004), 40-44.

[16] See Ingram's "Shame and Pain," Paul Griffiths' "Bodies and Souls in Norwich," or Helen Carrel's "The Ideology of Punishment."

[17] Norfolk Record Office (NRO) in Paul Griffiths, "Bodies and Souls in Norwich: Punishing Petty Crime, 1540-1700," in *Penal Practice and Culture, 1500-1900: Punishing the English,* ed. Simon Devereaux and Paul Griffiths (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2004), 87.

the remaining laws, seven were intended to result in temporary imprisonment, two in punishment at the pillory, and for the remainder it is not clear what the punishment is intended to be.[18] Although it may seem as though the punishments for offenses in the marketplace are straightforward, evidence points to much judicial flexibility in deciding on the punishment. Keeping in mind Ingram's assertion that the primary goal of many corporal sanctions was inciting shame, punishments were often designed to fit the individual crime, sometimes resulting in exceptional forms of punishment.[19] For example, it seems that the pillory was sometimes fitted out with additional symbols particular to the crime. Ingram quotes contemporary account of how a butcher, upon a repeat offense, was ordered to the pillory with "the said bacon hanging about him and over his head… and a paper affixed to the said pillory declaring not only his… offence, but also the [previous] like offense."[20]

For the most part, committing the marketplace sins of forestalling, regrating, or engrossing did earn the perpetrator a monetary fine. In many ways, the punishment suits the crime, as offenders were thought to be earning money unfairly. However, repeat or particularly serious offenses sometimes needed more public displays of punishment than only a fine. For example, on 1 July 1552, diarist Henry Machyn describes how a man and woman were sentenced to the pillory at Southwark market because "the man sold pots of

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[18] Corporation of London, *Laws of the Market* (London, 1595).

[19] The variation of punishment is discussed at length in Martin Ingram's "Shame and Pain", as well as Stuart Minson's "Public Punishment and Urban Space in Early Tudor London."

[20] "Corporation of London Records Office, Letter Book T, fos 14, 22," in Ingram, "Shame and Pain," 43.

strawberries, the which was not half full, but filled with fern."[21] According to the *Laws of the Market* this kind of crime ought to earn a fine, and yet Machyn describes how they were set on the pillory. There are several possible reasons that this may have happened; perhaps it was a repeat offense, which may have enticed the court to increase the severity of the punishment. It is also possible that a fine was also involved, although Machyn might not necessarily have known.

Those who made false accusations against tradesmen for marketplace offenses could also receive harsh punishments. The regulations were in place to facilitate transparent trade, so it was equally important that honest traders were protected from libel or slander. Machyn describes an interesting case when, on 27 June 1552, a man and woman were put on the pillory for falsely accusing a butcher of selling them a piece of mutton with a tile in it. It seems that the woman, in fact, "took a piece of tile and thrust it into the midst of the mutton" in an attempt to have the butcher punished.[22]Although it is not clear why the man and woman (likely husband and wife) wanted to frame the butcher, it is clear that once they were found out they were made examples of much in the same way a dishonest seller might. They were sentenced to the pillory, with the mutton hanging over the woman's head.

While many crimes related to trade and public order in and around marketplaces were met with fines, using the marketplace as a space to enact punishment was an

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[21] "Diary: 1552 (July - Dec)," in *The Diary of Henry Machyn, Citizen and Merchant-Taylor of London, 1550-1563*, ed. J. G. Nichols (London: Camden Society, 1848), 21-28. *British History Online*, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/camden-record-soc/vol42/pp21-28. Spelling has been modernized.

[22] "Diary: 1552 (Jan - June)," in *The Diary of Henry Machyn, Citizen and Merchant-Taylor of London, 1550-1563*, 13-21, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/camden-record-soc/vol42/pp13-21.

important part of communicating the values of open marketplaces which underpinned the laws. This was done through making examples of some offenders, to send a warning message about what happened to those who were dishonest. Public punishment in London marketplaces often constituted three distinct elements, which could be used on their own, in combination and with significant variation: the pillory, proclamations, and processions. Along with other forms of public punishment, these three elements were used to great effect to communicate laws and act as warnings, but also to reinforce the clear moral message behind the laws themselves.

The first element of public punishment was the pillory, which would have been an extremely uncomfortable consequence for committing a petty crime. Not only was one locked in the same awkward position for several hours, it was also common for passers-by to jeer and sometimes throw things. Depending on the seriousness of the crime, the person being punished could have an ear nailed to the pillory, have their hair cut or shaved, or the pillory could be used as a whipping post.[23] Star Chamber records indicate the importance of the marketplace pillory, one offender being "committed for 6 months space and to stand on the pillory with a paper in two places two market days" for perjury.[24] As we have already seen, pillories could also be affixed with certain symbols pertaining to the crime in question, like having unwholesome meat hanging over the head of an offender. These punishments and symbols in and around the pillories would have worked to clarify the message being communicated to spectators as well as to complete the humiliation of the offender.

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[23] Ingram, "Shame and Pain," 40-47.

[24] *Star Chamber Reports: Harley MS 2143*, 176.

Proclamations or signs are the second element of public punishment, which ensured that viewers understood exactly what the offender had done wrong. Contemporary accounts sometimes describe the visuals which accompanied people upon the pillory, whether it be a written sign, a painted image, or some other symbol. In his diary, Henry Machyn frequently describes public punishment, often detailing the crimes for which people were being punished. Although Machyn only rarely refers directly to a sign or proclamation, it is likely that the reason he knows the exact offense is thanks to this method of communication.[25] John Stow, in his *Survey of London*, describes this method of communication in some detail when describing the case of a man being punished for committing adultery.

> I saw his punishment to be thus:—He was on three market days conveyed through the high street and markets of the city with a paper on his head, wherein was written his trespass. [26]

Clearly, it was of the utmost importance that public punishment was used not only to shame and humiliate the offender, but also to serve as an unmistakable lesson to onlookers.

Finally, the third element of public punishment was that of placement and procession. Expanding upon his description of an instance of public punishment above, Stow goes on to describe how the man was moved from marketplace to marketplace, spreading the message of this misdeed.

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[25] *The Diary of Henry Machyn, Citizen and Merchant-Taylor of London, 1550-1563*, 21-28, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/camden-record-soc/vol42/pp21-28.

[26] Stow, *The Survey of London*, 171.

> The first day he rode in a carry [sic], the second on a horse, his face to the horse tail, the third led betwixt twain, and every day rung with basons, and proclamations made of his fact at every turning of the street.[27]

These processions served to convey the message of the offense to the maximum number of people, often dependent on the seriousness of the crime. In one case recorded in the Star Chamber court rolls, a man arrested for a misdemeanor was sentenced to an uncomfortable, sixteen mile horseback ride to a prison "through market towns in despiteful manner."[28] This example, and that in Stow's description, are representative of how judicial authorities commonly used procession and movement within and between marketplaces to humiliate offenders and convey messages about moral wrongdoing as far and wide as possible.

Court records and witness accounts not only tell us what happened but can also offer some indication of the perception and reaction to the punishment of petty crime. In his diary which spanned thirteen years, Machyn frequently noted instances of public punishment that he witnessed.[29] Not much is known about Machyn, as he almost never refers to himself in the diary. For hundreds of years, his diary was kept thanks to a few references to major historical events, but only recently has been recognized for its historical significance as an account of everyday life of a middling sort of man. Machyn's accounts of public punishment leave much to the imagination since they usually simply describe the form of punishment (i.e. "put on the pillory") and the crime which is being

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[27] Stow, *The Survey of London*, 171.

[28] *Star Chamber Reports: Harley MS 2143*, 294.

[29] In a paper about Henry Machyn, Ian Mortimer problematizes the use of the word 'diary' when describing Machyn's text. 'Diary' indicates that it is an account of Machyn's personal life, but it is clear from the text itself that Machyn was most concerned with recording public life. "Tudor Chronicler or Sixteenth-Century Diarist? Henry Machyn and the Nature of His Manuscript," *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 33, no. 4 (2002).

punished if he knew it. Upon closer inspection, however, the detail with which Machyn can describe both the punishment and the crime speaks to the effectiveness of such punishments in spreading a moral message. It also makes clear that the subtle variations in punishment were not lost on spectators. For example, on 30 April 1551, Machyn describes hearing a proclamation about the *Laws of the Market* as described in the previous chapter. He notes the regulations surrounding regrating and engrossing. The next entry in the diary describes a man who had to forfeit a cart-load of beef because he "would not sell it according to the proclamation."[30] In these simple accounts it is difficult to tell what Machyn's thoughts on the matter were, but it is likely that the fact that he followed up so quickly indicates that he felt it was justified that the beef-seller had to forfeit his goods since the proclamation was so recently and clearly made. In other words, it is likely that Machyn felt that the beef-seller got his just deserts.

In fact, throughout Machyn's diary, it seems as though his accounts of public punishment describe the honourable upholding of the law. Although his mild language does not explicitly indicate that he felt these punishments were morally just, it also offers no sympathy with the offenders. Furthermore, the detail with which Machyn describes not only the punishments but also the proclaimed laws, indicates that he recognized a connection between the two and the justice served for infringing these market laws.

Other contemporary writers used stronger language describing petty crime, like Rafael Holinshed in his well-known chronicles. Although Holinshed is not referring to events which he witnessed, the language he uses to describe public punishment and petty

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[30] "Diary: 1553 (Jan - June)," in *The Diary of Henry Machyn, Citizen and Merchant-Taylor of London, 1550-1563*, 28-34, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/camden-record-soc/vol42/pp28-34.

crime is decidedly more emotional than that of Machyn. For example, when describing petty thievery as a "wicked outrage," Holinshed goes on to describe how an improved system of punishment instills "fear of deserved punishment."[31] Later, when describing an instance of public punishment under the reign of Richard II, Holinshed seems more critical, describing a case of adultery as punished "very extremely."[32] Although the nature of the Holinshed Chronicles are very different from that of the diary of Henry Machyn, the language he uses illustrates some ways that contemporaries felt about and were critical of public punishment.[33]

Aside from punishment for breaking market laws, Machyn's diary proves to be slightly more descriptive of punishments for other types of petty crimes. In particular, it seems that he has very little patience for (suspected) witchcraft, adultery, treasonous language, or assault. In an unusually detailed account, Machyn describes the punishment of a young man who spoke out against the succession of Jane Grey to the throne rather than Mary Tudor. It seems that Machyn may have witnessed the outburst from the young man, and followed up the next day describing his punishment: both ears cut off at the pillory and only taken down once unconscious.[34] Although Machyn's language is characteristically neutral, his attention to detail when it came to slanderous talk against

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[31] Rafael Holinshed, et al., *Holinshed's Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland…,* Volume 2 (London: J. Johnson, 1807-08), 465.

[32] Holinshed, et al., *Holinshed's Chronicles,* 772.

[33] While Henry Machyn's diary is ultimately a private text written about public events, the Holinshed Chronicles are an extensive printed history with six volumes. It should be born in mind that Holinshed's language throughout the text would likely have been subjected to censorship, which might have impacted the way he described the historical events.

[34] "Diary: 1553 (Jul - Dec)," in *The Diary of Henry Machyn, Citizen and Merchant-Taylor of London, 1550-1563*, 34-50, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/camden-record-soc/vol42/pp34-50.

the crown indicates that the message being conveyed with such a punishment had an impact.

Although it cannot always be said with certainty how the moral message was received by contemporary witnesses, it is clear from Machyn's accounts that the message sometimes got across. In the public space of the markets, Machyn learned of the laws through proclamations, but also about the consequences if those laws are broken. He gathered this information through witnessing the punishment, seeing the offender at the pillory, or being paraded through the public space, and the exact form of misconduct outlined on a piece of paper or sign. Although Machyn is only one man, his descriptions of events indicate the extent to which these punishments may have had the capacity to shape the moral compass of those who saw it. It is possible that, in Machyn's time, witnessing these punishments reinforced the desire to be morally 'correct,' and reiterated the importance of fairness, honesty and Christian goodness in the marketplace.

Machyn's unemotional language sometimes gives the impression that the marketplace punishment for petty crime only lent a voice to the authorities, allowing them to convey their ideal concept of justice and obedience through the enforcement of laws which they made. However, other voices could be heard as well. Ian Archer explores the role of apprentice riots in his book *The Pursuit of Stability*, which is one example of how a contrasting moral message could be conveyed in the marketplace and was an important tool for negotiating morality. Archer argues that the crowds were disciplined, "operating according to values which were shared to some extent by the elite in actions designed to remind the magistrates of their duties."[35] This was certainly true

[35] Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability*, 6.

when apprentices took over the Southwark market in 1595 to sell fish and butter at a 'fair' price, for which they were committed, whipped, fined and pilloried.[36]

A similar situation almost one hundred years later caused Samuel Pepys to write about pillory punishments in his diary with some distaste. On 26 and 27 March 1664, Pepys recounts hearing of apprentices being put on the pillory for beating their masters, and the pillories being subsequently pulled down by other apprentices in protest. Of the ensuing commotion, Pepys writes,

> But, Lord! To see how the train-bands are raised upon this: the drums beating every where as if an enemy were upon them; so much is this city subject to be put into a disarray upon very small occasions. But it was pleasant to hear the boys, and particularly one little one, that I demanded the business. He told me that that had never been done in the city since it was a city, two prentices put in the pillory, and that it ought not to be so.[37]

Pepys' language may indicate a certain amount of sympathy with the apprentices both on the pillory and fighting to pull down the pillory, or in any case that he finds the whole situation distasteful. Although the voice of the authority was likely the loudest voice when it came to public punishments for petty crimes, the examples shown here of the actions of protesting apprentices show that it was by no means the only voice in the marketplace. In fact, this shows that punishing people who subverted the law perhaps gave them a platform from which to communicate their own opinions, an idea which can be explored more explicitly when looking at the punishment of more serious crimes. As a

[36] *Star Chamber Reports: Harley MS 2143*, 873.

[37] "Sunday 27 March 1664" in *The Diary of Samuel Pepys: Daily entries from the 17th century London diary,* website run by Phil Gyford, Accessed May 5, 2021, https://www.pepysdiary.com/diary/1664/03/27/.

space for punishing petty crime, it seems that the marketplace also functioned as a space where the moral values embedded within the legal system could be communicated.

3.3: Public Execution

For many years, public execution was often dismissed by historians as an unenlightened, barbaric practice intended to disgust and frighten onlookers. A closer look has shown historians that the relationship between the authorities, the condemned and the spectators was a complicated one.[38] While one might accidentally come across a pillory punishment while visiting the marketplace, executions could actively draw crowds. Petty criminals in the marketplace pillories certainly conveyed a message of authoritative power and the dangers of moral misdeeds, but public execution could really capture the attention of early modern people.

There is a significant volume of work concerning early modern public executions, often focusing on the pageantry of execution as well as execution as a mode of communication, much of which has been central to the research for this chapter.[39] In order to narrow the scope, this section will examine heresy executions in Smithfield market from the mid-sixteenth to the early seventeenth centuries as a case study. The

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[38] J. A. Sharpe, “"Last Dying Speeches": Religion, Ideology and Public Execution in Seventeenth-Century England," *Past & Present,* no. 107 (May, 1985). Sharpe offers a compelling argument for looking at public execution for its broad social context, and as such has been a seminal work inviting other historians to look more closely at the accounts of executions.

[39] For the importance of communication at the time of execution, see Lake & Questier’s “Agency, Appropriation, and Rhetoric under the Gallows: Puritans, Romanists, and the State in Early Modern England,” Helen Carrel’s “The Ideology of Punishment in Late Medieval English Towns,” and J. A. Sharpe’s “Last Dying Speeches.” For more on the performative quality of public execution, see Eamon Duffy’s *Fires of Faith: Catholic England Under Mary Tudor*, and Krista Kesselring’s *Mercy and Authority in the Tudor State.* In his book, *The Spectacle of Suffering*, Pieter Spierenburg also explores the spectacle of execution, but focuses on late seventeenth and early eighteenth-century Amsterdam.

Smithfield heresy executions were chosen because heresy executions were concerned with religious doctrine and represent some of the most extreme examples of moral teaching. Heresy executions highlight the complicated relationship between morality, the public, religion, and the crown. Furthermore, although several London markets served as spaces for heresy executions, Smithfield was used most frequently, and the use of this particular space may have had a distinctive impact on the spectators. More practically, the Smithfield heresy executions were well documented by John Foxe in his *Acts and Monuments*, providing ample evidence for a case study.

The *Acts and Monuments*, parts of which are sometimes referred to as the *Book of Martyrs,* was one of the most influential anti-Catholic scholarly works of the era, an extensive tome containing detailed accounts of Protestant martyrs. Its author, John Foxe, not only wanted to record history, but also saw the value in recording what he saw as religious persecution and martyrdom in his own time. Foxe edited and republished the text four times in his lifetime and is known to have been dedicated to recounting events accurately, although his clear Protestant perspective cannot go unnoticed. Although Foxe's significant bias and motivation for writing and publishing must always be borne in mind, Foxe's representations of the early modern heresy executions have been an invaluable source for modern historians.[40]

Foxe was born in 1517 and his entire life played out against the backdrop of the English Reformation. Though he was not born into a particularly wealthy family, he attended Oxford University as a young man, in the years after Henry VIII split from the

[40] Foxe has been used as a core source in such works as Brad S. Gregory's *Salvation at Stake* and Eamon Duffy's *Fires of Faith*.

Catholic church.[41] It was in these formative years that he became influenced by Protestant thought, which gained him few allies in Oxford. Under Edward VI, Foxe acted as a tutor in well-known Protestant households. When Edward VI suddenly died and the throne was left to Mary I, a devout Catholic, many established Protestants, including Foxe and his wife, went into exile to avoid religious persecution. From his new base in Geneva (and later Basel), Foxe began to collect the stories of Protestants throughout Europe who were being persecuted for their beliefs.[42] He may not have known how this work, originally in Latin and primarily for other Protestant scholars, would grow to become one of the most influential anti-Catholic scholarly works of his time.

It may have been a relief to him that in 1558, Protestant Elizabeth I succeeded to the throne, allowing many exiled Protestants, including Foxe, to return to England. Soon after he arrived, Foxe had an English version of his accounts of heresy executions published. This monumental history of late medieval and early modern Christianity and accounts of the recent martyrs was widely read and criticized, leading Foxe to continue to edit his work in three further editions, the last one published just a few years before his death in 1587.[43]

The lengthy title that Foxe gave to the first edition of the book in 1563 clarifies his work as a primary source, particularly the methodology he used in gathering stories of executions. The accounts were "[g]athered and collected according to the true copies & writings certificatory, as well of the parties themselves that suffered, as also out of the

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[41] John T. McNeill, "John Foxe: Historiographer, Disciplinarian, Tolerationist", *Church History* 43, No. 2 (1974), 216-217.

[42] McNeill, "John Foxe," 217.

[43] McNeill, "John Foxe," 216.

Bishops Registers, which were the doers thereof…"[44] In this part of the title, Foxe tells the readers directly where his sources came from, making relying on it difficult for two main reasons. Firstly, it is difficult to verify his sources entirely since modern historians do not have access to the same accounts nor registers as he may have had. Secondly, and possibly most importantly, is that John Foxe had a clear agenda when it came to writing this text and it is by no means neutral. Foxe was a devout Protestant, an admirer of John Calvin, and the text he wrote was used by himself and others to further a Protestant agenda and demonize the actions of Catholics. That being said, Foxe is considered to have been careful in his selection and perhaps surprisingly diligent in evaluating his sources to avoid his claims being challenged.[45] While his selections and commentary were deeply polemical, the underlying accounts seem to be broadly factually accurate.

When Mary I inherited the throne from her half-brother Edward VI after his short reign, her first priority was to correct the damage she felt that he and her father, Henry VIII, had done to the country by breaking with the Catholic church and the pope. In her mission to rid the country of Reformation thought, she ordered the execution of many so-called heretics. These are the executions for which Smithfield market is well-known, many of which are recounted in *The Acts and Monuments*, to immortalize these people who were considered heretics or martyrs, depending who you asked. Though Mary I may be the monarch best known for executing Protestants, it is important to remember that Henry VIII and, to a lesser extent, Elizabeth I and James VI/I, also ordered executions of

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[44] John Foxe, *The Unabridged Acts and Monuments Online* or *TAMO* (1563 edition), The Digital Humanities Institute, Sheffield, 2011. Image of first page. Accessed through http://www.dhi.ac.uk/foxe. In this thesis, quotes from *The Acts and Monuments* have been modernized in their spelling.

[45] McNeill, "John Foxe," 225-227.

people charged with heresy. Of the Protestant executions between 1530 and 1612, many of which were described by John Foxe, more than sixty took place at Smithfield market.[46]

Smithfield market, located on the outskirts of London, just outside the city walls, was a livestock and meat market. In Hugh Alley's illustration of it, pens containing sheep and pigs can be seen, as well as what looks like a herd of droving cattle. Many of the buildings surrounding the market would have been butchers. Although the meat market which stands there today is an enclosed structure, Smithfield was then a wide open space.[47] Aside from acting as a live meat market and housing the yearly Bartholomew Fair, Smithfield market had a history of violence in the form of jousting and tournaments, as well as a space for the execution of traitors in medieval times. Foxe offers an account of medieval Smithfield as a place of "ordure [sic] or filth, & the place where the felons & other transgressors of the kings laws were put to execution."[48] These factors may have contributed to Smithfield's persistently poor reputation as a dirty and possibly dangerous space.

Why authorities chose to execute the condemned in Smithfield market, or indeed any marketplace, rather than in a churchyard, prison, or other location, is not an easily answered question. Aside from the obvious fact that marketplaces were often large and public spaces, did something else about markets make them suitable locations for such extreme punishments? Punishing offenses related to trade and public space in the marketplace would likely have made an immediate connection between the two in the

[46] Estimated number based on the information in John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*.

[47] The word "Smithfield" is thought to be derived from "smooth field."

[48] Foxe, *TAMO* (1583 edition), Book 4, Div. 5, "Henry I."

minds of the spectators, but the connection between heresy executions and marketplaces is somewhat more obscure. Perhaps marketplaces, as spaces of exchange and transaction, implicitly prepared people to expect exchange of information as well. Marketplaces were primarily secular spaces which also contained religious symbolism, which might have made punishment for the crime of heresy particularly effective. Somewhere like Smithfield, with its tradition for the herding and butchery of animals, may have been specifically chosen to encourage the dehumanization of the condemned, as they were led, in chains, to their death. Whatever the reason may have been, it seems likely that the choice of Smithfield market as a space for heresy executions was a considered one, and it is clear that the executions had the capacity to draw significant crowds (see Figure 3.2).

☙ The order and maner of the burning of Anne Askew, Iohn Lacels, Iohn Adams, Nicholas Belenian, with certayne of the Councell sitting in Smithfield.

Figure 3.2 Image of a woodcut found in John Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*, depicting the execution of Anne Askew and others. This representation of Smithfield market during a heresy execution highlights its capacity for a large and lively crowd.[49]

Regardless of the rationale behind selecting Smithfield market for heresy executions, the important part came at the time of the execution itself, when both the authorities as well as the condemned had messages to convey to the awaiting audience. In 1540, the condemned Protestant, Robert Barnes is reported to have addressed the crowd

[49] "The order and manner of burning of Anne Askew..." woodcut in John Foxe, *TAMO* (1583 edition), Book 8, Div. 41, "Anne Askew."

that had gathered in Smithfield, stating “I am come hither to be burned as an heretic and you shall hear my belief whereby ye shall perceive what erroneous opinions I hold”.[50] These ‘last dying speeches’[51] were a common feature of any public execution, and John Foxe published several, like that of Barnes, from those burned for heresy at Smithfield. These speeches not only contained prose intended to persuade onlookers, but were also full of symbolism and performative gestures, all intended to ensure that the moral message was communicated as effectively as possible. Sermons were frequently used by both the appointed preacher and the condemned to address the audience, echoing the kinds of doctrinal message which would have been found in church. While condemned priests or ministers incorporated sermons into their ‘last death speeches,’ the appointed preacher might try to drown them out with one of their own.[52] Both parties were, in essence, using the sermon as a tool for moral education, preaching conflicting messages in the marketplace rather than the church.

On 30 May 1555, John Cardmaker and John Warne were to be burned as heretics at Smithfield market, and Foxe describes the controversial occasion in detail. Apparently, some of the gathering spectators worried that Cardmaker would recant his Protestant views when faced with the stake. However, to the supposed intense relief of the audience, Cardmaker “rose up, put off his clothes… went with bold courage to the stake, and kissed it sweetly: he took Warne by the hand, and comforted him heartily.”[53] This kind of action

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[50] Foxe, *TAMO* (1563 edition), Book 3, Div. 44, “Barnes, Garrett and Jerome”.

[51] Sharpe, “Last Dying Speeches.”

[52] Lake and Questier, "Agency, Appropriation and Rhetoric under the Gallows," 86-87. The role of both Protestant and Catholic sermons during executions is also discussed in Sharpe’s “Last Dying Speeches.”

[53] John Foxe, *TAMO* (1583 edition), Book 11, Div. 23, “The Martyrdom of Cardmaker and Warne”.

seems to have been typical of a heresy execution, at least in the descriptions offered by Foxe. Martyrs are often depicted with their hands in certain positions, almost theatrically carrying out actions which they presumably hoped would send a clear message to the public. This strategy, using symbolic communication, would have been especially important considering the size of the crowd and the likelihood that not everyone could hear their statements and confessions clearly.[54]

Another example of the effect of symbolic communication is that of John Bradford, who was burned as a heretic in the Smithfield market in July 1555 (Figure 3.3). Even under interrogation from a Bishop, Bradford refused to give up his Protestant views, purportedly stating clearly "you call my opinion heresy: it is the true light of the word of God."[55] Foxe describes his execution carefully, paying particular attention to the way Bradford behaved when faced with the stake. From the woodcut included in the section on Bradford, it appears that a large group of people attended the execution at Smithfield.[56] That means that when Bradford took a bundle of wood and kissed it as well as the stake where he was standing, the message would have been clear to the public: Bradford was firm in his belief that he was serving God in the only true way, and was willing to pay the ultimate price. To reinforce this implicit message, Bradford supposedly

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[54] The importance of symbolism in conveying a message to the crowd is discussed in more detail in Pickering's "Class without Words: Symbolic Communication in the Chartist Movement." Though focused on a different subject, Pickering argues that symbolic communication was vital, especially in a situation where not everyone in the crowd would be able to hear (or understand) you. This idea is further expanded upon in David Garrioch, "Sounds of the City: The Soundscape of Early Modern European Towns."

[55] Foxe, *TAMO* (1570 edition), Book 11, Div. 35, "The Martyrdom of John Bradford".

[56] Foxe, *TAMO* (1570 edition), Book 11, Div. 36, "Bradford's Letters".

addressed the crowd directly saying, “O England, England, repent thee of thy sins… Beware of Idolatry, beware of false Antichrists.”[57]

The defcription of the burning of M. Iohn Bradford
Preacher, and Iohn Leafe a Prentife.

Figure 3.3 A woodcut in John Foxe’s *Acts and Monuments* which depicts the execution of John Bradford and John Leafe. Bradford, on the right, calls to England to repent of idolatry. It is said that officials at this execution decided to tie down the hands of the martyrs so that they could not communicate with the crowd in that manner.[58]

[57] Foxe, *TAMO* (1570 edition), Book 11, Div. 35, “The Martyrdom of John Bradford”.
[58] “The description of the burning of M. John Bradford Preacher, and John Leafe a Prentise.” woodcut in John Foxe, *TAMO* (1570 edition), Book 11, Div. 36, “Bradford’s Letters.”

Although symbolic communication seems to have been an important aspect of their execution, the condemned understood the importance of having a platform from which to explicitly communicate their moral message. Before his execution in 1540, Robert Barnes is said to have insisted that he was innocent of the crimes charged against him, since he never sought to spread his Protestant views, was never a traitor to the king, and aimed only to "study to set forth the glory of God."[59] He goes on to say that he never approved of the behaviour of those who had burned as heretics at Smithfield before him, and he goes to great lengths to explain the details of his own religious opinions. Barnes was addressing a large crowd and would have had time to prepare this speech carefully, which suggests that it was intended (and likely received) as a kind of sermon. He not only tried to justify his own position, but also to convince onlookers of the truth of his beliefs. What the public really took away from his words cannot be known for sure, but it seems that Barnes wanted his death to serve as more than a warning to the public, but also as a form of teaching.

Reading Foxe's work, it is sometimes possible to forget the perspective of the authorities, who were conveying an opposing doctrinal message. The very fact that these people were being executed for their beliefs and actions was a powerful warning to the onlookers.[60] As Eamon Duffy puts it when describing the heresy executions under Mary I, "it was an opportunity to recall straying sheep to the unity of the church, to correct their

[59] Foxe, *TAMO* (1563 edition), Book 3, Div. 44, "Barnes, Garrett and Jerome".

[60] For more on the philosophy behind authority's exercising this kind of power, see Michel Foucault's *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (1975). The first chapter in particular, although focused on the century and more after the heresy executions, explores the relationship between power and public punishment through execution.

errors and to set out authentic [C]atholic teaching."[61] In her philosophical work, *The Body in Pain,* Elaine Scarry implies that physical punishment was a method to have the victim act as the 'voice' of those in power.[62] The executions were certainly an important aspect of propaganda for the authorities, but they also offered a platform for the condemned to attempt to persuade onlookers. In fact, some have suggested that an important part of the authoritative message came from being able to offer mercy to those condemned, 'saving' the condemned from the stake at the last moment.[63]

Despite his religious bias, Foxe's accounts of 'martyrs' like Bradford and Barnes offer a glimpse of what may have been seen and heard during a public execution at the Smithfield marketplace. Given the charges of heresy, it is not surprising that there is a strong religious moral overtone to these final words, which likely shaped the way onlookers felt about their own faith; perhaps reinforcing their existing idea of what it meant to be a good Christian, or perhaps changing it. These beliefs would have been directly at odds with the religious doctrine being conveyed by the authorities. In Mary I's proclamation "Enforcing Statute against Heresy" of 1555, the motivation behind punishing heresy was explained as the crown "entirely and earnestly tendering the preservation and safety, as well as of the souls as of the bodies, land, and substance of all their good and loving subjects."[64]

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[61] Eamon Duffy, *Fires of Faith: Catholic England Under Mary I* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 102.

[62] Elaine Scarry, *The Body in Pain* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), 47-50.

[63] Krista Kesselring, "Public Performances of Pardon," in *Mercy and Authority in the Tudor State* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

[64] "Enforcing Statute Against Heresy: Prohibiting Seditions and Heretical Books," in *Tudor Royal Proclamations,* Vol. II 1553-1587, 57-60.

It seems likely that the contrasting nature of the moral messages found in executions would leave the spectator with lots to think about. Regardless of whose doctrine they found more convincing, evidence suggests that reactions to a heresy execution could be intense. For example, a Spanish ambassador's witness account of the crowd at the burning of John Rogers in Smithfield market, which took place on 4 February 1555, indicates the variety and intensity of public reactions to executions.

> The people of this town are murmuring about the cruel enforcement of the recent acts of Parliament on heresy… as shown publicly when a certain Rogers was burnt, yesterday. Some of the onlookers wept, others prayed to God to give him strength, perseverance and patience to bear the pain and not to recant, others gathered the ashes and bones and wrapped them up in paper to preserve them, yet others threatening the bishops.[65]

Heresy executions highlight the multiplicity of moral messages conveyed in the marketplace; an aspect absent from that of the earlier examples of petty crime punishments. Unsurprisingly, Foxe focuses on the ways in which the condemned justified their actions and behaviour, subverting the moral message intended by the authorities in sentencing the offender as a heretic. While most reports of public punishment of petty crime in marketplaces only convey the crime, with connotations of the offenders' moral wrongdoing, the heresy executions seem to convey a dual message: the consequences of wrongdoing according to the authorities, as well as messages of doctrine and belief on the part of the condemned. These complex and competing doctrinal ideas were communicated to great effect, sometimes eliciting strong reactions from onlookers, making marketplaces like Smithfield spaces of moral education.

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[65] "Spain: February 1555," in *Calendar of State Papers, Spain, Volume 13, 1554-1558*, ed. Royall Tyler (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1954), 137-143. *British History Online*, accessed May 20, 2021, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/cal-state-papers/spain/vol13/pp137-143.

3.4: Conclusion

This chapter showed how public punishment had clear but contested moral messages which were communicated in the London marketplaces. The space was an important venue for the symbolic communication of right and wrong when it came to law enforcement. Sometimes marketplaces were used out of convenience, to draw a clear connection in the minds of spectators between the regulations in place to promote honest and fair dealings and the consequences for not honouring those laws. Other times, marketplaces were the carefully considered locations for the punishment of more serious crimes to convey a strong message about right and wrong, obedience, and faith. The marketplace was an important space for communicating the intended moral and legal values from the perspective governing elite, while also providing a platform for the accused to disseminate their sometimes opposing perspectives. It would have rendered the marketplace a space of transaction and exchange not only for goods and services, but also for contrasting and complex concepts of morality.

CHAPTER 4: MARKETPLACE ENTERTAINMENT

The last chapter explored the moral messages embedded within public punishment in the marketplace, but also served as a good introduction for the subject of this chapter: entertainment. Executions could draw particularly large crowds, and it is well known that at least some of the motivation to attend an execution was to witness the drama of the event. In fact, the theatricality of early modern executions has been widely studied by many historians.[1] Both the authorities ordering executions and the condemned used the spectacle of the execution as a stage from which they could address an audience. John Foxe frequently described the theatrical hand gestures and exaggerated symbolic movements of his martyrs. This kind of display led J. A. Sharpe to remark that the condemned men and women "were the willing central participants in a theatre of punishment, which offered not merely a spectacle, but also a reinforcement of certain values."[2] Frequently using words like 'performance,' 'spectacle,' 'stage' and 'audience,' the language used to describe executions echoes the language of the theatre.

If the marketplace is a stage, that makes the visitors of the marketplace an audience, whether they arrived in the space for the purpose of being entertained or not. In this chapter, we will continue to look at how the marketplace served to enhance different voices, looking at how the authorities used the stage to convey 'official' values, and how popular public entertainment offered a stage upon which performers, audience, and

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[1] Amongst others, see Douglas Bruster's *Drama and the market in the age of Shakespeare*, Lawrence Clopper's *Drama, Play and Game*, Janette Dillon's *Theatre, Court and City, 1595-1610*, Erika Lin's "Popular Festivity and the Early Modern Stage: The Case of George a' Greene."

[2] Sharpe, ""Last Dying Speeches," 156.

authorities could negotiate morality. To this end, the first section of the chapter will examine how the marketplace could transition into a space for popular entertainment. Although there are many aspects of entertainment and performance which could be examined in the context of the marketplace, this chapter will focus on two. Firstly, authoritative messages will be examined by looking at how the ruling elite used marketplaces as spaces of moral education during processions, with a particular focus on the royal entry of Queen Elizabeth I. Secondly, this chapter will examine how popular marketplace entertainment also had ways to communicate sometimes subversive understandings of virtues and vices through popular theatre in the form of puppet plays. Cheap, humorous and popular, puppet theatre was a staple of the infamous Bartholomew Fair in Smithfield market, and will provide a useful case study for examining the intricacies of popular moral education.[3] Through a close analysis of these two case studies, it will be possible to answer the final research question of this thesis: in what ways did marketplace entertainment and performance convey moral messages to an audience?

4.1: Space for Entertainment

It is already clear that the London marketplaces were a central part of urban life, fulfilling many different functions. This chapter introduces yet another function as the transactional space of the marketplace shifts to include amusement and performance, as

[3] Public punishment and execution have not been focused on in this section because so much work has already been done on the theatrical nature of punishment, and it seemed appropriate to focus on different types of marketplace entertainment. For theatre and spectacle in public punishment, see Lake and Questier's "Agency, Appropriation, and Rhetoric Under the Gallows," J. A. Sharpe's "Last Dying Speeches," Martin Ingram's "Shame and Pain," Krista Kesselring's "Public Performances of Pardon" in *Mercy and Authority in the Tudor State*.

well as offering some context to the world of early modern entertainment. Understanding the changes in early modern theatre and performance will help to situate marketplaces in a broad theme of public performance. After that, two types of performance will be explored in particular: royal processions and puppet theatre. In some ways these two examples are at either end of a spectrum, illustrating the multiple ways in which different people could use the marketplace for amusement and performance, but their similarities will also be explored.

Before continuing, it is important to clarify the terminology used when discussing early modern entertainment. The term 'entertainment' has a distinctly modern definition which will be applied as the broad term to describe any activity that provides amusement to the spectators. As such, it will be used as an umbrella term incorporating all types of performance, spectacle, or parade, regardless of where it takes place. I would like to specify further that entertainment in the context of this thesis has some sort of message to the audience, conveyed through symbolism, acting, writing or speech. Popular amusement like wrestling and bear-baiting has been excluded in this definition, although it could be argued they also contain moral messages. In the field of theatre history, scholars have increasingly adopted a wide scope when it comes to entertainment and performance, including performative actions and activities that are not confined to the theatre.[4] Finally, it is not possible to explore early modern entertainment without looking to theatre, both the concept and the physical venue. Unless otherwise stated, this section will only use the term 'theatre' to describe the spaces where performances are held, like

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[4] See the journal issue "Rethinking Performance in Early Modern England: Sources, Contexts, and Forms," *Early Theatre* 23, no. 2 (2020).

stages and playhouses. The terms used for the performances themselves may vary depending on the topic, including puppet shows, plays, pageants, or dramas.[5]

Marketplaces were one of the primary spaces for entertainment until the introduction of dedicated playhouses in the late sixteenth century. Janette Dillon offers an interesting take on the Smithfield market as a traditional space for entertainment as well for trade, helping to explain that the opening of official playhouses in the area was no coincidence. Dillon notes the spectacle and pageantry inherent to the sale of goods, particularly livestock at Smithfield.[6] One need only imagine the parading of the goods on sale, the loud calls of the sellers announcing details and competitive prices to understand how that could be seen as a stage with an audience. Dillon argues that Smithfield's history of theatre began long before the introduction of playhouses, a fact which often goes overlooked. When one considers the tradition of tournaments, wrestling matches, fairs, and processions alongside the public executions, it becomes clear that the Smithfield area was in many ways a space for performance, spectacle, and amusement, even before the rise of theatres.[7] It is perhaps no surprise, therefore, that some of the earliest purpose-built playhouses were established near marketplaces well-known for

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[5] When it comes to the terminology to describe early modern entertainment, sources differ. Throughout this chapter, I will aim to be as explicit as possible, since some words have multiple and overlapping meaning (like 'theatre' or 'drama'). The definitions and usages here are informed by those offered in Lawrence M. Clopper's frequently cited *Drama, Play and Game*.

[6] Janette Dillon, "Clerkenwell and Smithfield as a Neglected Home of London Theatre," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 71, no. 1 (March 2008): 118.

[7] Dillon, "Clerkenwell and Smithfield," 120-127.

their theatricality, like Smithfield (the Red Bull in c. 1605) and Southwark (the Rose in 1587, the Swan in 1595, and the Globe in 1599).[8]

To situate marketplace entertainment in the early modern period, it is important to examine the broader narrative of public entertainment and morality, starting with the morality plays of the medieval period. Morality plays, sometimes called moral dramas, are a form of performance and entertainment which was especially popular throughout the medieval period. It is likely that morality plays descended directly from the Christian religious performances. Traditional religious plays focused on human life in general, from Creation to Doomsday, while morality plays were focused on the individual life, from birth to death. They always followed the same structure, exploring what it means to be human through a cycle of existence, temptation and decline into sinfulness, followed by redemption.[9] Despite the lofty philosophical subject, morality plays were intended to be accessible, performed in English in public spaces like marketplaces. In Robert Potter's history of morality plays, he points out how morality plays were both "didactic (in the sense of teaching Christian doctrine) and ritualistic (in the sense of proving it)."[10]

One of the most characteristic aspects of moral plays was their inclusion of one-dimensional characters, named for what they represented. Characters such as Mercy, Death, Patience, or Mischief personified certain virtues and vices. Written in the 1470s, a morality play entitled *Mankind* has all the typical elements of a medieval morality play.

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[8] Stephen Alford, *London's Triumph: Merchants, Adventurers, and Money in Shakespeare's City* (London: Bloomsbury, 2017), 21-22.

[9] Robert Potter, *The English Morality Play: Origins, History and Influence of a Dramatic Tradition* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1975), 8.

[10] Potter, *The English Morality Play*, 16.

The main character, Mankind the farmer, is soon led astray by New Guise, Nowadays, and Nought. These three characters introduce Mankind to a servant of the devil, who spoils Mankind's land until it is difficult to farm. Eventually, when Mankind has given up and given in to temptation, he sees the three vices for what they really are, and returns to meet Mercy, who encourages Mankind to ask for forgiveness.[11] Interestingly, *Mankind* not only tells the story of fall and redemption, an important religious lesson, but it also references economic consequences. The impact of Mankind's sins was the inability to farm or work productively, and the play implies that once he turns away from sin and is forgiven, he would be able to prosper. The connection between morally 'good' behaviour and economic prosperity, and between sinfulness and failure to produce is clear.

Morality plays remained popular, particularly in rural areas, well into the sixteenth century. After the English Reformation, the tradition of performing morality plays became more complicated as the traditional doctrinal message, which was a staple of the plays, was no longer clear. Although there had always been political aspects to some forms of entertainment, the period following the Reformation saw a particular politicization of the theatre and performances. Morality plays started to introduce new, more dynamic characters, like King or Cardinal, incorporating the important position of politics in moral and religious teaching. This is evident in one early history play, entitled *King John* (or *King Johan*). It was written in 1538 by John Bale, and it is an early example of a moral play whose characters are distinctly political, and the political discourse mingles with the more traditional religious and moral messages.[12] In this story,

[11] "Mankind" (c. 1470), in *Mankind: The Macro Plays,* London: T. C. & E. C. Jack (1907).

[12] Potter, *The English Morality Play*, 37-39 and 80-82.

the 'Mankind' figure is represented by the King, supported by Nobility. Clergy, however, works against the King, supported by Sedition, Dissimulation, Private Wealth and Usurped Power.[13] It is clear that even these early plays examined the connection between the economic market ("Private Wealth") and Christian virtues of charity and generosity, emphasizing the importance of common people.

Although it is possible to oversimplify the linearity of the history of morality plays, it does seem that this slow change in morality plays following the Reformation contributed to the rise of the moral and corrective comedies and satire that characterize Elizabethan theatre.[14] In many ways Elizabethan London was a golden age for theatre, with the rise of playwrights like Jonson and Shakespeare, the establishment of many playhouses, and a growing population with an appetite for entertainment. In the urban setting, itinerant and traveling performers were increasingly replaced by actors and troupes who could live in the city, supported by wealthy patrons who offered legitimacy as well as financial security. The building of theatres became a popular investment, and ticket sales an important source of revenue for those involved. The marketplace was certainly a place for entertainment, and entertainment was increasingly part of the economic market. London was becoming increasingly commercialized, and theatre entertainment was one of the commodities which could be bought and sold, which in some ways brought theatre into the hands of the market economy and away from the control of church, crown or city.[15]

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[13] *King John* in Potter, *The English Morality Play*, 94-104.

[14] Potter, *The English Morality Play*, 106-107.

[15] For more on the economics of London theatre, see Stephen Alford's *London's Triumph: Merchants, Adventurers and Money in Shakespeare's City,* Janette Dillon's *Theatre, Court and City, 1595-1610,* William Ingram's *The Business of Playing* or Douglas Bruster's *Drama and the market in the age of*

Despite, or perhaps in part because of, the rising popularity of the professional theatre, it was a turbulent period for entertainment. In the context of this thesis, the divided attitudes towards theatre itself provide an interesting perspective towards popular entertainment in general. The city and crown seemed most concerned with plays which were satirical, parodic or polemical, while others found the whole venture to be somewhat immoral.[16] In a royal proclamation from 16 May 1559, Elizabeth I temporarily banned unlicensed performances, and reminds authorities responsible for licensing:

> [P]ermit none to be played wherein either matters of religion or of the governance of the estate of the commonweal shall be handled or treated, being no meet matters to be written or treated upon but by men of authority, learning, and wisdom, nor to be handled before any audience but of grave and discreet persons.[17]

It seems from this that the Elizabethan government was mostly concerned with controlling the message, not with theatre or performance.[18]

By far the most vocal critics were those worried about a negative influence of popular entertainment and theatre. Puritans were especially disapproving and discussed the morality of the theatre actively and publicly. In a public sermon in 1578, John Stockwood spoke out against the social as well as moral consequences of the theatre. As well as the danger of having a full theatre and an empty church, Stockwood worries about

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Shakespeare. The economics of theatre is also mentioned in more general histories of London economics, like Linda Levy-Peck's *Consuming Splendor* and C. G. A. Clay's *Economic Expansion and Social Change: England 1500-1700.*

[16] Lawrence M. Clopper, *Drama, Play and Game: English Festive Culture in the Medieval and Early Modern Period* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2001), 280-282.

[17] "Prohibiting Unlicensed Interludes and Plays, Especially on Religion or Policy," no. 458 (16 May 1559), *Tudor Royal Proclamations* Vol. 2, 115.

[18] Clopper, *Drama, Play and Game*, 282.

"so much money to be so ill spent, which might be employed to better uses."[19] Stockwood goes on to state that it is the duty of those with money to assist those without, and that theatre subverts this fundamental principle. In many ways, this attitude echoes the ideals behind the market laws and regulations presented in the second chapter, which were intended to be upheld for the good of the commonweal and the poor. In this context, however, it becomes clear that those familiar moral principles surrounding 'fairness' are, unsurprisingly, complicated and variable.

Philip Stubbes, a Puritan pamphleteer, published *The Anatomie of Abuses* in 1585 to outline the moral deficiencies of various aspects of popular culture. One section of the text focuses on stage plays and interludes in particular, in which he claims that the only truth comes from the word of God through stories in the Bible, and that it is sacrilegious for playwrights to attempt to fulfil a similar role. Stubbes states that

> [W]hosoever abuses this word of our God on stages in plays and interludes, abuses the majesty of God in the same, maketh a mocking stock of him, and purchases to himself, eternal damnation.[20]

It is interesting that Stubbes uses the word 'purchasing' to describe being condemned for being involved in theatre. The language seems to link the commercialization of theatre to the consequences of participating, where someone's bad behaviour can 'earn' them condemnation. Puritans and other critics of the theatre were concerned with more than just the ways virtues and vices were portrayed, but also considered plays themselves to be

[19] John Stockwood, "A sermon preached at Paules Crosse on Bartholomew day…" (London, 1610): 137.

[20] Philip Stubbes, *The Anatomie of Abuses Containing a Discouerie, Or Briefe Summarie of such Notable Vices and Corruptions,* London, by Richard Jones, 1585, Digitalized in Early English Books Online, 87v-92r.

idolatrous, and acting to be deceitful. They were considered to tempt people to idleness, and according to Stubbes, "idleness is the mother of vice."[21]

Stubbes' sentiments were echoed years later by William Prynne, who wrote similarly about stage plays in 1633, describing them as sinful, heathenish, lewd, ungodly, and unlawful.[22] Prynne's vocal opinions gained him royal censure, since the King was, in fact, quite partial to theatre. Less than ten years later, however, Puritan anti-theatre sentiment prevailed when the civil war began, and the theatres were closed.[23] It is possible that the initial suppression of theatre came as no surprise, given that it was common to restrict public entertainment in times of trouble, such as when plague ravaged the city. It was also commonplace to have certain performances censored for their content. However commonplace temporary closures and restrictions may have been, no one was prepared for the fact that the playhouses would remain closed until the restoration of the monarchy in 1660.[24]

It is here that we may return to marketplace entertainment, which some scholars have suggested somewhat survived the suppression of theatre. Playhouses may have been closed, but the annual market fairs could continue, and sources indicate that public entertainment during these fairs was commonplace before, during and after the closure of the theatres. Actors and playwrights complained bitterly in 1643 that "puppet plays,

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[21] Stubbes, *The Anatomie of Abuses*, 91v.

[22] William Prynne, *Histrio-Mastix the Players Scourge, or, Actors Tragedy* (London), 1633.

[23] Edmund S. Morgan, "Puritan Hostility to the Theatre," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 110, no. 5 (Oct., 1966): 340.

[24] Rachel Willie, *Staging the Revolution: Drama, Reinvention and History, 1647-72* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015), 7-8.

which are not so valuable as the very music between each act at ours, are still kept up with uncontrolled allowance… whither citizens of all sorts repair, with far more detriment to themselves than ever did the plays, comedies and tragedies."[25] More than ten years later, in 1657, a visitor to Bartholomew Fair casually remarked upon the kinds of entertainment which were blatantly performed: music, dancing, wrestling, and open air stage plays.[26] As with most marketplace entertainment, the evidence which remains is lacking in detail, but it seems clear that marketplace entertainment was not as successfully or as fully shut down as the theatres. There are several possible reasons for the persistence of marketplace entertainment. Perhaps these kinds of performances were not considered as immoral as theatres, or perhaps 'lower' forms of entertainment were beneath the notice of the ruling elite. It is also possible that such instances of performance were simply more difficult to police. It stands to reason that it would have been easier to lock the door of a theatre than to keep itinerant performers from playing in the streets and marketplaces. In any case, it seems that marketplaces were and remained important spaces for entertainment, despite the rise and fall (and rise again) of the theatre.

4.2: Civic Entertainment: The Queen's Procession

The City of London and the crown had the resources and opportunity to communicate their own perspectives on an impressive scale, and in many ways, they were expected to do so. Traditional festivities surrounding public holidays and feast days

[25] "The Actors remonstrance, or Complaint, for the silencing of their profession…" 1643 (London: Reprinted by F. Marshall, 1822) https://hdl.handle.net/2027/nnc1.1002351080?urlappend=%3Bseq=7, 4-5.

[26] James Fraser, excerpt from *Triennial Travels* (1657) in Willie, *Staging the Revolution,* 8.

date back long before the early modern period and can be considered a form of civic entertainment.[27] When researching early modern civic entertainment, the subject that comes up most often is that of processions. The word 'procession' could have several meanings, but typically a procession involved some level of movement, spectacle, and audience, and as we saw in the second chapter, often made use of the space of the marketplace. In the third chapter, we briefly explored the processions relating to public punishment and execution. It is known that people certainly attended punishments for entertainment, and the processions were the opening act. On 6 December 1556, Henry Machyn describes seeing the abbot of Westminster leading a penitential procession of several murderers and criminals. The abbot was preceded by the members of his order, and Machyn notes the crosses on their chests.[28] Whether Machyn attended the procession for the purpose of entertainment or not, it is clear from his description that the order of the procession, the garments worn by the monks, and the method of communicating the crimes had performative elements emphasizing wrong-doing, repentance and remission of penalty rather than punishment as such.

From royal entries to the Lord Mayor's show, official processions were some of the most opulent, expensive, and large-scale events in early modern London, matched only by some of the major church processions, such as the Corpus Christi procession.[29]

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[27] See Sydney Anglo's *Spectacle, Pageantry and Early Tudor Policy* or Anne Lancashire's *London Civic Theatre* for more on the relationship between pageantry, processions, and civic authority.

[28] "Diary: 1556 (July - Dec)," in *The Diary of Henry Machyn, Citizen and Merchant-Taylor of London, 1550-1563*, 109-123, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/camden-record-soc/vol42/pp109-123.

[29] The words 'procession' and 'pageant' seem to be used more or less interchangeably. Stow's use of the word 'procession' almost always has religious connotations, but other contemporaries use either word to describe these types of performative progressions through the city. This thesis adopts a common understanding that 'procession' describes movement, and 'pageant' more often refers to a stationary spectacle which might be part of a procession.

John Stow describes how a pre-Reformation Corpus Christi procession in London "passed through the principal streets of the city, wherein was borne more than one hundred torches of wax (costly garnished) burning light."[30] Although processions are different in scope than stage plays or other types of performances, they were undoubtedly an important form of early modern entertainment. These processions were performances first and foremost intended to praise God or the sovereign, but also to convey influence, flaunt wealth, to reinforce certain values, and to provide festive entertainment for their citizens. Processions were so elaborate that they sometimes took weeks to prepare, and the structures often remained in place after the procession was over.[31]

For royal processions, the City of London played a significant role, and records show that the Court of the Aldermen nominated certain "worshipful commoners" to take charge of arranging specific pageants.[32] These 'commoners' were in fact tradesmen and craftsmen, tasked with ensuring that all the main stopping points of the procession were "very well and seemly trimmed and decked out…. With pageants, fine painting and rich clothes of arras, silver and gold."[33] These were people deeply familiar with the marketplace, and perhaps implicitly aware of its use as a space for moral education, or at least familiar with the moral values inherent to the space.

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[30] Stow, *The Survey of London*, 207.

[31] Germaine Warkentin, *The Queen's Majesty's Passage & Related Documents* (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2004), 72.

[32] "December 7, 1558: The Court of Aldermen allocates responsibilities to the guildsmen," London: Corporation of the City of London, Court of Aldermen, reproduced in Warkentin, *The Queen's Majesty's Passage,* 117.

[33] "December 7, 1558: The Court of Aldermen," in Warkentin, *The Queen's Majesty's Passage*, 117.

Although the city and crown heavily funded these royal processions, a certain amount of the expense was traditionally covered by the citizens of the city. Several weeks before the royal entry of Elizabeth I, the Court of the Aldermen assigned tasks to various guildsmen "at the City's cost," yet several weeks prior, the Common Council of London met to agree that a set tax "shall be collected, levied and gathered of the citizens and other inhabitants of this City" in order to fund the Queen's pageants and coronation.[34] The fact that many of these processions and pageants were in part paid for, designed, and executed by the people of the city, indicates that the moral message communicated in these events was, to a certain degree, a negotiation. It is likely that the symbolism and motifs would have needed official approval, but it complicates the idea of who was responsible for what was communicated and how. Furthermore, the exchange of money, through taxes and employment, reminds us of the link between the economic market and civic entertainment.

Marketplaces played a key role in processions, as a space for gathering large groups, the venue for the most elaborate aspects of the pageants and spectacles, for musicians and other performers. During processions and pageants, the function of the space changed from trade to entertainment, and yet the organizers went to some effort to emphasize the 'marketness' of the space. A couple weeks before the royal entry of Elizabeth I in 1559, Henry Machyn noticed that construction had begun in several London marketplaces, preparing for the pageants. He noted in particular that the conduit

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[34] "November 21, 1558: The Common Council levies funds for the Queen's gift and the building of pageants," London: Corporation of the City of London, Common Council, reproduced in Warkentin, *The Queen's Majesty's Passage,* 116; "December 7, 1558: The Court of Aldermen allocates responsibilities to the guildsmen," London: Corporation of the City of London, Court of Aldermen, reproduced in Warkentin, *The Queen's Majesty's Passage*, 117.

was “new painted.”[35] By this time, water conduits had joined market crosses as prominent structures of the marketplaces, as symbols of prosperity and for their function. It seems that this emphasis on marketplace structures was typical of important processions. When Elizabeth I was received in Norwich in 1578, one account notes that “[t]he cross in the market was painted; the posts in timber-colour, and the rest white; the pillory and cage taken away…”[36] In this case it seems not only was the cross refreshed, but that it did not seem fitting to have the symbols of public punishment on display. Putting a spotlight on these marketplace structures highlights their perceived importance and indicates that the marketplaces were not just being used as a space for the pageants and spectacles, but continued to convey the importance of exchange and transaction in the space.

For royal processions, stages were often constructed in marketplaces as a focal point in the passage through the city. These stages ranged from simple structures to elaborate arches, lavishly decorated, sometimes accommodating musicians as well as the monarch.[37] Figure 4.1 depicts the Cheapside arch constructed for the royal entry of James VI/I in 1604. Of the seven arches in total, five of them were located in marketplaces or on a street leading into a marketplace. This arch, called “The Garden of Plenty,” has symbolic motifs which relate directly to its position in the marketplace. In a time of periodic food shortages, perhaps depicting one of the primary victual markets as a garden

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[35] "Diary: 1559 (Jan - Jun)," in *The Diary of Henry Machyn, Citizen and Merchant-Taylor of London, 1550-1563*, 184-201, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/camden-record-soc/vol42/pp184-201.

[36] John Nichols, *The progresses and public processions of Queen Elizabeth* (New York: Burt Franklin, 1788), 134.

[37] David M. Bergeron, *English Civic Pageantry 1558-1642* (London: Edward Arnold Ltd., 1971), 266-267.

of plenty was intended to inspire confidence in the new leader. The arch is crowned by Fortune, another clear symbol of the transactional space of the marketplace, implicitly promising prosperity through moral exchange.

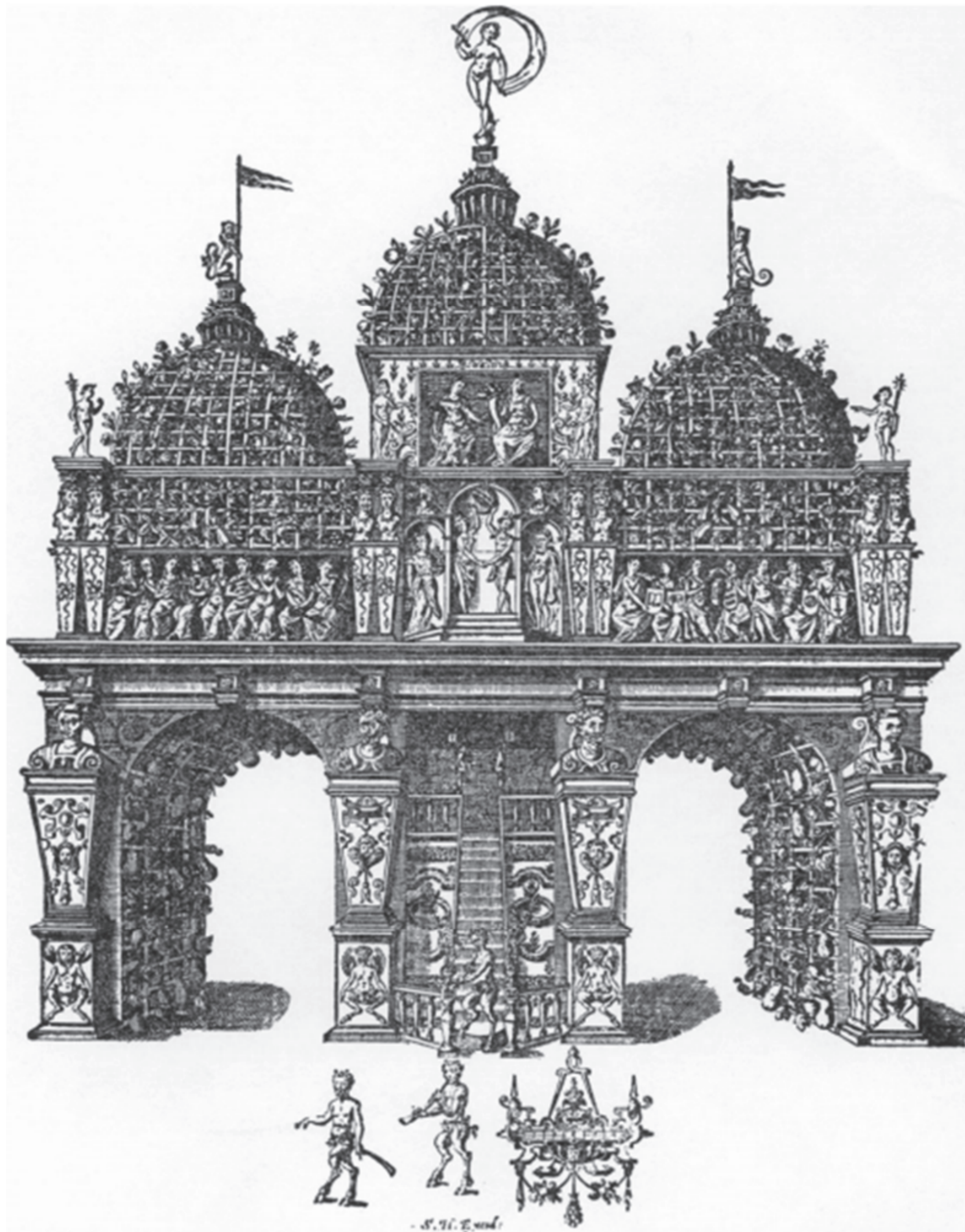

Figure 4.1 Stephen Harrison's depiction of the Arch of Triumph constructed in Cheapside market for the royal entry of James VI/I. One of seven arches in London built for the purpose, this one is entitled *Hortus Euporiae* (Garden of Plenty). Fortune stands atop the middle dome, with Peace and Plenty on either side. The Nine Muses are shown on the left 'balcony' and the Seven Liberal Sciences on the right.[38]

The remaining six Arches of Triumph also contain overt moral symbolism, and the remaining four situated in marketplaces clearly relate to trade and exchange. Each of these four arches celebrate different important trade allies, one each for Italy, New Arabia, the Netherlands, and the New World. The two which were not located in marketplaces represented the City of London and the Temple of Janus, likely a reference to England's military prowess.[39] It is no coincidence that most of the Arches of Triumph honouring the procession of James VI/I were situated in marketplaces and had clear market-related symbolic motifs. These arches implicitly promised prosperity, fortune, and peace as part of the regime, but perhaps also reinforced the importance of trade and exchange, when combined with the communication of other virtues.

It is obvious that these pageants and processions were carefully considered, with symbolism embedded in every detail. Often it was to communicate certain 'good' characteristics in an authoritative figure, such as wisdom, mercy, fairness, and prosperity. Historians disagree to what extent this would have been understood by the general viewers. In his book on civic pageantry, David Bergeron states that had people not been

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[38] "[Illustration]: Stephen Harrison: Arches of Triumph (1604), the Fifth Pegme at the Little Conduit in Cheapside," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 12, no. 3 (Summer, 1961).

[39] Stephen Harrison illustrated the Arches of Triumph in 1604, and all seven depictions are reproduced in David Bergeron's *English Civic Pageantry*, plates 2-8.

"sympathetic and indeed educated to symbolism, such pageants would have been frivolous exercises, mere playthings of the dramatist."[40] On the other hand, Germaine Warkentin argues that many people would often have been oblivious to the symbolic motifs, "which were probably more satisfying to the devisers than to the watchers."[41] It seems likely that the reception would be mixed, which explains why the symbolic communication was not entirely left to the designs in the structures.

On 14 January 1559, Elizabeth I made her way through London in one of the most elaborate royal entry processions up until that point. Henry Machyn recorded seeing the lords and ladies and their horses dressed in red velvet, the streets newly covered in gravel, the freshly painted conduits, and the elaborate pageants. The procession was recorded in detail, so we know that there were ten 'stopping places' for pageants or particular spectacles along the way.[42] Five of these locations were marketplaces: Gracechurch, Cornhill, Sopers Lane and Little Conduit (at either end of Cheapside Market) and Fleet Street. Interestingly, both Henry Machyn and chronicler Richard Grafton only recorded these five locations, which indicates that these are the only spaces where they witnessed the pageants.[43]

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[40] Bergeron, *English Civic Pageantry*, 2.

[41] Warkentin, *The Queen's Majesty's Passage,* 23.

[42] In her book, *The Queen's Majesty's Passage,* Germaine Warkentin provides a map of London with the path of the 1559 procession on page 46.

[43] "Diary: 1559 (Jan - Jun)," in *The Diary of Henry Machyn, Citizen and Merchant-Taylor of London, 1550-1563*, 184-201, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/camden-record-soc/vol42/pp184-201; Richard Grafton, *An abridgement of the Chronicles of England,* London (1563), reproduced in Warkentin, *The Queen's Majesty's Passage,* 111.

Elizabeth's procession was carefully designed to be as impressive as possible and richly embedded with symbolic motifs. In one pageant, a young girl sat upon the 'seat of government,' which was placed on a scaffold stage constructed in the Cornhill marketplace. The seat appeared to the audience to be held up by humans, who were likely actors, expressing certain virtues of the monarch as well as the respective vices. The people holding up the 'seat of government' and the young girl who represented the Queen not only 'acted out' their virtues, but also had them written on their chest:

> *Pure Religion* did tread upon *Superstition* and *Ignorance*; *Love of subjects* did tread upon *Rebellion* and *Insolence*; *Wisdom* did tread upon *Folly* and *Vainglory*; *Justice* did tread upon *Adulation* and *Bribery*.[44]

Interestingly, these one-dimensional characters presented in the pageant are reminiscent of the morality plays of the medieval period. The allusion to popular and familiar entertainment would likely have made the message more understandable to the public as they recognized the traditional trope of the triumph of virtue over vice. Just in case there was any doubt as to what the display symbolized, the young girl sitting on the throne gave a monologue which ended with:

> Do trust these virtues shall maintain up thy throne,
> And vice be kept down still, the wicked put to shame
> That good with good may joy, and naught with naught may moan.[45]

This is one of the more obvious examples of moral symbolism, although it remains difficult to say whether the message would have been seen or heard by all spectators. Henry Machyn, for one, did not record this aspect of the pageant, although he was at

[44] "The Receiving of the Queen's Majesty," in Warkentin, *The Queen's Majesty's Passage*, 82.

[45] "The Receiving of the Queen's Majesty," in Warkentin, *The Queen's Majesty's Passage*, 83.

Cornhill.[46] One eyewitness, Don Aloisio Schivenoglia, saw the virtues and vices, but commented that he supposed that the vices alluded to the past, rather than to the idea that the virtues continued to 'tread upon' the vices.[47] That being said, the description of these events was widely circulated, leaving readers with no doubt as to the intended message.

At the next stage of the procession, an elaborate scaffolding with two hillsides was constructed at the Little Conduit in Cheapside marketplace. One hillside was barren and had the causes of a "ruinous commonweal" written in Latin and English. The other hillside was lush and green, illustrating a "flourishing commonweal." The vices and virtues shown on each hillside seem to be mirror images, with such subjects as "want of the fear of God" on one side, and "fear of God" on the other. On the side of the barren hillside is "Disobedience to rulers," and on the other "Vice chastened."[48] These hillsides, connected in the middle by Time and Truth representing the Queen, illustrated values which would have been familiar to the crowd in the marketplace. The authorities approved this moral message, but since the pageant was also designed, constructed, and acted out by citizens of London, both the ruling elite and the public can be considered the audience.

The symbolism embedded in the royal entry of Elizabeth I and other similar processions shows how right and wrong, justice, obedience and other values continued to be negotiated in the marketplace. Certainly, marketplaces would have had the capacity to hold a larger audience for each spectacle, but there was more to pageants in marketplaces

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[46] "Diary: 1559 (Jan - Jun)," in *The Diary of Henry Machyn, Citizen and Merchant-Taylor of London, 1550-1563*, 184-201, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/camden-record-soc/vol42/pp184-201.

[47] "Aloisio Schivenoglia reports to Sabino Calandra, Castellan of Mantua, 23 January 1559," reproduced in Warkentin, *The Queen's Majesty's Passage*, 107.

[48] "The Receiving of the Queen's Majesty," in Warkentin, *The Queen's Majesty's Passage*, 89.

than simply convenience. Marketplaces have a history of theatre and entertainment, drawing people in for the sake of amusement. This space of transaction and exchange became a natural site for the communication and negotiation of certain moral values. During royal processions like Queen Elizabeth's in 1559, marketplaces were used as stages on which carefully planned, designed, and rehearsed spectacles could be enacted. The 'marketness' of the stage was further emphasized by the involvement of the tradesmen and craftsmen responsible for arranging the pageants and decoration of each marketplace. There is no doubt that the authorities wished to use these stages as spaces for moral education, particularly when it came to enhancing the reputation of the monarch, but the audience would have made their own interpretation of events. Although it seems unlikely that all civic pageantry was equally met with "enthusiastic delight," as Bergeron suggests, the message would likely have been hard to miss with the pageants so heavily embedded with moral symbolism.

4.3: Popular Entertainment: London Fairs & Puppet Shows

The ruling elite dominated the entertainment space of London in many ways. They had the resources, funds, and influence to execute large-scale civic performances open to the general public. They made use of the marketplaces as stages from which to expound certain values which were thought to improve the city, but they were by no means the only ones using the marketplace as a platform. The Smithfield and Southwark markets were some of the best-known spaces of public entertainment, particularly during their annual late-summer fairs. Although the fairs were licensed by the city, the activities within the fairs were largely ungoverned by authorities. The London fairs featured the

sale of commodity goods, music, dancing, drinking, puppet plays, and more. This kind of entertainment was considered 'lower' entertainment but was widely popular. Examining popular entertainment in marketplaces will highlight how multiple parties took the stage to convey moral messages, and the complex relationships between them.

According to Henry Morley's detailed *Memoirs of Bartholomew Fair* (1880), by the sixteenth century the annual fair at Smithfield was largely disconnected from the St Bartholomew's Church, which had founded it in the twelfth century. The fair was originally a hub for the sale of cloth and textiles, drawing merchants from within London and the surrounding countryside. Almost from the beginning, the fair also had stands selling food and drink, as well as musicians and players performing. In fact, the founder of the fair, Rahere, is thought to have been a jester at the court of Henry I, and purportedly enjoyed performing at the fair.[49] As the 1500s progressed, Morley says that even the fair's position as a trading hub was fading, and what was left was for the "true need of amusement by the people."[50] It is this turn to focus primarily on amusement that probably brought the fair under increased scrutiny concerning its moral influence. The fair was permanently closed in 1855 after more than three hundred years of debate, the consensus then being that the fair was, indeed, a "school of vice."[51]

Up until now, arguing that marketplaces were spaces of moral education has been somewhat neutral, not focusing on whether the influence was positive or negative. However, it seems clear that when it comes to the Bartholomew Fair, neutrality is not

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[49] Morley, *Memoirs of Bartholomew Fair*, 2-3.

[50] Morley, *Memoirs of Bartholomew Fair*, 95.

[51] Andrew Knapp and William Baldwin, *The Newgate Calendar,* Vol. 2 (London: J. Robins & Co., 1825), 15.

possible when the concern was certainly about indecency and misbehaviour. This was a worry for the authorities, the fear being that a fair purely for amusement would lead to vice. In the late 1500s, steps were taken to reinstate the 'market' aspect of the fair, through tolls and taxes, presumably in the hopes of limiting the fair's tendency towards idleness.[52] Despite the attempts at control and censorship caused by moral concerns, the fair remained widely popular in this period, consistently drawing enthusiastic crowds.

Ben Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair* offers historians a unique glimpse at urban life around the year 1614 and will help to understand the complex relationship between control and popular entertainment, as well as negotiations of (im)morality. Although it was written for a playhouse stage, the play is set in Smithfield during the fair and provides a good indication of the types of entertainment and activity which could be expected at the real fair. Furthermore, Jonson's characters and setting would likely have been familiar to his contemporary audience. Even though much of what she calls 'festive folk culture' has been lost, theatre historian Erika Lin believes that a close reading of literary sources can help make sense of the culture of public entertainment. She argues that drama written for the theatre was "not a culmination of an evolutionary trajectory - from medieval to Renaissance, religious to secular, amateur to professional theatre - but an active negotiation with contemporaneous festive performance practices."[53] Professional theatre did not replace marketplace public entertainment, but should rather be seen as another element of public entertainment.

[52] Morley, *Memoirs of Bartholomew Fair*, 105-113.
[53] Erika T. Lin, "Popular Festivity and the Early Modern Stage: The Case of *George a Greene*," *Theatre Journal* 61, no. 2 (May, 2009): 273.

Ben Jonson was born in the early 1570s and began publishing plays in his mid-twenties. Although sometimes overshadowed by William Shakespeare, Jonson was a popular playwright in the early seventeenth century and was well known for his satirical plays. Jonson was no stranger to marketplace entertainment, and it features in several of his plays, especially in *Bartholomew Fair*. Jonson was also one of the dramatists involved in planning the royal entry of James VI/I in 1604, as well as several of the Elizabethan Lord Mayor shows, so it is possible that he understood the marketplace as a space which could be used as a stage.[54] Jonson's use of the Smithfield marketplace as a setting in his play would have been familiar, transporting the audience to the recognizable setting of the marketplace.

A well-known satirist, Jonson created humorous characters who bumble through the chaotic marketplace, partaking in the amusements while keeping a wary eye out for cheats and knaves. Like the characters of early morality plays, Jonson's characters typically embodied certain moral characteristics and their names sometimes reflected that. For example, surnames like Overdo, Littlewit, Wellborn and even Trash, hint at the traits associated with each of the characters. Furthermore, Jonson's plot seems to be reminiscent of morality plays as the fair itself seems to tempt the characters into sinful behaviour, including debauchery, gluttony, and deceit. However, rather than the traditional conclusion which highlights redemption and forgiveness, Jonson's ending is somewhat haphazard. In the final scenes, the 'judge' character is disclosing all of the sinful behaviour he witnessed at the fair, but is unceremoniously interrupted by his intoxicated wife, and the play ends with the characters leaving the playhouse, intending

[54] Bergeron, *English Civic Pageantry*, 137.

to finish the play at home over supper.[55] In fact, the climax of the play is not the redemption of the main characters, but the humiliation of the long-winded, hypocritical and foolish Puritan during the puppet show. Jonson had a moral message of his own that he wanted to communicate, and in his own way used the marketplace as a setting to do so.

Aside from his characters, in *Bartholomew Fair* Jonson has provided a detailed description of the fair in his time. Jonson's vivid setting has loud merchants selling sweets, ale, toys, specialty textiles and livestock. There are ballad singers, musicians, wrestlers, and dancers. Written in the early seventeenth century, Henry Farley's descriptive poem corroborates the portrayal of public fairs offered by Jonson:

> To see a strange outlandish Fowl,
> A quaint Baboon, an Ape, an Owl,
> A Dancing Bear, a Giant's bone,
> A foolish Engine move alone,
> A Morris-Dance, a Puppet play,
> Mad Tom to sing a Roundelay,
> A woman dancing on a Rope,
> Bull-baiting also at the Hope;
> A Rhymer's Jests, a Juggler's Cheats,
> A Tumbler showing cunning feats,
> Or Players acting on the Stage,
> There goes the bounty of our Age:
> But unto any pious motion,
> There's little coin and less devotion.[56]

This short poem and the description of the Bartholomew Fair written by Ben Jonson offers a glimpse of what the atmosphere in the marketplaces might have been like when it

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[55] Ben Jonson, Bartholomew Fair: A Comedy, Produced online by Paul Hexo, Gutenberg Project (2015), https://www.gutenberg.org/files/49461/49461-h/49461-h.htm.

[56] Henry Farley, "Bounty of our Age," reproduced in George Speaight, *The History of the English Puppet Theatre* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1955), 69.

came to amusement and performance. It seems from the final two lines of the poem, however, that the cost of such amusements was perhaps a moral one.

Marketplaces can be understood primarily as a space of exchange and transaction, and so perhaps it makes sense that it could be used as a space where amusement was exchanged for money. It also seems likely that there was a moral undertone to this exchange, not only in the subject and message conveyed within the performances, but also in the perception and reactions to such entertainment as possibly immoral or somehow detrimental to the moral state of the individual or the city. Furthermore, exploring popular marketplace entertainment introduces the idea of the space as one of *negative* moral education. Up until this point, moral education in the marketplace has been primarily intended to improve, although from different perspectives. In the case of entertainment, however, it seems that many contemporaries were sure that these forms of entertainment were detrimental to virtuousness and decency. The phrase "school of vice" describes Bartholomew Fair in the nineteenth century, but it is apparent that similar sentiments already existed; a space for education, perhaps, but for *im*morality.

Puppet theatre is one example of public performance in the London fairs which highlights the complex relationship between morality and marketplace entertainment. It has received relatively little attention in historical research, in part because of the scarcity of sources, making it easy to underestimate how popular and widespread puppetry was until fairly recently.[57] Puppet theatre has roots in classical antiquity (think of Plato's shadow figures in the cave), and by the mid-sixteenth century was a decidedly low-brow form of entertainment. English puppet theatre was directly related to the Italian theatrical

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[57] One of the very few studies on marketplace puppet theatre is Sybil Rosenfeld's *The Theatre of the London Fairs*, which concerns the 18th century, for which more evidence survives.

tradition of Commedia dell'arte, and many of the most successful players and characters were Italian in origin. Just as in the Italian tradition, early modern English puppetry relied on common themes and characters to move the story forward. In that, puppet plays also recall morality plays, which themselves sometimes incorporate puppets. Common characters in puppet plays included the Clown or Fool, or the Vice, to ensure it was clear to the audience what the moral message was.[58]

In 1662, what would become arguably the best-known character of puppet theatre arrived from Italy. Originally Pollicinella, the name of the character morphed through Punchinello and eventually Punch. Although puppet theatre has largely gone out of fashion, Punch and Judy remains one of the most well-known examples of puppet theatre. Typically represented as short and fat, Punch is rude and sometimes violent, and his somewhat shocking behaviour was perceived as humorous.[59] His popularity in the late seventeenth century indicates that the marketplace puppet theatres were conveying lewd and nefarious messages.

In Elizabethan times, puppet plays were sometimes known as 'motions,' and are frequently referred to by contemporary writers, including Shakespeare.[60] It was not until the early seventeenth century, and in particular the writing of *Bartholomew Fair* in 1614, that historians of puppet theatre have more than passing references to work with. Aside from the puppet show described in *Bartholomew Fair*, there are no surviving scripts from puppet shows from this era. However, puppet shows tended to portray common legends

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[58] Speaight, *The History of the English Puppet Theatre*, 44-47.

[59] Speaight, *The History of the English Puppet Theatre*, 73-74.

[60] Speaight, *The History of the English Puppet Theatre,* 52-55.

and folklore, and so the subject matter can be traced down in other forms, like poems and ballads. It is difficult to know whether an increase in references and details about puppet theatre in this period reflect a rise in popularity, or just an increase in the recording of the performances. However, the advancement in puppet technology, the increasing intricacy of the stages, and the constant introduction of common and beloved characters does point to the fact that they were vastly popular throughout the seventeenth century and beyond.

Puppet theatre was especially popular in rural and urban marketplaces, particularly during fairs. They were relatively affordable, making them accessible to most people in the marketplace. A ballad from 1655 about Bartholomew Fair states that "[f]or a penny you may see a fine puppet play/And for twopence a rare piece of art."[61] Puppets were also a commodity, and the amusement they provided was broadly available for purchase in the marketplace like any other affordable good. In 1668, Samuel Pepys recalls seeing one of his former servants at a puppet play, which indicates that puppetry was widely popular as well as accessible.[62] During the 1668 Bartholomew Fair, Pepys writes in his diary of seeing a "ridiculous, obscene little stage play," featuring the popular character of Merry Andrew, and remarks that it is "a foolish thing, but seen by everybody."[63] The fact that puppet theatre was available for purchase in the marketplace fairs, had a broad audience, and was widely accessible, points to the fact that popular entertainment also had an attentive audience, making it a perfect platform for conveying

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[61] "Ancient Song of Bartholomew Fair" reproduced in Speaight, *The History of the English Puppet Theatre,* 71.

[62] "Wednesday 22 August 1666," in *The Diary of Samuel Pepys,* https://www.pepysdiary.com/diary/1666/08/22/.

[63] "Saturday 29 August 1668," in *The Diary of Samuel*, https://www.pepysdiary.com/diary/1668/08/29/.

moral messages. In fact, unlike civic pageantry, people were actively participating in the exchange: money for performance.

Cheap and accessible, it is perhaps no surprise that puppet theatre was considered to be 'lowly,' but that is likely part of the reason that puppet theatre survived through the attacks on theatre more generally. In his *History of the English Puppet Theatre*, George Speaight states that "[r]oughly hewn and barbarous though the puppets may have been, garbled and vulgar the drolls they presented, untaught and illiterate the showmen who performed them, yet here the divine spark of the theatre found a home, and for eighteen long years of English history the drama knew no other stage."[64] If we can assume that puppet theatre was widely viewed with little interruption in this period, it is clear that it was an important 'voice' on the marketplace, literally using the space as a stage on which to perform.

The performances followed certain themes, usually depicting classical stories of heroes and heroines, traditional English folk tales, or topical satirical plays. To a modern reader, probably the most striking feature of puppet theatre is the rudeness and crudeness. Puppet shows were intended to be amusing, and tended to feature bathroom humour, sexual innuendo, and violence. The puppet show featured in *Bartholomew Fair*, which is thought to be based on an existing puppet play, is about a convoluted romance. The performance begins with the main puppet character exclaiming "A pox on your manners, kiss my hole here, and smell."[65] This kind of language is used throughout the puppet play, until finally the Puritan character in *Bartholomew Fair*, as part of the 'audience' of

[64] Speaight, *The History of English Puppet Theatre*, 72.

[65] Jonson, *Bartholomew Fair*, 253.

the performance, calls for a halt of the puppet play. The Puritan exclaims "[h]old thy purity, thy scurrility, shut up thy mouth, thy profession is damnable…" and condemns the puppet play as profane and idolatrous.[66]

Although on the surface the rudeness and crudeness that characterized puppet theatre might seem to be purely for the sake of amusement, it also contained an implicit moral message about 'correct' behaviour. Jonson's portrayal of the Puritan in calling out and condemning the play was likely a familiar scene, since puppet theatre encouraged audience participation. As much as the vulgarity of puppet theatre seems to have been enjoyed by the audience, some believed the message to be too inappropriate and feared that it might have a negative influence on those watching. It has already been established that Puritans tended to be among those people viewing theatre as potentially immoral. In the case of the puppet show in *Bartholomew Fair,* the Puritan is particularly concerned with idolatry, but also condemns it as portraying the vices of pride and vanity.[67] Although it is a work of fiction, Jonson is essentially describing the ways in which morality was negotiated and communicated in the marketplace. While recalling aspects of traditional morality plays, Jonson has highlighted some of the contemporary concerns of immorality inherent to the puppet play, but also thoroughly denounced the person who held those views. Jonson has illustrated how variable the message in the marketplace could be, from the puppet play itself, to the reactions from the audience.

The puppet show within *Bartholomew Fair* is only one example of the moral dilemmas embedded within the popular plays, but most puppet plays had moral lessons in

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[66] Jonson, *Bartholomew Fair,* 258.

[67] Jonson, *Bartholomew Fair,* 259.

one way or another. On 30 August 1667, Samuel Pepys recorded in his diary that he had gone to see the puppet play *Patient Grizell* while at Bartholomew Fair. Although there are no transcripts of the puppet play, a ballad from the same period describes the traditional story of a violent husband and patient wife. Although the story is somewhat difficult to stomach as a modern reader, it is obvious that the wife, Patient Grizell, is a character whose patience, constancy, and obedience to her cruel husband are to be admired.[68] Although Pepys does not record any reaction to the play, the apparent virtues embedded within the subject and characters of the puppet play would likely have been unmistakable.

Some of the values conveyed in marketplace puppet theatre directly echo the moral messages communicated in other ways in the marketplace: fairness, honesty, and ideas of retribution and just deserts. As seen in the second and third chapters, the marketplaces were spaces where fairness and honesty were strictly defined, regulated, and encouraged. It is possible that when Samuel Pepys went to see the puppet version of the legend of *Whittington* several times, the idea that those who trade fairly will succeed was reinforced. Again, there is no transcript from a puppet play remaining, but a ballad written around 1640 about the story of Richard Whittington tells of a man who, from humble origins, managed to make a fortune for himself through trade. Upon becoming wealthy, he leant money to the King to support wars, gave liberally to the City of London to improve the urban spaces and was generously rewarded for his actions. The ballad ends with:

> Let all brave Citizens

[68] Thomas Deloney, "A most pleasant Ballad of patient Grissell," held in the British Library, reproduced online in the *English Broadside Ballad Archive*, http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/37046/xml.

> Who do this story read,
> By his example learn,
> Always the poor to feed,
> What is lent to the Poor,
> The Lord will sure repay,
> And Blessings keep in store
> Until the latter day.[69]

The marketplace, therefore, was once again a space where the moral messages surrounding fairness and generosity in economic matters could be constructed and conveyed, this time in the form of amusement and performance rather than regulation and warnings. Pepys wrote about the experience in his diary:

> I turned back and to Southwark Fair, very dirty, and there saw a puppet-show of Whittington, which was pretty to see; and how that idle thing do work upon people that see it, and even myself too![70]

Pepys' comments imply that the moral of the rags to riches story of Richard Whittington had an impact on the audience. It is already clear that multiple voices were sending moral messages, but perhaps this medium had a particular impact on the audience. Although the message is similar, the method of communicating it in the form of a play rather than through an official proclamation on the market cross may have had a different impact on spectators.

Communication of the plot and subject of the puppet play, let alone the moral messages embedded within, was made difficult by the very nature of puppet theatre. The puppets, usually marionettes or hand puppets, were voiced by off-stage actors. To create

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[69] "London's Glory, and Whittington Renown," London, Printed for R. Burton at the Horse-shoe in West Smithfield, held in the British Library - Roxburghe, reproduced online in the *English Broadside Ballad Archive,* http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/30404/xml.

[70] "Monday 21 September 1668," in *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, https://www.pepysdiary.com/diary/1668/09/21/.

different ‘character voices,’ instruments were sometimes used to distort or alter the voice, sometimes rendering it almost unintelligible.[71] When not using distorting instruments, accounts indicate they used high, squeaky voices:

> The finished puppet struts before the scene,
> Exalts a treble voice and eunuch tone,
> And squeaks his part in accents not his own.[72]

Perhaps because the puppet voices were hard to understand, interpreters were common features of puppet theatre. The interpreter held an interesting position as part actor, part audience member. He would often repeat what was said by the puppets, sometimes literally, or sometimes in the form of a clarifying question.[73] In *Bartholomew Fair*, Jonson portrays several such scenes. In one, possibly a joke on puppet theatre, the puppets do not even understand each other, and the interpretation is for the benefit of all:

> *Puppet Cole:* It is lovely Hero!
> *Puppet Leander:* Nero?
> *Puppet Cole:* No, Hero.
> *Leatherhead (Interpreter):* It is Hero![74]

Although in some cases it seemed to be used to comic effect, the role of the interpreter was essential for ensuring the message of the puppet play was communicated clearly. It was also up to the interpreter to relay reactions from the audience back to the puppets.

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[71] Frank Proschan, "Puppet Voices and Interlocutors: Language in Folk Puppetry," *The Journal of American Folklore* 94, no. 374 (Oct-Dec., 1981).

[72] Joseph Addison, “Machinae Gesticulantes, anglice A Puppet Show,” reproduced in Speaight, *The History of English Puppet Theatre,* 90.

[73] Nicole Sheriko, “Puppet Theatre and the Interpreter’s Role,” *Shakespeare Studies* 48, no. 152 (2020).

[74] Jonson, *Bartholomew Fair,* 254.

Far more so than civic pageantry or traditional theatre, puppet plays relied on audience participation. Like modern improvisational theatre, puppet theatre seems to have needed audience participation to move the story forward. Nicole Sheriko argues that part of the reason for this is that puppeteers depended upon the audience enjoying the story, since they might not pay if they did not enjoy it. Sheriko states that "[b]y creating a space for close interactivity, the puppet show creates a feedback loop by which the audience can more easily indicate its interests and desires, which the show can then adapt to meet."[75] This suggestion indicates that not only did people pay to see a play which tended to have a moral message, but that they had a certain amount of agency in deciding what that message might be. In *Bartholomew Fair*, the interruption of the Puritan derails the 'plot' of the puppet play, and the puppet actors and the interpreter work to incorporate the interruption into the performance. In this case, the puppets convince the Puritan he is wrong, and the Puritan says, "Let it go on; for I am changed, and will become a beholder with you."[76]

It is possible to overstate the extent to which puppet theatre inspired any kind of philosophical contemplation in its viewers, and it seems unlikely that contemporaries would have considered it a form of moral education as such. In fact, it is more likely that it was valued for its crude humour and amusement as part of a day at a London fair. Still, puppet theatre is perhaps the most obvious example so far in which the spaces of marketplaces could be used to perform certain values. The connection between puppet theatre and marketplaces is strengthened further when it is considered how the

[75] Nicole Sheriko, "Ben Jonson's Puppet Theater and Modeling Interpretive Practice," *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900* 59, no. 2 (Spring, 2019): 288.

[76] Jonson, *Bartholomew Fair*, 260.

performance could be purchased alongside other market goods during the fair. Furthermore, unlike buying food or textiles, exchanging money for performance in the marketplace also allowed people to actively negotiate the moral message which was being communicated through the improvisational nature of puppet theatre.

The moral stories embedded within puppet plays, and perhaps also the ways those stories adjusted depending on the audience, were not approved of by all parties. The ruling authorities, who took such care in forming the moral message within civic performances, often disapproved of the themes popular in puppet theatre. For example, *Bartholomew Fair* was banned for its satire against Puritans for some time until a revival in 1661, which was seen by Samuel Pepys.[77] Puppet theatre in the real Bartholomew Fair also seems to have had its adversaries amongst the ruling elite. A satirical poem written in 1647 describes Smithfield market and the infamous Bartholomew Fair coming under unfair attack by the Lord Mayor:

> Down with these dagons,[78] quote he (the mayor)
> They outbrave my days regality
> For his pride and partiality
> Jove crop him.
> I'll have no puppet-plays, quote he
> The harmless mirth displeaseth me.[79]

The poem goes on to describe how festivities resumed the moment the mayor exited the marketplace, to general relief. Puppet theatre's light-hearted vulgarity seems to have been

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[77] "Saturday 7 September 1661," in *The Diary of Samuel Pepys*, https://www.pepysdiary.com/diary/1661/09/07/.

[78] The Oxford English Dictionary defines "Dagon" as "An idol, or object of idolatrous devotion."

[79] "The Dagonizing of Bartholomew Fayre, caused through the Lord Majors Command," (1647), held at the Houghton Library, reproduced online in the *English Broadside Ballad Archive,* http://ebba.english.ucsb.edu/ballad/34431/xml.

the source of both its popularity and its censure. The moral messages embedded within the plays could be negotiated with the audience within the marketplace but were also somewhat regulated by the actions of the ruling elite. The puppet plays of the London fairs conveyed varied messages, illustrating how complex moral education in the marketplace could be.

4.4: Conclusion

The civic pageantry of the ruling elite could be conducted on an impressive scale, and they could also exercise control over other forms of entertainment. Processions could draw lively crowds to the marketplaces, where the very structures of the space bristled with moral symbolism. It is clear that the ruling elite hoped to use marketplaces as spaces of moral education, highlighting desirable virtues and demonizing the vices. By now, however, we know that there is never just one voice in the marketplace. The yearly fairs, although less opulent, drew crowds as well. For affordable prices, people had access to popular entertainment whose message was not necessarily in line with that of the ruling elite. Both types of marketplace entertainment were rooted in the tradition of morality plays as they use characteristic tropes to clearly convey moral messages to the audience, often focusing on themes of virtues and vice. Puppet shows highlight how complex the marketplace message could be, and how different parties competed to control the moral message. Often the lesson echoed that already seen in the first two chapters: the value of honesty and fairness, revenge and retribution, as well as other virtues.

Marketplace entertainment like the ones discussed here also had their place in the economic market, illustrating how performance could be a process of exchange

figuratively and literally. In processions and pageants of the ruling elite, taxes were levied to support the entertainment, and citizens were hired to design and execute the events. This shows how complex the process of exchange, both of goods and morality, could be. In the case of puppet shows, performances were exchanged for small sums of money, but the moral message of the play could be negotiated through audience participation. Entertainment in this place of exchange is a reminder that goods were not the only thing being bought and sold.

Finally, while this chapter has supported the idea that marketplaces were spaces for moral education, it has also proved to underline how the communication of morality was never neutral. Moral symbolism underpinned the royal processions, clearly outlining the line between virtues and vices, 'good' and 'bad.' Puppet shows adopted similar themes, often depicting the familiar virtues and vices as humorous and vulgar, inviting varied reactions, which themselves became part of the moral discourse in the marketplace. Although seemingly disparate, the examples of a royal entry and puppet theatre highlight the various and complex ways in which marketplaces could be used as a stage in which the communication and exchange of certain values could be performed.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

This thesis aimed to illustrate how the early modern London marketplace served as a space for moral education, alongside more traditional spaces of education like schools or churches. This was done through a close examination of some of the functions of the early modern London marketplaces. Each function of the marketplace offered a unique glimpse into how morality was communicated and exchanged in the same space as goods and services were traded.

Firstly, aspects of moral education were found in symbolic and literal communication as contemporaries sought to uphold the traditional ideals of fair and honest trading grounded in an open, public, and transparent marketplace. Through this, a 'just price' could be determined, if no one cheated the system through such marketplace trade sins as forestalling, regrating, or engrossing. The communication and enforcement of the regulations, as well as reactions to the laws, and even disobedience, would have formed a complex and sometimes contrasting lesson in marketplace morals. These spaces were places where offenders of marketplace regulation displayed sins of greed or idleness, while the authorities proclaimed what behaviour in the marketplace was 'good' or 'bad.' Although very little concrete evidence survives of how people may have interpreted moral lessons communicated in the marketplace, examples like Hugh Alley's *Caveat* demonstrated how the marketplace informed ideas of morality.

Complex and contrasting moral lessons were even more obvious in the second chapter, which focused on public punishment in marketplaces. People considered obedience to be a virtue, whether that refer to obeying a husband or master, the laws of the city or crown, or God. Marketplaces served as perfect locations for punishing

disobedience related to marketplace regulations, making the warning for misbehaviour immediate. Marketplaces were also a space in which the offense and punishment could be communicated to many people at once. Not only does this indicate that contemporaries understood marketplaces to be suitable spaces for moral education, it is also possible that the choice of marketplace could draw out certain connotations in the minds of spectators, like choosing a marketplace known for butchering animals as a space for executions. The choice of venue also made use of symbols in the marketplace which represented justice and giving each their due, like the weights and measures or the role of the Clerk of the Market. It was shown that public executions communicated multiple and sometimes conflicting messages of justice, honesty, or righteousness. Through the act of execution and the ceremony surrounding it, authorities were directly addressing the awaiting audience, assigning a moral value to the crime of the offender. Meanwhile, the person condemned to death could use the marketplace as a platform to expound their own moral views. Even the reactions in the crowd may have impacted what moral lessons spectators took away from the marketplace.

Finally, the chapter on marketplace entertainment provided the tools with which to look at how moral education in the space was never neutral. Through pageants and processions, the ruling elite used the marketplace as a stage upon which they could perform different aspects of morality, clearly delineating 'good' behaviour from 'bad,' drawing on tropes found in traditional morality plays to ensure the message was clear. Less formal examples of marketplace entertainment, like the puppet shows found at fairs, also employed traditional understandings of virtue and vice within their plays, but often with humorous and vulgar overtones. One is reminded again of the closure of

Bartholomew Fair in 1855, described as a “school of vice.” It seems that marketplaces were indeed spaces of moral education, but their use as such varied greatly, and what was taught could have both negative and positive impacts.

When these three aspects of the marketplace - regulation, punishment, and entertainment - are examined together, it seems clear that contemporaries considered marketplaces spaces for moral education. Like churches and schools, marketplaces provided a platform from which people could communicate to a sizable and apparently interested audience. However, marketplaces had inherent connotations of transaction and exchange which were more explicit than other spaces of moral education, which perhaps primed people for the exchange of ideas and values as well as goods and services. It is also possible that the transactional quality of marketplaces also facilitated the communication of multiple and sometimes contrasting voices, truly a process of exchange, in a way that other spaces may not have allowed. In the marketplace, the pulpit is replaced with the market cross, the pillory, or the stage, and the curriculum is replaced with morally infused regulations, proclamations, punishments, pageants, processions, plays, and more, all with specific moral messages.

While other researchers on the subject focused on what was happening in the marketplaces, or one aspect of morality in the marketplace, this thesis took a broad approach to illustrate the variation and complexity in moral messages communicated in the marketplace. Spanning a scope of just over one hundred years, it was not a study of the change in morality over time as such, but rather an exploration of the overlapping ways morality was communicated and received within the period. Although there may be a change-over-time narrative within this story, taking a broad approach showed how the

negotiation of morality was and is non-linear precisely because there are such competing ideas of what is good or bad, fair or dishonest, righteous or sinful. Rather than looking at how morality may have changed, the narrative of this thesis outlined how people used the marketplace as a venue in which to convince others of the truth of their own values, and how the reactions themselves became part of the moral communication.

One commonality which is clear in all three functions of the marketplace explored in this thesis is the dominance of the 'voice' of the authority. The ruling elite had the influence and resources to direct and influence the moral messages being communicated in the marketplace, from the codification and communications of laws and the authority to condemn criminals, to the planning of elaborate public events and even the licensing of other forms of entertainment like fairs. However, the evidence also showed that authorities made space, intentionally or not, for the expression of alternate moral messages, as seen clearly in the custom of 'last dying speeches' at the time of execution, or in licensing fairs even when some of the performances there offered moral teachings not in line with the agenda of the ruling elite. Otherwise, perhaps the authorities could be considered to be engrossing the space for moral education, monopolizing the message in an unfair way which could be harmful, since it restricted the possibility of negotiating morality fairly, in much the same way that engrossing goods disrupted the process of finding a fair price.

Throughout the thesis, we have repeatedly returned to the transactional nature of marketplaces. The primary function of trade in the space likely impacted the perception of the continual use of the marketplace as a platform for conveying moral messages. Perhaps, against a backdrop of increasing commercialization and commodification, early

modern Londoners were finding that everything could be exchanged in the marketplace, including morals. Perhaps, on some level, contemporaries understood this and took advantage of the transactional connotations which primed people for exchange. Furthermore, fairness in exchange is shown to have been and continues to be an important aspect of our moral compass, incorporating the idea that one ought to get what one deserves. Ideas of finding the fair and just price, not cheating, preventing others from cheating, or getting one's just deserts transcend the space and permeate 'everyday' morality.

Most of the existing research on marketplaces has focused on what happened in the space, and many studies on early modern moral education have centred around churches or schools. Those who have brought the subjects together have either focused on different time periods than the one covered here, or solely on the moral aspects of trade. Furthermore, most studies emphasize how popular morality influences what happens in the marketplace. By adopting a broad, non-linear approach, this thesis has looked at morality in the marketplace in a new way by examining the secondary functions of the marketplace to show how they not only allowed space for reflecting morality, but also for negotiating it and informing it, rendering it a space for moral education. Moreover, this thesis has offered an alternative narrative about the marketplace by exploring three different elements at once, in order to understand their commonalities and to create a more complete picture of morality in the marketplace.

The broad approach taken by this thesis offered ample opportunity to look at moral education in marketplaces, and to draw connections between the various ways that the space was used as a platform for moral discourse. However, it has also meant that it

was not possible to focus in detail on one of the functions or one time period, which signifies that there is space for more research to be done on marketplaces as spaces of moral education. Public entertainment in marketplaces and the moral messages embedded within the performances could be further explored in future research. Due to a scarcity of resources, it has received relatively little attention compared to the other two marketplace functions discussed here, but it would be interesting to look at more types of marketplace performances, perhaps through casting a wider geographical net in order to gather more evidence.

In the years following the Great Fire of 1666, the marketplaces of London, though still an important aspect of everyday life, were gradually transformed. The City of London commissioned several major market buildings to replace old street markets, a decision which would make it possible for wards and aldermen to keep better track of what went on inside, as well as make it easier to collect fees and dues.[1] Adding walls and roofs to marketplaces increased the civic authority of the space, and as they continued to be strictly regulated, the enclosed marketplaces were no longer spaces for punishment or entertainment the way they were previously. The increasing number of dedicated shops also somewhat subverted the strict regulation of when and where goods could be sold. The idea of the 'market' as a metaphor gradually took precedence over the marketplace space.[2] As London grew continually more commercialized in the seventeenth century,

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[1] Susan R. Henderson, "The Public Markets of London Before and After the Great Fire of 1666", Master's Thesis (University of Washington, 1977): 49. Also see Colin Smith's PhD dissertation, "The Market Place and the Market's Place in London c. 1660-1840."

[2] Robert Brenner's *Merchants and Revolution: Commercial Change, Political Conflict, and London's Overseas Traders, 1550-1653* tracks the ways international trade companies like the East India Trading Company and the rise of the mercantile class impacted the notion of the 'market,' and the subsequent impact that had on London trade in the later seventeenth century.

some people came to consider the traditional sins of the marketplace less problematic, in part thanks to a rise in economic moral philosophers like Adam Smith. While Hugh Alley considered it to be unfair and immoral to seek unfair profits by manipulating the 'just price,' eighteenth-century commentators and beyond increasingly felt that the marketplace ought to be allowed to be regulated purely between the buyer and seller, uninterrupted by laws like those forbidding forestalling, regrating and engrossing. That being said, the 'free market' continues to be underpinned by those traditional ideas of an open, public and transparent space. Furthermore, whether regulation is needed to preserve a 'fair price' is still very much a topic of discussion.

Regulation, punishment, and entertainment each represent a distinct way in which the early modern London marketplace was used, highlighting different moral messages. These marketplace functions showed how the transactional space could be used as a platform for communicating moral values. Just as now, people seemed to generally agree on some of the broad moral principles but had different interpretations of how they apply in particular instances. Whether the message was approved by authorities or not, a primed audience was ready to offer their time and sometimes money in exchange for moral messages about fair prices, treatment of the poor, greed, idleness, sinfulness, virtues and vices, and much more.

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