

Syracuse University

## SURFACE at Syracuse University

---

School of Architecture - All Scholarship

School of Architecture

---

Fall 9-1977

# The Public Markets of London Before and After the Great Fire of 1666

Susan Henderson

*Syracuse University*, [srhender@syr.edu](mailto:srhender@syr.edu)

Follow this and additional works at: <https://surface.syr.edu/arc>



Part of the [Architectural History and Criticism Commons](#), and the [Urban, Community and Regional Planning Commons](#)

---

### Recommended Citation

Henderson, Susan, "The Public Markets of London Before and After the Great Fire of 1666" (1977). *School of Architecture - All Scholarship*. 143.

<https://surface.syr.edu/arc/143>

This Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the School of Architecture at SURFACE at Syracuse University. It has been accepted for inclusion in School of Architecture - All Scholarship by an authorized administrator of SURFACE at Syracuse University. For more information, please contact [surface@syr.edu](mailto:surface@syr.edu).

THE PUBLIC MARKETS OF LONDON  
BEFORE AND AFTER THE GREAT FIRE OF 1666

by

Susan R. Henderson

Bachelor of Environmental Design  
University of Washington  
1974

submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements  
for the degree of Master of Architecture  
at the  
MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY  
September, 1977

---

Department of Architecture, June 4, 1977

Certified by

---

Stanford Anderson, Professor of History  
and Architecture

Accepted by

---

Wayne V. Andersen, Professor of the History  
of Art, Chairman, Department Committee for  
Graduate Students

## CONTENTS

	page
Abstract	3
List of Illustrations	4
Acknowledgments	6
I. Introduction	8
II. The Development of the Public Market System	11
III. The Pre-fire Markets	23
IV. Planning the New Markets	46
V. The Post-fire Markets	59
VI. Conclusion	80
Footnotes	83
Bibliography	95

ABSTRACT

THE PUBLIC MARKETS OF LONDON BEFORE AND AFTER THE  
GREAT FIRE OF 1666

by

Susan R. Henderson

Submitted to the Department of Architecture June 15, 1977 in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Architecture.

The city scape of London before and after the Great Fire of 1666 was chosen as the subject of study because of the concurrence of the total destruction of the city with a period of social and economic upheaval. Transition periods such as England experienced during the seventeenth century are particularly efficacious for the study of the development of design concepts as the controversy which is generated during times of great socio-economic change heightens the contrast between the old and new, and more clearly reveals the relationship between the physical and the social and economic environments. The purpose of the study is to examine the rebuilt city in terms of the changing forces which shaped it. The scope is a detailed examination of one particular aspect of the post-fire reconstruction period, the rebuilding and re-organization of the city's public market system.

The study begins with the origins and physical structure of the public markets and their relationship to medieval kinship structures which served as the basis of the social and economic systems. Conflicts first began to arise as the expansion of merchant trading strained the insular feudal system and altered both the economic activities and the social relationships of its citizens. The impact of these changes on the public market system is elucidated by the growing tensions between the public markets and various sectors of the population and by the alterations in the public market system following the fire. In each stage the development of the public market system, its early formation, the re-planning phase and its post-fire reconstruction, both the physical organization of the markets and the socio-economic forces which dominated their formation are examined in depth.



---

Prof. Stanford Anderson, Professor of History and Architecture



## ILLUSTRATIONS

- |                                                                                                                                                                                              | page |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|
| 1. Hollar's Plan of London in 1667 according to Leake's Survey after the Great Fire.<br>Source: London, Guildhall, The Guildhall Library.                                                    | 7    |
| 2. Typical Houses in Pre-fire London.<br>Source: London, Guildhall, The Guildhall Library.                                                                                                   | 16   |
| 3. Leadenhall Market Showing the Old Hall and the Stalls in 1825.<br>Source: Wilkinson's <u>Londina Illustrata</u> .                                                                         | 29   |
| 4. London's Street Markets c. 1650.<br>Source: Original by S. R. Henderson.                                                                                                                  | 32   |
| 5. The Newgate Area in 1658. A Portion of the Survey of 1658 by Richard Newcourt.<br>Source: Cambridge, Ma., Harvard University, Pusey Library.                                              | 35   |
| 6. The Cheapside Markets in 1658. A Portion of the Survey by Richard Newcourt.<br>Source: Cambridge, Ma., Harvard University, Pusey Library.                                                 | 40   |
| 7. The Stocks Market According to Perks.<br>Source: Original drawn by S. R. Henderson.                                                                                                       | 43   |
| 8. Sections of Houses Authorized by Rebuilding Act, 1667.<br>Source: "The Development of London and the London Building Act." by W. R. Davidge, in the <u>RIBA Journal</u> , April 11, 1924. | 50   |
| 9. The Proposed Market Sites of Oct. 21, 1667.<br>Source: Original drawn by S. R. Henderson.                                                                                                 | 55   |
| 10. The Public Markets c. 1670.<br>Source: Original drawn by S. R. Henderson.                                                                                                                | 60   |
| 11. Leadenhall Market in 1677. A Portion of the Map by Ogilby and Morgan.<br>Source: London, Guildhall, The Guildhall Library.                                                               | 61   |
| 12. Leybourn's Plan of the Beef Market, Leadenhall. 1677.<br>Source: <u>Book of Surveys</u> . London, Guildhall, The Corporation of London Records Office.                                   | 64   |
| 13. Leybourn's Plan of the White Market in the Greenyard, Leadenhall, 1677.<br>Source: <u>Book of Surveys</u> . London, Guildhall, The Corporation of London Records Office.                 | 65   |
| 14. Leybourn's Plan of the Herb Market, Leadenhall, 1677.<br>Source: <u>Book of Surveys</u> . London, Guildhall, The Corporation of London Records Office.                                   | 66   |

	page
15. Woolchurch Market and the Statue of Charles II in the Early Eighteenth Century. Source: London, Guildhall, The Guildhall Library.	69
16. Leybourn's Plan of Woolchurch Market. 1677. Source: <u>Book of Surveys</u> . London, Guildhall, The Corporation of London Records Office.	70
17. Woolchurch Market in 1677. A Portion of the Map by Ogilby and Morgan. Source: London, Guildhall, The Guildhall Library.	71
18. Leybourn's Plan of Honey Lane or Milk Street Market. 1677. Source: <u>Book of Surveys</u> . London, Guildhall, The Corporation of London Records Office.	72
19. Milk Street or Honey Lane Market in 1677. A Portion of the Map by Ogilby and Morgan. Source: London, Guildhall, The Guildhall Library.	73
20. Newgate Market in 1677. A Portion of the Map by Ogilby and Morgan. Source: London, Guildhall, The Guildhall Library.	76
21. Leybourn's Plan of Newgate Market in 1677. Source. <u>Book of Surveys</u> . London, Guildhall, The Corporation of London Records Office.	77
22. Newgate Market in the Mid-nineteenth Century. Source: London, Guildhall, The Guildhall Library.	78

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Firstly I am particularly grateful to Prof. Alex Tzonis of Harvard University for having kindled my interest in the history of design methodologies and for his continued support and encouragement through the two years of this study. I would also like to thank all of my readers, Prof. Tzonis, Prof. Kevin Lynch and Prof. Stanford Anderson, for helping ~~me~~ <sup>me to</sup> clarify and focus my ideas during the various stages of the project. In London I received much help from the librarians and archivists of the Guildhall Library, the Public Records Office, and the Records Department of the Corporation of London whose advice and aid enabled me to locate the documents which were most pertinent to the subject of study.

I am also indebted to the Bemis Committee of MIT for providing the grant which allowed me to pursue my study of original sources in England and Prof. Donlyn Lyndon for his support in helping me attain the grant.

Lastly special thanks are due to Prof. Stan Anderson for allowing me to continue my research as the subject of my thesis at MIT.

AN EXACT SURVEIGH OF THE STREETS LANES AND CHURCHES CONTAINED WITHIN THE RUINES OF THE CITY OF LONDON. FIRST DESCRIBED IN SIX PLATS BY JOHN BLAKE JOHN HENNINGES WILLIAM MAWR WILLIAM WILKINS THOMAS STREETE RICHARD SHORTRIVELL. BY THE ORDER OF THE LORD MAYOR ALDERMEN AND COMMONS COUNSELL OF THE SAID CITY.



1667  
Hollar's Plan

Hollar's Plan of London in 1667 according to Leake's Survey after the fire.

## I. INTRODUCTION

This study began as an attempt to examine the interrelationship between socio-economic structures and city form. The departure of the study is the supposition that socio-economic change generates new concepts of design, and, ultimately, new uses of space which are consonant with the re-structuring of other aspects of societal organization. This relationship is not one of simple cause and effect, but rather a complex interaction in which change in either sphere will have a corresponding influence upon the other. Architecture and urban form are thus both the products and the instigators of change within the larger societal context. The study of London before and after the Great Fire of 1666 was chosen as a subject which could serve to be particularly demonstrative of the relationship of the built environment to socio-economic change. The Great Fire occurred during the midst of a crucial period in the transition of the English economy from feudalism to mercantile capitalism. It was a period which destroyed the power of the guilds whose exclusivist rights had formed the basic foundation of civic structure since the founding of London in 1190, a period "which. . . succeeded in establishing the sacred rights of property, gave political power to the propertied, and removed all impediment to the triumph of the ideology of the men of property,--the protestant ethic."<sup>1</sup> The total devastation of London, the center of England's commercial activity, gave an unprecedented opportunity for a massive transformation of the city which would serve to reinforce the shift in economic power and structure.

There is no doubt but that the fire accelerated the transformation of the English economy. It delivered the final blow in the decline of the guilds, driven into bankruptcy in a desperate attempt to re-establish their civic hegemony.<sup>2</sup> At the same time it promoted the interests of speculative entre-

preneurs and the companies lying outside the city walls through the sudden disabling of the powerful merchant trading companies of the city.<sup>3</sup> The city companies whose power depended solely on their monopolistic privileges were destroyed, initially suffering from drastic losses of property, and later succumbing to the competition of companies from outside the city. Only the companies, primarily the new joint-stock companies, who could draw on a pool of investment capital were able to survive and, eventually, expand.<sup>4</sup>

What is yet to be discussed is whether the fire accelerated a similar process of transformation in the physical structure of the city, one which was consonant with the changes occurring in the economic sphere. Can a correlation be drawn between the evolution of the socio-economic environment and the changes which resulted from the rebuilding, or, conversely, what changes did not occur which might have been expected. Did the form of the rebuilt city serve to facilitate or stultify the operation of mercantile capitalism or the feudal tradition within the city. These are the primary issues which must be addressed to establish the nature of the relationship between the changing English economy and the city scape of London during the mid-seventeenth century.

The standard works on the fire have established certain facts: that the fire was instrumental in the breakdown of the guilds, that subsequent building in the west end was dominated by speculative builders, and that the construction and maintenance of property was successfully regulated for the first time only after the fire through the institution of a new bureaucracy and stricter forms of civic control. Although these works have not presupposed an elemental relationship between change in the physical environment and socio-economic change, their documentation of the rebuilding is generally supportive. In order to substantiate the hypothesis in any but the most

preliminary way, however, a re-examination of all these changes must be made. For the purpose of this thesis the subject has necessarily been limited to a discussion of the public markets, a subject little touched upon by the previous works on the fire. As such it constitutes a pilot study concerned with only one small part of the rebuilding process. Any conclusions can therefore be only of a tentative nature until such time that a more exhaustive study of the subject has been made.



## II. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PUBLIC MARKET SYSTEM

London had been since its Roman inception a center of trade. It was a nodal point, not only of Norman and Roman road systems, but of the traffic along the Thames, the English coastlines, and the European centers of commerce. By the thirteenth century it had become a city set apart from the rest of England in its intensely urban character. As an international entrepot London formed a link in the network of European trading centers, cities where goods from the hinterlands and exotic luxuries from the Far East were gathered for redistribution on the international market.<sup>1</sup>

Commerce was dominated by the wealthy landed merchant class who controlled wholesale trade, dealing in the exchange of English bulk goods, principally wool and corn, for European finished products.<sup>2</sup> This merchant class monopolized both the trade and governance of the city. Through their exclusive domination of the export trade they effectively determined the prices of both import and export goods, forcing their suppliers, the crafts guilds, into economic subordination.<sup>3</sup>

Because of their comprehensive economic powers the merchants were able to form an urban oligarchy as well. The mainstay of city government, the aldermanic council, controlled the local market, the independent crafts guilds, and served as the line of communication and negotiation between the Crown and the guilds. The members were chosen on the basis of wealth and position within the great companies, a practice which invariably led to a council of powerful merchant traders. The economic dependence of the King on revenue raised from export taxes and loans from the wealthy merchants in exchange for monopolistic privileges, resulting in their domination of civic politics, kept Crown interference in urban affairs to a minimum.<sup>4</sup>

Through this dual domination the merchants controlled both the local and



international market. Through the council they regulated the prices of goods produced by the independent retail and crafts trades. Within their own companies, the artificers, journeymen, and laborers were supervised by the independent system of laws and courts of the company. The power to enact punishments, set quotas on apprenticeships, and fix wage levels within their own companies, completed the absolute control of the merchant class over all aspects of economic and urban affairs.<sup>5</sup>

The impact of merchant trading interests on the physical structure of medieval London is clear:

"London grew around the wharves and the Bridge. The riverside wards were the wealthier, Billingsgate and Bridge, the natural harbour of fishmongers and woolmongers, Dowgate, the international entrepot, and, upstream across Walbrook, the Vintry, heart of the wine trade, with Queenhithe and its corn market, Castle Baynard and the Thames fisheries lying beyond. Here were the wharves, the gangs of porters, the hostels, warehouses and cellars of alien and citizen. From the Steelyard at Dowgate, barge traffic could penetrate up Walbrook ward looked on Cheap, the commercial hub. There at Woolchurchhaw was the great weigh-beam for wool and the Stocks fish market. To the west, behind Vintry and Queenhithe, was congested Cheap, with the mercers, goldsmiths and drapers, and, leading off the central market, the streets of the pepperers and the cordwainers. To the north lay Jewry and the administrative nucleus around Guildhall, to the west, the open Folkmoot site and the muster-ground, soon to be swallowed up in St. Paul's Churchyard. The foci of the city were the river, the center, and the west."<sup>6</sup>

As is evident by this description the activities of merchants trading in English bulk exports and foreign luxury goods had a predominating influence on the physical organization of the city. In a similar way the hegemony of the wholesale traders was a determining factor in both the economic and physical structure of the food trades.

The earliest public food markets grew out of the medieval fairs usually held every Friday at which time each gild would set up a booth to display wares. At this time the fairs were not restricted to the sale of food, but were open to the sale of any product.<sup>7</sup> Indeed it has been suggested that these fairs, gradually growing into permanent trading centers, originated the medieval market town.<sup>8</sup> Two of the earliest fairs in London were Smithfield, a livestock fair to the northwest of the city,<sup>9</sup> and the Grasse market near what is now Gracechurch Street, where "grasse," i.e. all types of meal and grain, were sold.<sup>10</sup> Up until the fourteenth century all gild trading took place in the publicly appointed market places.<sup>11</sup> Frequently these markets were located in churchyards which were generally used as gathering places particularly in later years when they were the only remaining open spaces within the city. The Grasse market, in the churchyard of St. Benet, and the meal and wool market at Woolchurchhaw, the churchyard of St. Mary Woolchurch, were two of the earliest.<sup>12</sup> Grain, the primary staple food, was of special importance for the sustenance of the city. By the fourteenth century there were four grain markets: Billingsgate, Queenhithe, Gracechurch, and Newgate. The first two were for the sale of corn as it came by boat, Gracechurch received grain as it came across London Bridge from Southwark and through Aldgate to the east, Newgate served the west, with the goods arriving from the hinterland through Aldersgate and Newgate.<sup>13</sup> Citizens could either buy their grain in bulk from farmers in the country for resale in the markets or from

the market sellers for their own consumption.<sup>14</sup>

For the most part, however, the tendency of the meal business grew increasingly towards wholesale bulk trading. Up until 1362 it was illegal to export staple foods like corn, which unlike most foods, could be stored for times of famine.<sup>15</sup> In this year commercial pressure from wholesalers, attracted to the great potential of a lucrative European market, overruled this long-standing tradition. Even before this time, markets such as Queenhithe were dominated by a few leading cornmongers who owned their own ships, mills, granaries, and bakeries. The bakehouses of the city were virtually all tied-houses, i.e. under lease to a merchant trader.<sup>16</sup> Bulk food exportation was soon second only to the export of wool as London's primary merchant trading activity. The virtual necessity of a ship to transport large quantities of food led to the domination of the business by a few wealthy fishmongers and cornmongers. By the fourteenth century they owned and operated nearly all of the mills and bakehouses and the waterfront markets of Queenhithe and Billingsgate as well.<sup>17</sup> The bakers gradually grew away from the Great Companies to form their own gild and own their own shops,<sup>18</sup> but once again the interests of wholesale trading had overshadowed the crafts industries. While the wholesale trading of wool, grain, and fish remained under the control of the few, the general supply for the city of fruits, vegetables, meats, and dairy products was left to the small tradesman and the country farmer.<sup>19</sup>

The victuallers, shop traders and craftsmen of the lesser gilds lived and worked in the streets and houses of the city. The physical structure of their workshops, markets and dwellings reflected the bonds of feudal relations, with economic necessity as its base. As with the gild within which lived and worked a hierarchy of people ranging from the day laborer to the wealthy merchant entrepreneur, so in the private craftsman's

household there existed a microcosm of the hierarchical rankings and activities of society as a whole. In a typical house in medieval London was a workshop and a storehouse for the family craft, with the living quarters on the upper floors, and in the street an open air stall served as the shop. Economic and domestic concerns were one in the same. The production unit was the family unit. The family and its servants lived and ate together, while at the same time maintaining a strict social hierarchy amongst its members. The father or crafts master was at its head, the wife, the head of the female half of the household, children forming the middle ranks, with apprentices and servants at the bottom. The father governed the education, working hours, years of apprenticeship and the right to marry or leave the home of all the members of the group. He was a member of a city gild from which he received the right to practice his craft and the privileges of citizenry status. The gild similarly controlled the activities and numbers of its members, enveloping the gild member and their household in the larger social family organized around communal economic interests. The family as the gild was a cohesive body, in which both the working and personal lives of its members were subject to authoritarian and exclusive control.<sup>20</sup>

The diversified use of space and the importance of group affiliation characteristic of the gilds and the private household life. The city fabric was an intricate pattern of foot passages, bye-lanes, and alleys, winding between the timber frame houses which covered every available space, their upper storeys hanging over the lanes to blot out the light, and with each passing year, inching their way further into the streets and few remaining courts.<sup>21</sup> Sanitation was primitive, refuse was thrown into the streets, the rivers of Fleet and Walbrook or into public laystalls where the seepage into public water supplies was one of the primary causes of the



*Print by J. T. Smith in the Goss Collection*

Typical houses in pre-fire London.

plague.<sup>22</sup>

The streets and lanes were cobbled, but poorly kept, the responsibility for their upkeep being relegated to the households and companies fronting them.<sup>23</sup> The small ferries and boats of the Thames remained the primary means of transportation within the city as late as the nineteenth century.<sup>24</sup> Passengers were transported to a nearby dock, from which they would travel to their appointed destination by foot. The coach having not yet been developed, the pedestrians made their way through streets crowded with primitive carts and barrows, pedlars, and roaming pigs and cattle.<sup>25</sup>

The principal streets were the center of the victualling trades and the public markets, as well as a number of other activities. While the small foot passages and alleys were frequently so narrow as to obstruct even the passing of a cart, the principal streets were wide and comparatively well-maintained. Though their use as traffic arterials was relieved by the river boats of the Thames, they also served as centers of communication, entertainment, water distribution, shop and retail trading, and were as well the main highways for the movement of goods and people from the hinterland and the wharves to the heart of the city.<sup>26</sup> As work and dwelling places were one within the home, so streets were both areas of supply and distribution.

Accounts of these streets, Cheapside, Newgate, Aldersgate, Gracechurch and East Cheape being the principals, describe them as being well-maintained, the houses aligned to form a unified frontage, kennels to drain water and refuse, and posts to mark the special areas for foot traffic.<sup>27</sup> They were widened at special points, around water conduits such as the Great Conduit in Cheapside, in areas where the public markets or special entertainments were held. The north side of Cheapside near the Guildhall was left open ground reserved for jousting as late as the fourteenth century.<sup>28</sup>

In diaries and journals are numerous accounts which testify to the



diversity of activities which took place within the street:

"I rode home, coaches going in great crowds to the further end of town, almost. In my way, in Leadenhall Street, there was morris-dancing, which I have not seen in a great while."<sup>29</sup>

". . . and in Cheapside hear that the Spanish hath got the best of it, and killed three of the French coach-horses and several men, and is gone through the City next to our King's coach, at which, it is strange to see how all the City did rejoice."<sup>30</sup>

"In the months of June and July, on the vigils of festival days, and on the same festival days in the evenings after the sun setting, there were usually made bonfires in the streets, every man bestowing wood or labour towards them; the wealthier sort also, before their doors near to the said bonfires, would set out tables on the vigils, furnished with sweet bread and good drink, and on the festival days with meats and drinks plentifully, whereunto they would invite their neighbours and passengers also to sit and be merry with them in great familiarity, praising God for his benefits bestowed on them. These were called bonfires as well of good amity among that being before and made of bitter enemies loving friends; and also for the virtue that a great fire hath to purge the infection in the air. . . Then had ye besides the standing watches all in bright harness, in every ward and street of this city and suburbs, a marching watch, that passed through the principal streets thereof, to wit, from the little conduit by Paulé's gate to West Cheape, by the Stocks through Cornhill, by Leaden Hall to Aldgate, then back

down Fenchurch Street, by Grasse Church Street (Gracechurch Street), about Grasse Church Conduit, and up Grasse Church Street into Cornhill, and through it into West Cheape again."<sup>31</sup>

The streets so systematically traversed in the summer harvest festival days were the same as those used as public food markets. It was also these identical streets with their direct connections to the Thames, by the city's main gates, and the hinterland beyond which were used for the transportation of food into the city. In the festival described here the victuallers, like the country sellers, sit in the streets displaying their wares, while a watch moves through the streets as did the customers and suppliers. The "good amity" exhibited between the shop trader and the passerby is a celebration of the daily interaction between the seller and consumer, an inherent element of street life.

In the eleventh century the primary source of food for purchase by the householder were the hawkers and pedlars who roamed through the streets with their baskets of goods. By the middle of the fourteenth century the combined growth of the city, and the development of shop trading caused conflicts between the hawkers and the citizen sellers.<sup>32</sup>

Hawkers were selling in the streets, primarily in Cheapside, in the hostels or inns at which they stayed, or just outside the city walls. While their business was necessary for the life of the city, their activities were in clear contradiction to the social and economic organization in which each producer-seller was controlled and protected by close ties to the gild and family. The formation of the public markets effectively incorporated these unregulated tradesmen into the feudal structure.

Cheapside was the earliest of all London markets, being near to the main gates of the city and near the London ferry which brought goods across the



Thames from Southwark, it was especially favored by the pedlars and hawkers who came to town.<sup>33</sup> Along with Cheapside there were two other street markets, Gracechurch and Newgate, and also the city's only courtyard, Leadenhall.

The public markets were under strict regulation by the city in order to protect both the country and freemen sellers, both of whose business were necessary for the subsistence of the city. The lack of self-governance and a monopoly of the trade by the local gilds was due to the hegemony of the wholesale traders, to the small scale of retail food trading, and its dependence on the small country farmer for supply. Because of the lack of methods of food preservation, buying and selling had to occur on a daily basis, and was unsuitable for bulk trading. It was a business which dealt with small sales of relatively low profit to the individual consumer and thus attracted little interest the more powerful companies. As a result the trade was dominated by the country sellers, i.e. non-citizens of the city, and small local tradesmen. The activities of the country sellers were jealously watched by the citizen food sellers, who feared that without adequate restrictions the country sellers would take over the market. The attempt to incorporate the country seller into the economic organization of the city led to a series of regulations which ultimately determined the physical structure of the markets.

In 1511 the basic market laws governing the sale of food included the following: the mayor was to set all food prices, all goods brought into the city by country sellers must be sold in the public markets, no "bad goods," i.e. foods not meeting the proper specifications as determined by the city companies were to be sold in the public markets, victuals were not to be purchased for resale in the public markets, no huxters, i.e. sellers of non-food products were to operate in the public markets, market hours were to begin at six a.m., and no citizens owning shops within two miles of the city walls were to sell goods in the public markets.<sup>34</sup>

The country seller, allowed only to sell in the public markets, and thus confined, was under the protective eye of the city, as was the craftsman in the gild. They were allowed only to sell only their own produce, i.e. had to be both the producer and seller of the product, precluding the possibility of excessive profits being accrued by middlemen. The citizen sellers were further protected by a series of regulations designed to maintain the advantages of shop trading. The country sellers were not allowed to carry any of the produce out of the marketplace, a regulation which forced them to sell to innkeepers and shoptraders at reduced prices at the end of the day.<sup>35</sup> Shop trading remained the exclusive right of the citizens of the city. They had no restrictions upon their hours of business, and they could be open all six days of the working week.<sup>36</sup> A listing of food price regulations also shows the advantage allowed to the citizen: in 1575 pigeons per dozen were sold at 1s. 4d. by the citizen and 1s. 0d. by the country seller, similarly, 0s. 6d. and 0s. 5d. for woodcocks, and 0s. 1d. for four eggs for the citizen seller and 0s. 1d. for five eggs sold by the country seller.<sup>37</sup>

While the country seller did not have the expenses of the shop trader they were required to pay a penny to stand in the street to sell goods,<sup>38</sup> a fee to rent a stall in a market, or in the case of the seller with a barrow a fee was charged in accordance to the value of the product. For instance in the fourteenth century a cart of corn would require a fee of one halfpenny while one of cheese would bring two pence.<sup>39</sup>

Only one type of produce was allowed to be sold by each pedlar. This regulation reflected a similar restriction of the citizen sellers, who were allowed also to sell only that product with which their gild was associated. Since farming was not yet a specialized industry, the country seller had to make several trips on various days to sell all his products, or to distribute the products to family members each of whom would offer a different product.

for sale.

The restriction of the markets to certain streets served several purposes. It enabled close supervision and the exaction of dues, inherent elements of the feudal structure. It gave an advantage to the shop seller locate their shops in any area of the city, and it protected the exclusivity and independence of the city, a hallmark of which was the fear of "foreigners,"<sup>40</sup> unregulated and therefore suspect persons, whose very presence was a threat to a tightly-knit community and a closely interrelated community.<sup>41</sup>

The attempt to stamp a modified version of gild structure on the public markets had other physical ramifications. The streets designated as public markets were divided into strips, within which only one type of product could be sold. The gild member, who had the freedom to locate his shop where he pleased, was, nonetheless, restricted by gild membership to the sale of one food product. The division of the streets served a similar function which restricted the country seller, at least for the day, to the sale of one food item, easing the supervisory activities of the gild.<sup>42</sup>

This, then, is the basic history of the origins of the public markets. What follows is an in-depth study of the city's four principal markets, and their growth and development up to the time of the fire, further elucidating the impact of social and economic forces in their formation.

### III. THE PRE-FIRE MARKETS.

Leadenhall was London's great poultry market. It was here that all poultry brought into the city by country sellers was sold. The market was first instituted to stop the illegal sale of poultry by country sellers in lanes and hostels and "elsewhere in secret" to the detriment of the citizen sellers who were confined to their stalls and shops in the Poultry at the juncture of Cornhill and Cheapside.<sup>1</sup> The poulterers had been thus confined due to the offensive nature of their business. For the citizen poulterers the freedom of the country sellers to move about and sell at the places most convenient to the buyer meant a serious incursion upon their business, and a grievous infraction of the monopolistic privileges due to the citizen gild member. Because they were dealing without supervision by the city, the country poulterers could also sell at any price which the citizen buyer was begrudgingly willing to pay for the added convenience of the sale. Apparently these prices were quite high as the Royal Proclamation of 1345<sup>2</sup> mentions "extortionate prices" as one of the several flagrant abuses of the law being practiced by the non-freemen poulterers. The establishment of a special market for the country sellers would, thus, allow both prices and selling hours to be regulated, and also confine the transactions of the country seller to a particular area in a manner similar to that of the citizen seller.<sup>3</sup>

The new market was held on the corner wall of the Leadenhall mansion at the juncture of Gracechurch and Leadenhall Streets. The sellers were to stand in the open street, near the conduit in the middle of the intersection. The hours of sale were so regulated that the country sellers were to sell first only to those who bought for their own consumption. Later hours of the day were then open to cooks, innkeepers, and city poulterers for the purchase of the remaining goods, which were then resold in private establish-

ments.<sup>4</sup> By reserving the early shopping hours for citizen consumers the right of the citizen to buy at the lowest possible price was protected. It was further stipulated that the country sellers were not to take away any left-over goods to their hostels or inns, but must either carry them out of the city or sell them as they might to the citizen poulterers who came during the later hours. The retail traders were thus virtually assured a constant supply of cheap food products for their shops.<sup>5</sup> These regulations were later extended to govern all of the public markets. Conversely, the freemen were barred from selling at Leadenhall and confined to their shops in the Poultry, or, if they had no shop, were to stand in the open street next to the western wall of the Church of St. Michael, Cornhill, across the street from the country sellers. The allowance of the city freemen without their own shops into the general area of Leadenhall market was a later stipulation in a royal proclamation of 1357<sup>6</sup> and began the process of consolidation of the business of citizen sellers with no shops and country sellers within the public markets, a practice which was the general rule by the sixteenth century. In 1377 a City Ordinance was issued further broadening the use of Leadenhall Market. Country sellers of butter and cheese were now to be allowed to sell here as well as in Newgate Market located between St. Nicholas Shambles, a citizen beef market, and Newgate.<sup>7</sup>

In 1411 the Neville property and the Leadenhall mansion itself was acquired by the city.<sup>8</sup> This included, besides the house, the medieval garden behind, later known as Greenyard, and henceforth to be an integral part of the market, initially used as a storage place for timber.<sup>9</sup> It was during the following years of rebuilding that Leadenhall Market was to take a form which it would maintain through the nineteenth century, a form which would set a precedent for the creation of three new markets following the fire of 1666. The convenience of Leadenhall lay in its proximity to two important commercial streets,

Cornhill and Gracechurch, without lying within the streets itself, as did all the other public markets of the time. Between 1440 and 1455 the hall was rebuilt as a market. On the frontage of Gracechurch Street were stalls for a fruit, vegetable, and dairy market, and around the central court of Leadenhall, a granary, a chapel, storehouses and tenements. The granary was built under the auspices of the mayor. It was paid for and filled by dues collected from the city companies for use in time of war and famine, and to prevent price fluctuations and illegal hoarding.<sup>10</sup> The organization of the market had much in common with the medieval fair. It was held in an open court which was the scene of a variety of other activities as well. The food market in the court only took place on certain prescribed hours and days of the week and was used for the sale of leather and woollen products on other days. The stalls built on Gracechurch Street were presumably under the same regulations as the stalls in other public markets, regulation first established in 1331, that being that they were for rent to citizens of the city without shops or to country sellers. Those who could not afford a stall were relegated to make their sales in the open courtyard within.<sup>11</sup> In ensuing years street stalls were often rebuilt illegally to the extent that supervision had once again become impossible. By 1529 country sellers had actually come to set up stalls in front of the doors of private houses in Leadenhall Street. They were once again removed to the Hall where they were forced to pay their rental fees to the City Corporation and the prices of their sales could be supervised.<sup>12</sup> (see ill. p. 52)

A petition in the year 1519 presented by the commons of the Court of Common Council of the City is demonstrative of the many functions served by Leadenhall during this period, as well as the protectionate desires of the citizens to keep such public amenities strictly in the hands of the city, and restrict the activities of foreigners:



"Meekly divers citizens of the city. . . think that the great place called Leadenhall should not ought to be letten to farm to any person or persons, and in especial to any fellowship or company incorporate. . . for such inconveniences as thereby may ensue, and come to hurt of the common weal. . .

"First, if any assembly or hastygathering of the commons of the said city, for suppressing or subduing of misruled people within the said city, hereafter shall happen to be called or commanded by the mayor, aldermen, and other governors andcouncillors of the said city for the time being, there is none so convenient, meet, and necessary a place, to assemble them in, within the said city, as the said Leaden hall, both for largeness of room, and their sure defence in time of their counselling together about the premises. Also, in that place hath been used the artillery, guns, and other armours of the said city, to be safely kept in a readiness for the safeguard, wealth, and defence of the said city, to be had and occupied at times when need required. As also the store of timber for the necessary reparations of the tenements belonging to the chamber of the said city, there commonly hath been kept. If any triumph or nobleness were to be done, or shown by the commonality of the city, the said Leaden hall is most meet and convenient place to prepare and order the said triumph therein, and from thence to issue forth to the places therefore appointed. Item, at any largess or dole of any money made unto the poor people of this city, it hath been used to be done and given in the said Leaden hall, for that the said place is most meet therefore. Item, the honourable father, that was maker of the said hall, had a special will, intent, and mind, that (as it is commonly said) the market men and women that came to the city with victuals and other

things, should have their free standing within the said Leaden hall in wet weather, to keep themselves and their wares dry, and thereby to encourage them, and all other, to have better will and desire the more plentifully to resort to the said city, to victual the same."<sup>14</sup>

Like the streets, houses, and gilds of the city, Leadenhall served a multitude of civic functions: by regulation all the lead and nails brought into the city were to be stored there, also the weighing and selling of all wool, as well as the searching, sealing, and selling of all tanned leather goods. It also served as a public granary, an armory, and a place for ceremonial preparations as described by Stow in 1540:

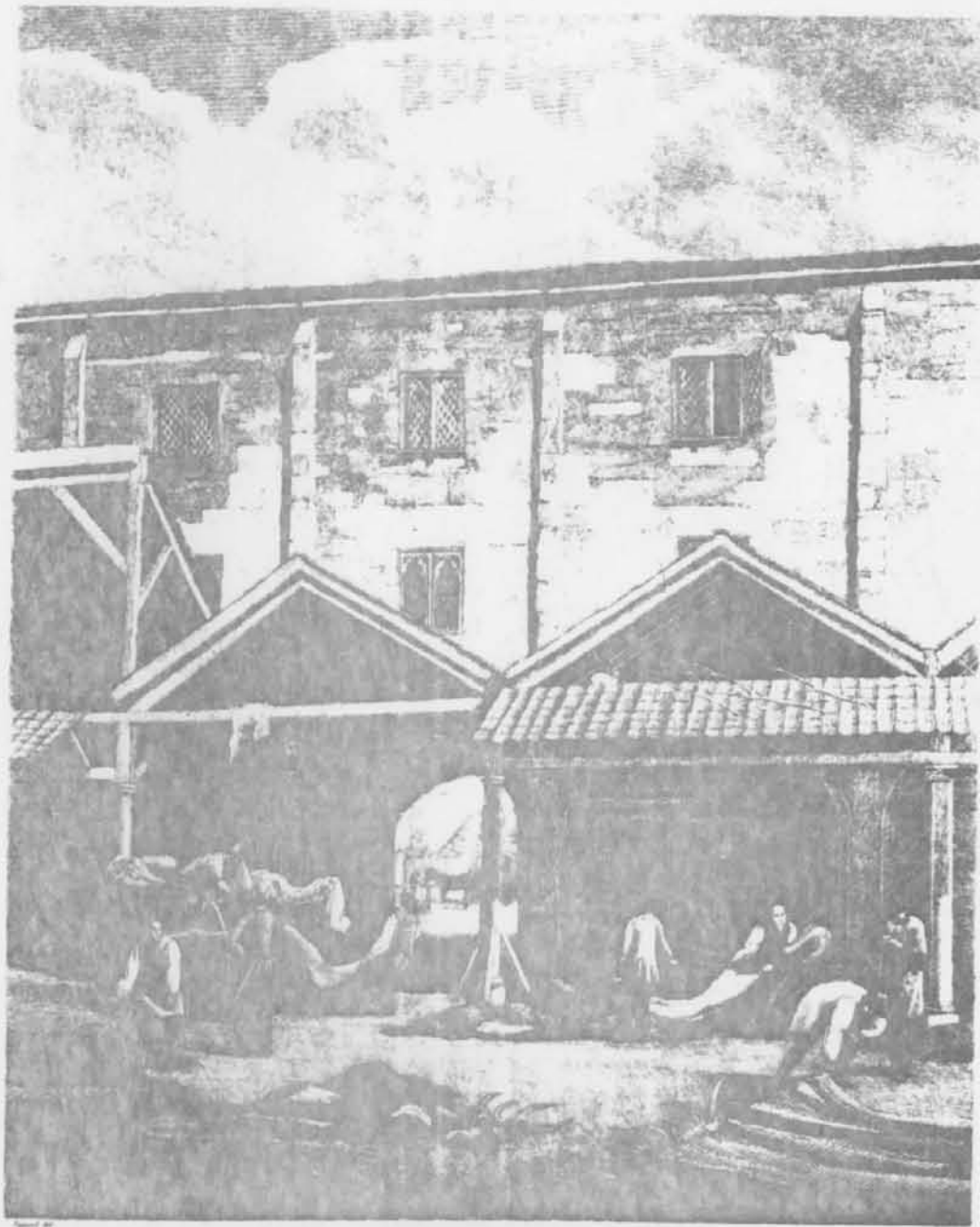
"The use of Leaden hall in my youth was thus: In a part of the north quadrant, on the east side of the north gate, were the common beams for weighing of wool and other wares, as had been accustomed; on the west side the gate were the scales to weight meal; the other three sides were reserved for the most part to the making and resting of the pageants showed at Midsommer in the watch; the remnant of the sides and quadrant was employed for the stowage of wool sacks, but not closed up; the lofts above were partly used by the painters in working for the decking of pageants and other devices, for beautifying of the and watchmen; the residue of the lofts were letten out to merchants, the wool winder and packers there in to wind and pack their wools."<sup>15</sup>

At its inception Leadenhall was a general poultry market. The term poultry encompassed a wide category of foods: live game birds, rabbit, capon, goose, hen, wild and tame duck, pigeon, cygnet, heron, partridge, woodcock, and pheasant, to name a few.<sup>16</sup> By the seventeenth century the meat market of Leadenhall



and Greenyard had expanded to include all "white" meat as well as beef, the term "white" meat meaning any meat other than beef, i.e. veal, pork, poultry, lamb and mutton. It was the only place where beef could be sold by non-shop owners, and the only market which sold all types of meat. Leadenhall Street became a "white" meat market. Due to growing congestion in the streets, it was removed to Greenyard, the former timber yard, in 1657, at which time the hours of both Leadenhall and Greenyard Markets were doubled in order to accommodate the extra sellers using the space. This latter provision, however, was repealed in 1663 upon the appeal of the Butchers Company, and the market days cut back from four to the original two, Wednesdays and Saturdays.<sup>17</sup> The Butchers Company apparently felt the threat, as did many of the other trades guilds, that, as the latitude allowed to foreign sellers grew, their own hold upon the business of the city dwindled. Their power was still substantial, but their liabilities were perhaps even greater: rent for their shops, guild membership fees, and loans through the guilds to support the King. The non-citizenry sellers, however, shared none of these burdens, and, if permitted too much freedom, could overtake the market. As with other guilds, the butchers fully understood the implication and fought to preserve the medieval structure of marketing which protected their monopolistic privileges on the basis of citizenry status, and kept competition to a minimum.

This included keeping their own members in line. An Act of the Court of Common Council of October 16, 1646 reiterated the market law that all standings in Leadenhall and the Greenyard were for the use only of country sellers and citizen butchers without shops. This was apparently in response to a gradual incursion of citizen butchers selling within the precincts reserved for the public markets.<sup>18</sup> Even if they owned a shop elsewhere in the city the butchers found an advantage in the ready supply of customers who flocked to the public



VIEW OF THE MARKET PLACE IN LEADENHALL,  
As the Place is now, after the late  
improvements made in the year 1825.

Leadenhall Market showing the old hall and the stalls.  
From Wilkinson's Londina Illustrata. 1825.

market twice a week. But this kind of trespass on differing spheres of privilege was a threat to the very basis of societal organization would not be tolerated no matter who the offender. It not only hurt the poorer sellers who could not afford their own shops, but the citizens who accepted the limitations and the privileges of shop owning as well. As such it was as much a threat to the social hierarchy as was the influx of unregulated persons into the citizen.

The public market of Cheapside was divided into two parts: from the Great Conduit to Bread Street was a "white" meat market, and from St. Mary-le-Quern to Bread Street, an herb market.<sup>19</sup> In the fourteenth century St. Mary-le-Quern was the site of one of the early corn markets, probably then associated with the Newgate corn market, nearby, and thus led to the area's use for the sale of herbs.<sup>20</sup> During the reign of Edward I, the mid-thirteenth century, Edward stipulated that all the country sellers, standing in West Cheape, i.e. Cheapside, must work in the midst of the street between the two kennels so as not to obstruct traffic.<sup>21</sup> The items listed for sale in the proclamation included bread, cheese, poultry, fruit, hides, skins, onions, garlic, and "other small victuals," the term victuals most often referring to prepared foods ready for immediate consumption, prepared pies, hot ribs of beef, fresh bread and cheese.<sup>22</sup> (see ill. p. 40)

In all street markets the country sellers and non-shop owners stood in the streets with baskets or barrows, or sometimes in stalls to sell their goods. These stalls, set up by householders as well as the country sellers, were a continual problem to the city. While certain areas were designated for stall construction, it frequently happened that through a period of years a stall operator would gradually improve the property from its original state as a small unroofed table, to a covered one, then to an enclosed shed, finally adding a second storey to complete it into a house.<sup>23</sup> The stalls and houses not

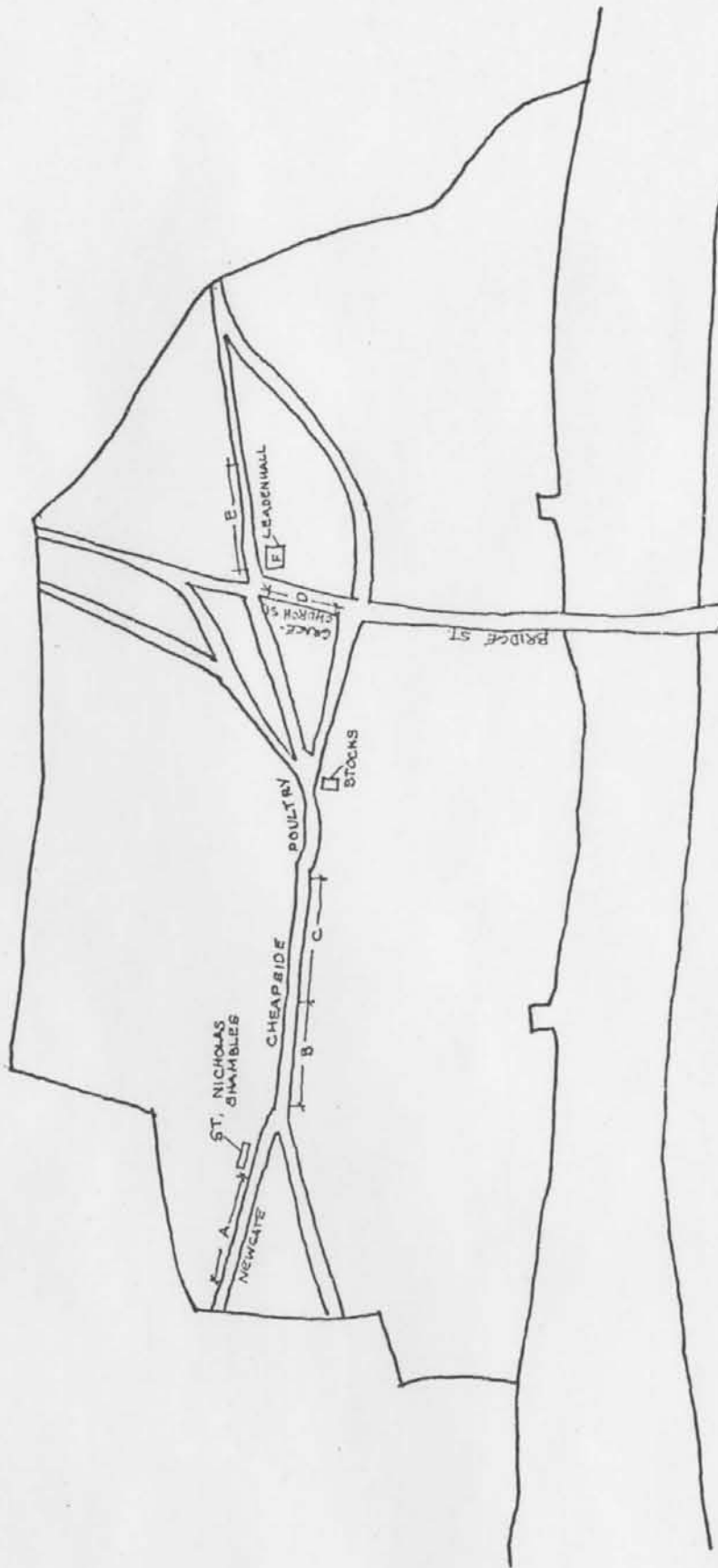
only contributed to the growing problem of congestion, but confused the already ambiguous records of land titles and citizenry status. Many people who had operated their businesses in the city for years had done so through building up illegal stalls into homes without ever being freemen of the city.

An attempt was made to keep this trend in check. Frequent Royal Proclamations forbade the construction of new housing within the city walls.<sup>24</sup> It was thought that through the restriction of new building the flux of foreigners flocking to the city could be arrested. With the continued growth of London as a commercial center any attempts to restrict its physical growth and maintain a tightly-knit communal organization were virtually futile.<sup>25</sup>

In Cheapside, the commercial hub of the city, the illegal construction of stalls had escalated to such an extent that by the reign of Edward III, the mid-fourteenth century, the breadth of Cheapside Market had greatly contracted.

"On the north side the lanes, formerly broad spaces for sheds and stalls for the market were now narrow, with houses on either hand: there were also houses on that side (i.e. of the street) but not continuous, here were Grocer's Hall and Mercer's Hall."<sup>26</sup>

Newgate market lay on the south side of Newgate Street between Warwick Lane and Ivey Lane. It began as a corn market and by the fourteenth century had a market house for the storage, sale and weighing of meal.<sup>27</sup> Though the exact location of the market house is difficult to determine, the map by Richard Newcourt made in 1658, (p. 35) the first accurate survey of the city,<sup>28</sup> shows several large buildings, two of them with courts similar to that of Leadenhall.<sup>29</sup> While one of these was apparently an abbey,<sup>30</sup> the other is likely to have been the market house of Newgate. According to Stow the meal house was located at the west corner of St. Nicholas Shambles, one of the prescribed places



London's street markets c. 1650:

- A. Newgate ("white" meat)
  - B. Cheapside herb market
  - C. Cheapside "white" meat market
  - D. Gracechurch St. (herbs)
  - E. Leadenhall St. (white)
  - F. Leadenhall (white meat and beef)
- Citizen meat shops:  
 Meat--St. Nicholas Shambles, Stocks, Poultry  
 Fish--Stocks, Bridge St., Old Fish St. (not shown)

for the shops of citizen beef sellers who benefited by the closeness of the Shambles to the city gate and the hinterland.<sup>31</sup> Strype puts the Shambles on the north side of Newgate Street from St. Martin's Lane (Aldgate Street) up past Pentecost Lane, a location which seems, in conjunction with Stow, to verify that the market house was the large building with the courtyard behind as shown on the Newcourt map.<sup>32</sup> The map of Newcourt also shows the proximity of the market to the Smithfield Fair, the old livestock market, as well as a middle row of marketing sheds in Newgate Street. Strype described the state of the market just prior to the fire in his editions of Stow's Survey of London:

"Newgate Market was before the fire kept in the street where there was a market house only for meal, and a middle row of sheds which afterwards were converted into houses and inhabited by butchers, tripe-sellers, etc. And the country people which brought provisions to the City were forced to stand with their stalls in the open street, to the damage of their goods, and danger of their persons, by the coaches, carts, horses, and cattle that passed through the street."<sup>33</sup>

Newgate was the last built of all the London gates, being constructed in the eleventh century. According to Stow the gate was made necessary by the rebuilding of St. Paul's after a fire in 1086.

"Mauritius, then bishop of London, repaired not the old church, as some have supposed, but began the foundation of a new work. . . After Mauritius, Richard Beamore did wonderfully advance the work of said church, purchasing the large streets and lanes round about, wherein were wont to dwell many lay people, which grounds he began to compass about with a strong wall of stone and gates. By means of this increase of the church territory, but more by inclosing of ground for so large



a cemetary or churchyard, the high and large street stretching from Aldegate in the east until Ludgate in the west, was in this place so crossed and stopped up, that the carriage through the city westward was forced to pass without the said churchyard. . . which passage, by reason of so often turning, was very cumbersome and dangerous both for horse and man; for remedy whereof a new gate was made, and so called, by which men and cattle, with all manner of carriages, might pass more directly (as afore) from Aldegate, through West Cheape by Paules, on the north side; through St. Nicholas Shambles and Newgate Market to Newgate, and from thence to any part westward over Oldborne Bridge, or turning without the gate into Smithfielde, and through Iseldon to any part north and by west."<sup>34</sup>

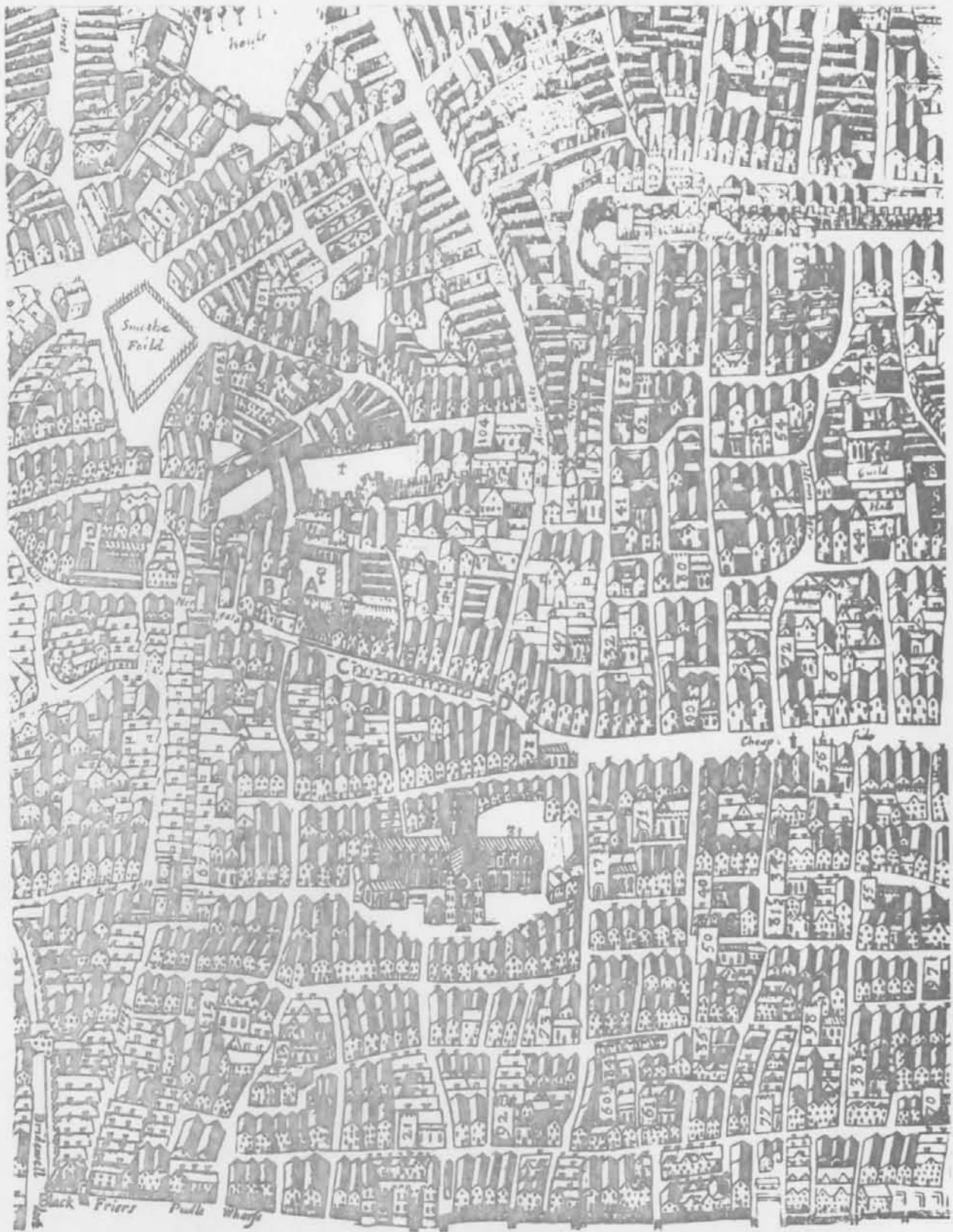
Newgate opened a direct line into Cheapside, the central artery of the city. The convenience of the Newgate area to both Cheapside and the open country highways led to its importance as part of the food marketing area extending from the gate through the length of Cheapside down to Leadenhall and Gracechurch Markets at the eastern end of town. of its proximity to the Smithfield horse fair and the hinterland, the market soon developed into a "white" meat market as well as one for meal. The slaughtering of animals by the country sellers could be done outside the city itself and, being near the fair, it was an obvious route for the carriage of meat products into the city. By 1660 the stalls of the market had extended out from their original bounds between Warwick Lane and Ivey Lane north into Grayfriars and further along the south side of the street up to the gate itself.<sup>35</sup>

The market consisted of an open area on the south side of the street with a middle row of sheds, extending from the gate to the corner of Cheapside. Beginning at this corner on the north side of the street were the shambles for



The Newgate Area in 1658. A. Grassmarket B. Newgate Meal House  
 C. Middle Row of Sheds D. Newgate Market E. St. Nicholas Shambles





The Newgate Area in 1658. A. Grayfriars B. Newgate Meal House  
 C. Middle Row of Sheds D. Newgate Market E. St. Nicholas Shambles

the city butchers up to the market house at which point there were more sheds continuing up to the gate.

While in its early years Newgate served as a meal market only and gained its early reputation as such,<sup>36</sup> it is clear that, as the grain was monopolized by the wholesale merchants, the sale of meat quickly became its primary function.

The markets of Cheapside and Newgate served the western and middle sections of the city. Along with Leadenhall Market the street market of Gracechurch served the city's east end. Similar to the development of Newgate Market, Gracechurch had its beginnings as a meal market, known as a "grasse" market, anciently held in the churchyard of St. Benet on the corner of Gracechurch and Fenchurch Streets. The name of the street, originally Grasse Street, later Gracechurch Street, and finally Gracious Street, developed from the early association of the church and the grasse market held within its precincts. By the time of Newcourt's map the churchyard was built over by numerous tenements. As was the case with church property, the land had been taken over and sold by the Crown during the reformation. The sale of church lands served through the reign of Elizabeth I as the primary source of income, a practice which resulted in many of the traditional uses of church lands being relegated to open areas in the street.<sup>37</sup>

As was previously mentioned, when the courtyard market of Leadenhall Market was created, the street market for meat was discontinued except for the stalls along the outer wall of the mansion in Leadenhall Street. The market in Gracechurch Street for the sale of butter, cheese, fruits, and vegetables was continued served as the herb market for this section of the city.

The convenience of the sites chosen for the public markets around the supply and distribution hub of the Cheapside artery also made them particularly attractive to citizens for the locations of their shops. In the struggle for

accommodation the interests of the most powerful and prestigious companies and concerns frequently prevailed. Around Newgate the poulterers and beef sellers occupied the surrounding streets with their shops and slaughterhouses. In Cheapside the goldsmiths succeeded in removing the tallow chandlers to create one of the most prestigious and exclusive commercial areas in all of London, and, in the east end, the important intersection of Cheapside, Cornhill, and Lombard Streets was occupied by the fishmongers' Stocks market. In nearby Sopars Lane and in                      Street the importers of spices and drugs kept their shops, and in 1411 their livery company, Grocers Hall, was built on the north side of Cheapside, in what had previously been part of the open ground of the public market. ( see ill. p. 40)

As the dealers in luxury commodities began to take over these areas, the conflicts with the public markets held in streets directly fronting their shops and halls, grew increasingly intense. Following the fire, it was one of the primary motivations of the city council to reduce the mounting tensions by removing the noise and congestion of the markets to confined squares.<sup>38</sup>

The history of Goldsmiths' Row in Cheapside is particularly demonstrative of the growing influence of the hegemony of merchant traders in the formation of the city scape, an influence which increasingly resulted in the breakdown of the traditional multi-use patterns which had characterized the physical organization of medieval London.

In 1283 the tallow chandlers located in Cheapside were given notice to clear their shops.<sup>39</sup> The tallow chandlers, makers of soap and candles, were frequently the object of complaint by local inhabitants as were the butchers and fishmongers, due to the offensive odor of the lard used in the manufacture of their goods. They were relocated at the Stocks Market, where the butchers of the Stocks and Leadenhall were required by law to sell their fat at fixed

prices to the members of the Tallow Chandlers Gild. <sup>40</sup> In Cheapside the old tallowchandlers shops were given over to traders of silk, linen, hosiery, and drapery.<sup>41</sup> These tradesmen were also forced to move in 1327 by a proclamation of Edward III whereby all the goldsmiths of the city were required to "sit in their shops in the High Street of Chepe, and that no silver plate, nor vessel of gold or silver, should be sold in the City of London, except in the said street of Chepe or in the King's Exchange."<sup>42</sup> Goldsmiths' Row was first built in 1491 by Sheriff Thomas Wood, a goldsmith of the city.

"It containeth in number ten fair dwelling-houses and fourteen shops, all in one frame, uniformly built four stories high, beautified towards the street with the Goldsmiths' arms and the likeness of woodmen, in memory of his name, riding on monstrous beasts, all which is cast in lead, richly painted over in gilt: these he gave to the Goldsmiths, with stocks of money, to be lent to young men having no shops."<sup>43</sup>

In 1598 a German traveller, Paul Hertzner, gave a similarly grand description:

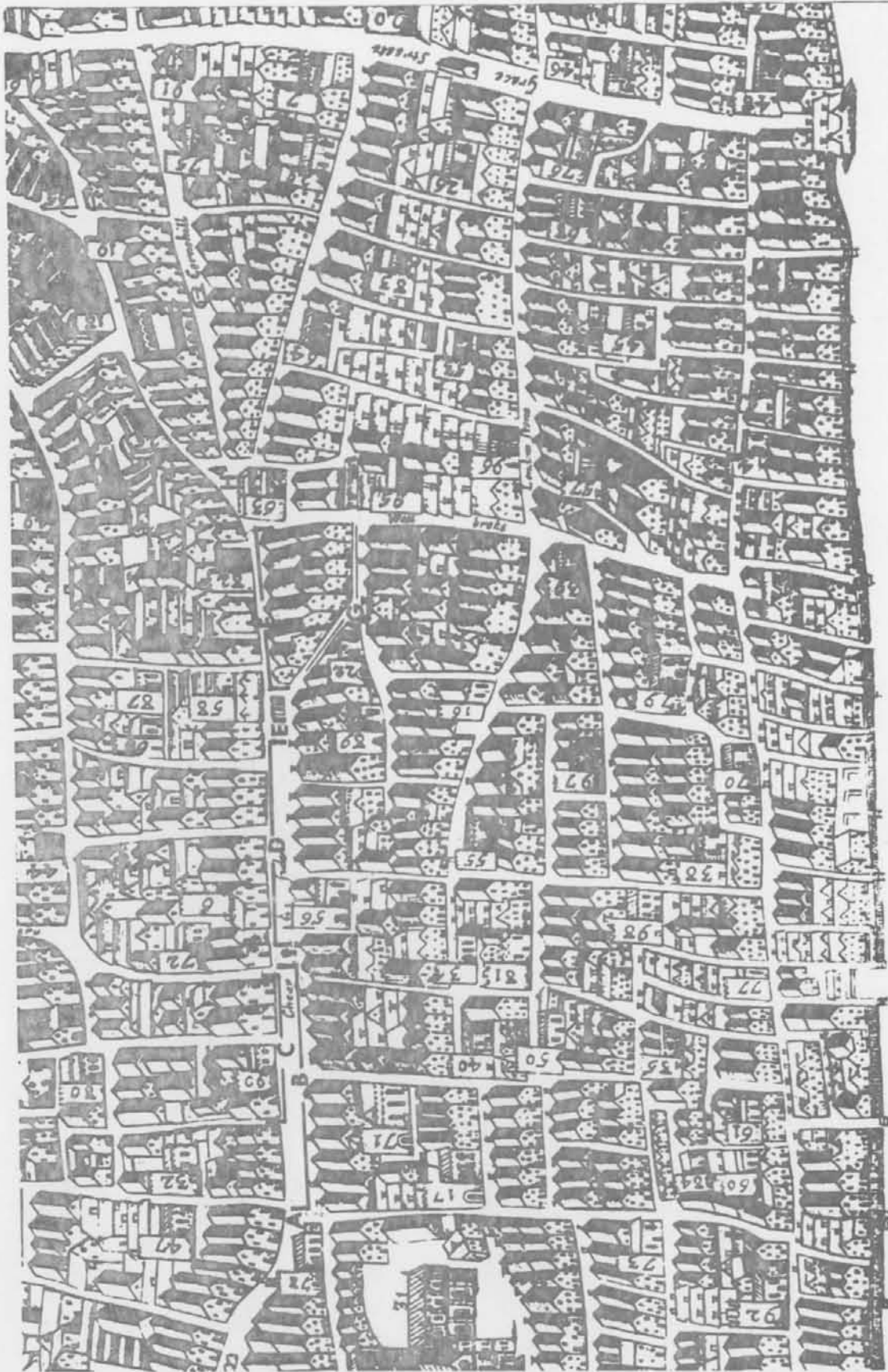
"The streets in this city are very handsome and clean; but that which is named from the goldsmiths who inhabit it, surpasses all the rest: there is in it a gilt tower, with a fountain that plays. Near it on the farther side is a handsome house, built by a goldsmith, and presented by him to the city. There are besides to be seen in this street, as in all others where there are goldsmiths' shops, all sorts of gold and silver vessels exposed to sale, as well as ancient and modern medals in such quantities as must surprise a man the first time he sees and considers them."<sup>44</sup>

Goldsmiths' Row extended on the south side of Cheapside from the cross west to Bread Street.<sup>45</sup> The site was convenient both for the goldsmiths and the Crown, being near the Old Exchange. Their business was closely associated with the minting and the value of coinage, as well as the banking business centered in nearby Lombard Street, the financial hub of the city.<sup>46</sup>

"The confirmation of a grant made by Edward II in 1318 shows that the street in which they dwelt had for some time been known as Lombard Street. They were goldsmiths, and dealers in money, jewels and other valuables; were our earliest bankers and insurers of shipping; and acted as the agents of great foreign merchants and princes. During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries they supplied many loans to the English sovereigns, and in return received protection and privileges; but by the citizens generally they were denounced as regrators and userers."<sup>47</sup>

The public herb market in front of Goldsmiths' Row generated strong complaints by the merchants, and resulted in the market's removal to St. Paul's churchyard in 1657.<sup>48</sup> Here the city set up stalls for the sellers of fruits, flowers, roots, plants, and other garden produce.<sup>49</sup> The area of St. Paul's was densely populated by stationers and bookbinders. The noise and congestion produced by the market led the city, once again under pressure from the gilds, to re-site the market in 1661. The new site in Aldersgate Street was not suitable for the country sellers who complained that the site was so removed from the water as to make it difficult to transport produce to the market.<sup>50</sup> It was also requested that the herb market of Gracechurch Street be closed as being prejudicial to that of Aldersgate Street, but the proposal was denied.<sup>51</sup> Thus at the time of the fire the use of Cheapside as an open market was already





The Newgate Area in 1658. A. St. Mary-le-Quern B. Cheapside herb market C. Goldsmiths Row  
D. Cheapside meat market E. Great Conduit F. Poultry G. Bucklersbury St. H. Stocks



reduced. The country sellers, having been displaced, found themselves isolated not only from their traditional supply route, but from their clientele in the middle section of the city, and were suddenly forced into competition with the Gracechurch Market for the business of the east end.

The two other marketing areas of the city, Newgate and Leadenhall, were also subject to pressures from shop owners. The area around Newgate was occupied by the citizen butchers of beef and "white" meat. The citizen sellers of meat and fish were the only food dealers who were not free to set up shop in any area of the city. As with the tallow chandler, this was due to the offensive nature of the business, which necessitated a direct proximity of the shops and slaughterhouses.<sup>52</sup> The two prescribed areas for the sale of beef by citizens were St. Nicholas Shambles in Newgate and the Stocks Market in the east. Aside from the Shambles itself where the shops for the sale of beef were located, the streets behind were occupied by the tenements and slaughterhouses of the butchers. Their names are often indicative of their association with the butchers trade: Stinking Lane, Butchers Alley, Scalding Lane, and Blowbladder Street, where sheep bladders were blown up in a balloon fashion and flown from poles as an advertisement.<sup>53</sup> Stow describes the area's growth:

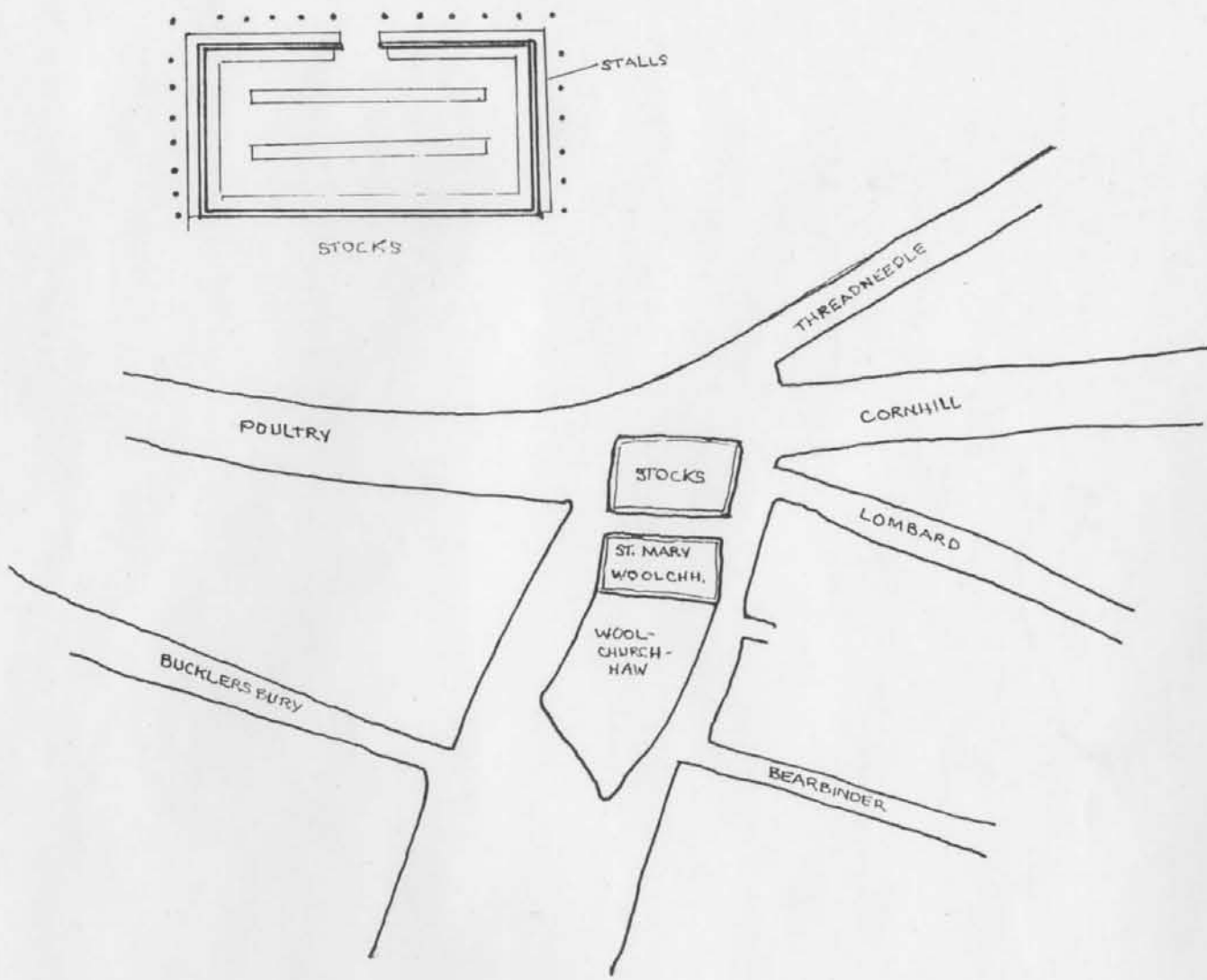
"Now again from the conduit by Paule's gate on the north side is a large street running west to Newgate, the first part whereof, from the conduit to the shambles, is of selling bladders there, called Bladder Street. Then behind the butchers' shops be now divers slaughter houses inward, and tippling houses outward. This is called Mountgodard Street of the tippling houses there. . . Before this Mountgodard Street stall boards were of old time set up by butchers to show and sell their flesh meat upon, over the which stallboards they first built sheds to keep off the weather, but since that, encroaching by

little and little, they have made their stallboards and sheds fair houses, meet for the principal shambles."<sup>54</sup>

In the east end of the city the public markets were to find themselves in competition with two of the most powerful companies of London; the fishmongers and the Grocers, Until the year 1282 the fishmongers' shops were confined to Bridge and Old Fish Streets. It was in this year, however, that Mayor Henry le Waleys built the Stocks Market for the sale of fish and "white" meat, a large hall projecting well into the intersection of Cheapside, Cornhill, Lombard Streets and the Poultry. The hall was to be occupied by fishmongers newly entering the trade. The move was fought by the Saltfishmongers' Company to the extent that the Stocks fishmongers had to create their own company. Not until 1536 were the two corporations finally consolidated.<sup>55</sup> The Stocks market was originally created, using city property, to gather revenue for the maintenance of London Bridge. Although the fishmongers of Bridge and Old Fish Streets attempted to prevent its success, chiefly by monopolizing the wholesale purchasing of fish at the wharves, the Stocks, with the mayor's special protection was a success. When the two companies joined their power was increased

In 1357 there were 71 plats (Stokkes)  $4\frac{1}{2}$ ' by 5' ranged around the inside walls of the rectangular building, with two more rows in the center. Fifty more plats were ranged along its outer walls.<sup>57</sup> The days for the sale of meat and fish alternated so that when fish was sold indoors, the butchers used the stalls outside the building.<sup>58</sup> In the lease of 1663, the last before its destruction in the fire, it is described as a large stone building for the sale of fish and flesh with chambers for storage also provided.<sup>59</sup> (see ill. p. 43)

The building stood directly in front of the church of St. Mary Woolchurch.



The Stocks according to Perks

In the churchyard, Woolchurchhaw, was kept the King's beam used for the standardized weighing of wool. In 1398 it was moved near the new Grocers Hall in ~~the~~ Street.<sup>60</sup> The association of the beam with the grocers and fishmongers grew from the early practice of the powerful wholesaling guilds in the trading of bulk goods, principally wool and grain, for European commodities. In their early history the Grocers, traders of spices, herbs, and drugs, were called the pepperers and kept shop in Sopars Lane. In later years as their business expanded they moved into ~~the~~ Street with standings also in Cheapside.<sup>61</sup>

"In this Soper's Lane the Pepperers anciently dwelt, wealthy tradesmen who delt in spices and drugs."<sup>62</sup>

". . . this whole street, on both sides throughout, is possessed of grocers and apothecaries."<sup>63</sup>

"It is mervellous that such perfumes should make so sweete savours, if the divell were in them. If one divell be in so little porcion of incense, what a number of divells be there in all the apothecaries shoppes that are in Bucklersbury and elsewhere."<sup>64</sup>

Thus at the convergence of Cheapside, Cornhill, and Lombard Streets the country sellers of Leadenhall, Gracechurch Streets and Cheapside found themselves in competition both for space for clientele, with three of the most powerful wholesale trading companies of the city. Since the original siting of the markets in the thirteenth century, the area had also become the home of the goldsmiths, the citizen poulterers in the Poultry, the fishmongers and citizen butchers of the Stocks, and the Grocers Company. By the time of the fire the conflicts had grown increasingly intense. The Grocers Hall had taken up the space reserved for the market on the north side of Cheapside: the gold-

smiths had had the herb market removed entirely. At the Stocks complaints were made that foreign sellers of meat and fish were setting up stalls outside their doors.<sup>65</sup> Hawkers with their famous "London Cries" were selling illegally in the streets and tradesmen complained of their doing great harm to their businesses. In some areas of Cheapside they were actually setting up stalls in front of the doors of shops, the tradesmen often having to resort to employing these very people to sell their goods so as not to go out of business entirely.<sup>66</sup> With the growth of international trade and the market for luxury goods, and the increasing traffic and congestion of the city generated by its economic growth, the confusion of conflicting interests was reaching a breaking point by the time of the fire in 1666. The decisions leading to the creation of special marketplaces and the removal from the streets of all activities other than those directly related to the movement of goods and persons was an attempt to cope with the needs of a new order in which mercantile interests were to dominate many of the more medieval traditions. During the rebuilding, the necessity for more clearly differentiated and efficient spaces to accommodate the growth of the city and the expansion of commercial enterprise was to overshadow desires to maintain a physical structure which incorporated feudal domestic, social, and economic relationships into a single unified entity.

#### IV. PLANNING THE NEW MARKETS

By the seventeenth century the hegemony of the merchant traders had been significantly reduced. The Livery Companies' increasing tendency to concentrate exclusively on the business of wholesale trading, quickly led to a domination of the production industries by the crafts guilds.<sup>1</sup> A group of wealthy craftsmen grew up among the crafts guilds, merchant-employers who farmed out country industries,<sup>2</sup> had large numbers of craftsmen under their personal employ, and began merchant activities of their own.<sup>3</sup> Through the monopoly of production they were able to successfully challenge the power of the merchant traders.<sup>4</sup> Outside the city, clusters of rival merchant and crafts industries posed another threat to the city monopolies. Reaping the benefits of proximity to the major trading center and the large suburban markets, they were free from all the taxations and obligations of the city freemen.<sup>5</sup> Even within the ranks of the Livery Companies conflicts were beginning to arise. Many of the merchants, wishing to expand their capital investments in the new industries and land, needed freedom from the restrictions of the monopoly in order to do so. This in no way implicated a desire for a free market. The merchants hoped only to stave off the competition of the crafts guilds and the rival companies of the suburbs by creating a balance between the maintenance of their monopolistic privileges, while partially removing some of its restrictions.<sup>6</sup>

In the country similar tensions were beginning to strain feudal relations. The nobility, gentry, and the merchant investors, wishing to put their properties to more profitable use, sought the right of enclosure, and an abrogation of the bonds of feudal tenure.<sup>7</sup>

In the city the economic interests of all the wealthier classes were beginning to extend themselves outside the bounds of the guilds, and the city



walls, to the countryside beyond. The trading activities of the landed and merchant classes created a new base of common interest and new economic bonds between the city and country, which ultimately resulted in the rise of England as a unified nation state.<sup>8</sup>

The enclosures of the countryside resulted in a large class of dis-enfranchised or "masterless men" who gravitated towards the city seeking some means of employ.<sup>9</sup> It is estimated that the population of London grew eight times between 1500 and 1640, and that the bulk of this increase was due to the influx of the peasant population.<sup>10</sup> While a fear of "foreigners"<sup>11</sup> was always an inherent element of the feudal tradition,<sup>12</sup> the democratic ideas that flourished during the Civil War and the Interregnum, compounded by years of economic hardship and the loss of peasant rights as a result of enclosure, had brought the fear of the lower and potentially insurrectionary class to a fever pitch.<sup>13</sup> The scientific of the seventeenth century and the accompanying diminution of the authority of the Church<sup>14</sup> undermined the assumption that a society in which class position defined established relationships and bonds was a divinely determined and unalterable state of the human condition.<sup>15</sup> While providing a rationale for the release of the wealthy classes from the restrictions of the feudal structure, it also exacerbated the potentially revolutionary state of the lower classes. Clearly some sort of compromise was necessary to encourage economic growth without incurring the hazards of a total democracy.

This compromise was in large part effected by the Restoration of Charles II in 1660. The waning effectiveness of feudal bonds as a means of control was replaced by new governmental and civic institutions. The judiciary, trade, finance, and the army were now all under the dominion of Parliament.<sup>16</sup> Members were chosen by a voting population whose franchises were granted on the basis

of property ownership,<sup>17</sup> thereby excluding the lower classes from the means of political control.

In London the restrictions against new building had only produced even greater crowding and worse sanitary conditions.<sup>18</sup> The fear of disease, fire, the contamination of the water supply, the spoilage of open spaces created by continued population growth were problems for which the medieval corporate structure of governance had no facility to deal.<sup>19</sup> The fire of 1666 destroyed four-fifths of the city. Ironically, the only wards left intact were slum areas in the northeast section.<sup>20</sup> The necessity for the immediate institution of civic controls to cope with the disaster was

plague of the previous year, the isolated efforts of ward officials, lacking a central organized authority, to curb the spread of the contagion were virtually futile.<sup>21</sup>

With the entire destruction of London's commercial base, this kind of chaos could not again be tolerated. The basic alterations in the city fabric during the rebuilding were the result of the institution of a bureaucracy with the newly asserted and enforced right to directly regulate and implement policy.<sup>22</sup> A department of street paving and maintenance, a department of sewer commissioners, a bureau of public works, an office of the surveyor of the works, and the Fire Court, which settled property disputes resulting from the fire, were all a direct result of the reconstruction process.<sup>23</sup> Up until the fire the nature of feudal regulations were restrictive rather than constructive. The failure of these policies to contain commercial growth resulted in the replacement of prohibitive restrictions by regulatory agencies.<sup>24</sup>

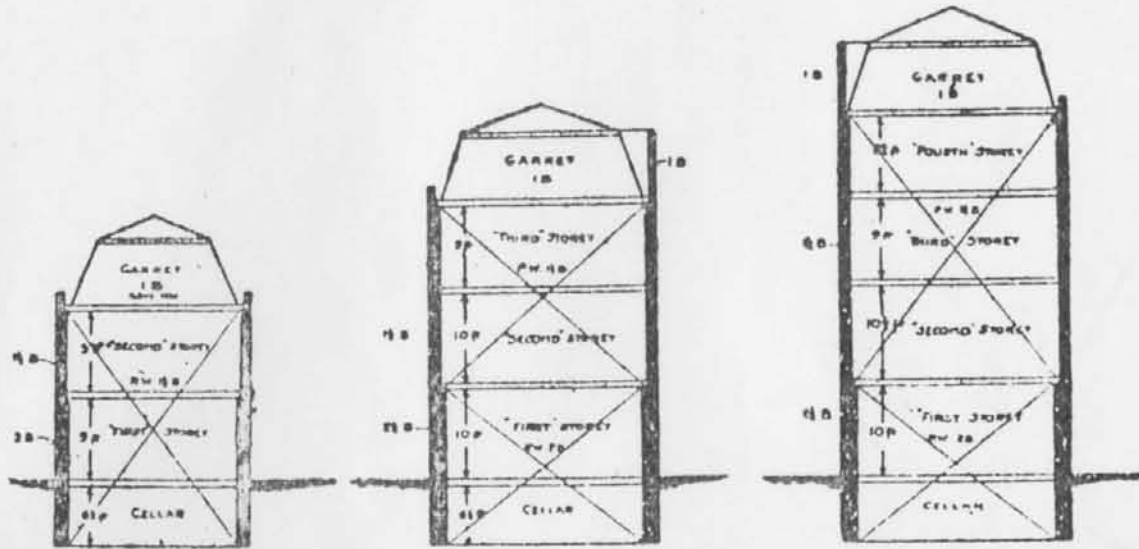
The changes instituted through the new bureaucracy were reflective of the reliction of certain feudal rights to a central authority as dictated by the social and economic imperatives of the time. The authority, the social hier-

archy, and the supervisory powers of the gild and the household, as reflected in the physical structure of the city, were supplanted by a new civic consciousness. Common desires for efficiency, productivity, cohesive mechanisms of control in an increasingly diversified society, the maintenance of an authoritarian body and a hierarchy based on wealth all had their physical counterparts in the reconstruction of the city.<sup>25</sup>

One of the first priorities of the Common Council in the rebuilding the city, and one which had a great impact on the public markets, was to create a hierarchy of streets, lanes, and passages. The designation of a street or lane as a high street, or a street or lane of note was accompanied by requirements as to its width, and the height and grandness of the buildings fronting it.<sup>26</sup> Conflicts quickly developed, property owners not wishing to have their holdings either de-valued or to incur the unnecessary expense of meeting code requirements as a result of street designation. Overwhelmed by the complexity of their task, the committee soon abandoned the system, designating only the high streets and proclaiming all others to be streets and lanes of note.<sup>27</sup> (ill. p.50)

The market area extending from Newgate through Cheapside, Poultry, and past Leadennall through Fenchurch Street was one of the first to be designated a high street.<sup>28</sup> Cheapside was to be widened to sixty feet, and the connecting streets of Poultry, Newgate, Cornhill, Blowbladder, Gracechurch and Fenchurch Streets were all to be widened to forty feet, with any sheds lying in the streets to be taken away.<sup>29</sup> The removal of the markets to confined areas would ease market supersession and the exaction of fees, activities growing increasingly difficult with the massive influx of illegal tradesmen into the city.<sup>30</sup>

Thus among the recommendations made by the King as emendations to the council's proposal was that all markets previously kept in the street be removed and that other measures to create new common markets be taken.<sup>31</sup>



First Sort.  
Fronting By-Streets  
and Lanes

Second Sort.  
Fronting Streets and Lines of  
Note and the River of Thames

Third Sort  
Fronting High and  
Principal Streets.

SECTIONS OF HOUSES AUTHORIZED BY REBUILDING ACT, 1867.

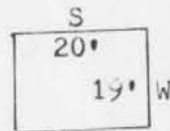
Drawing by W. R. Davidge.

The committee responded that "if technically possible" the request would be accommodated.<sup>32</sup>

In the following years the streets were widened through the acquisition of land fronting the streets, the property being paid for out of the revenue accrued through the Coal Dues created for this purpose under the two rebuilding acts.<sup>33</sup> The survey of Oliver, Stuart, and Mills, whereby all property owners were to stake and have certified the bounds of their land, contain numerous examples of the process of the acquisition of land to be laid into the streets and new markets.

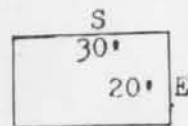
"Mr. Barnardistons's ground in St. Nicholas Shambles taken in street widening."<sup>34</sup>

370 sq. ft.  
(superficial sq. ftg.)



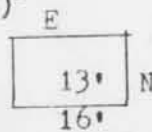
"Mrs. K. Gunthorp ground taken from her by the street by her on the south side of Newgate Market."<sup>35</sup>

600 sq. ft.  
(superficial sq. ftg.)



"William Davis Ground taken from St. Lawrence Lane for passage to the market." (i.e. Honey Lane Market)<sup>36</sup>

208 sq. ft.  
(superficial sq. ftg.)



The impact of street improvements are of double significance. Many accounts of pre-fire London bemoan the fact that the grandeur of the city as one of Europe's greatest trading centers was not matched by its civic image.<sup>37</sup>

"Some intelligent persons went further, and thought it highly requisite the City in the Restoration should rise with that Beauty.

by the Straightness and Regularity of Buildings, and Convenience for Commerce, by the well disposing of streets and publick Places, and the Opening of Wharfs, . . . which the excellent Situation, Wealth, and Grandeur of the Metropolis of England did justly deserve; in respect also of the Rank she bore with all other trading Cities of the World, of which though she was before one of the richest in Estate and Dowry, yet unquestionably the least Beautiful."<sup>38</sup>

The post-fire plans by Wren, Hooke, and others, with their profusion of Italian piazzas, rond points, triumphal arches, and Roman facades, bespeak a similar concern.<sup>39</sup> One of the proposals which was actualized, the new quay along the Thames, a project which was personally promoted by the King, was to serve as the international gateway to the city.<sup>40</sup> All "lesser and meaner halls"<sup>41</sup> were removed and a broad forty foot pleasure walk was built by pulling back the profusion of warehouses, taverns, and tenements which were clustered at the river's edge.<sup>42</sup> The King further stipulated that:

" . . . nor shal there be in those Buildings which shall be erected next the River, which We desire may be fair Structures, for the ornament of the City, any houses to be inhabited by Brewers, or Diers, or Sugar-Bakers, which Trades by their continual Smoaks contribute very much to the unhealthiness of the adjacent places. . . "<sup>43</sup>

In conjunction with the quay the high streets were to serve as the principal foci of civic grandeur, and, as such, were to be occupied by only the most prestigious and wealthy. The stratification of rank within the gild was being replaced by the stratification of property.

Similarly, the diversified use of space within closely defined entities



was succumbing to the desire for increased efficiency. The expansion of gild activities beyond their traditional parochial bounds, and the increasing traffic between the city and countryside, aided by the development of the coach,<sup>44</sup> required a freedom of movement which was severely hampered by the multiplicity of conflicting street activities. Pepys famous accident in Newgate is indicative of the hazards of street travel:

" . . . and so driving through the back-side of the shambles in Newgate Market, my coach plucked down two pieces of beef into the dirt, upon which the butchers stopped the horses, and a great rout of people in the street, crying that he had done him 40s. and £5 worth of hurt. . . "45

Following the fire the streets were relieved of their multi-functional use. They were widened, repaved, with aligned frontages, new sewage system, and grander buildings. While on the map post-fire London seems to have altered only slightly, both the physical and experiential qualities of street life were drastically altered. Post-fire Cheapside as described by Strype presents a striking contrast to the jumbled market street of its pre-fire days:

"Cheapside is a very stately, spacious street, adorned with lofty buildings; well-inhabited by Goldsmiths, Linen-drapers, Haberdashers, and other great dealers."46

The rebuilding of the city took approximately twenty years. The original committee for siting of new public markets submitted their proposals to the Common Council on October 21, 1667.<sup>47</sup> Under this proposal there were to be six public markets. Leadenhall, only slightly damaged in the fire, was to continue as a fish and flesh market for the eastern section of the city. Two

sites were proposed to replace the meat market of Cheapside, the churchyard of St. Mary Aldermanbury and the combined sites of the churches of St. Mary Magdalene, Milk Street, and Allhallows, Honey Lane. In the area of Newgate two sites were also proposed either on ground belonging to Christ's Hospital in Pentecost Lane on the north side of Newgate Street or on land between Warwick Lane and the city wall east of Old Bailey. (see ill. p. 55)

Aside from these flesh markets, two markets for the sale of herbs were also recommended. The first, particularly convenient for the conveyance of goods by water, would be on the site of the King's Wardrobe, or in the garden area behind the Three Tuns Tavern in Newgate Street. The second herb market was to be on the site of St. Lawrence Pountney.<sup>48</sup> Had these recommendations been carried out, the separation of the sale of meat from garden produce, a tradition of the medieval markets, would have been continued. Initially approved by the council, the recommendations were subsequently dropped and a new committee, the "Committee for Market Sites" was created. The reasons for this turn of events is unclear,<sup>49</sup> but an examination of the proposed sites give some indication of the complications which their implementation may have incurred. It must, however, be kept in mind that some of the difficulties of the proposal may have developed due to an inability to acquire the proposed sites.

Under the old market system, the markets extending from east to west provided easy access to both herb and meat markets from all areas of the city. In the first proposal there was no provision for an herb market in the eastern section of the city to replace the markets of Gracechurch and Aldersgate Streets. Also, three of the suggested sites, the King's Wardrobe, St. Mary Aldermanbury, and St. Lawrence Pountney, were located in remote areas of the city where they would be detached, not only from the central artery of the city,

but from its commercial hub as well. The suggested site of St. Mary Aldermanbury, set far off into the northwest corner of the city, is particularly surprising as a meat market to replace that of Cheapside. A map of the proposed sites also shows the greater number of them to be located in the west end. The important intersection of Cornhill, Cheapside, and Lombard Streets was left without a market of any kind.<sup>50</sup>

On February 12, 1668 the proposal of the new "Committee on Market Sites" was adopted. Under this new proposal only four markets were to be built, all of them serving both as meat and herb markets, and all of them lying directly off the main artery of the city. The amalgamation of herb and meat markets in the reconstruction was indicative of the altered base of supervisory interests as well as the increased desire for efficiency. The power of the individual guilds, having significantly waned, the division of the markets into specialized areas for guild supervision, was no longer a primary concern. What was of concern was the control and confinement of potentially disruptive activities, and, that through the exaction of fees, the city be properly recompensed for the use of civic space.<sup>51</sup> The combination of the markets was also a boon to the consumer who could now purchase all necessary food items at one location.

In the final resolution, Leadenhall was to be rebuilt and enlarged through the acquisition of ground to the southwest to serve as an herb market. The Stocks and St. Mary Woolchurch were both destroyed in the fire and had no plans to rebuild. As the power of the Fishmongers continued to lie in the merchant wholesale trade, the maintenance of a local market was of relatively little importance while the wharves and warehouses had yet to be restored.<sup>52</sup> Thus the old site of the Stocks was set back to allow for the free flow of traffic, and a new market serving the middle section of the city was built on the modified plan. Further west, the site of Honey Lane and Milk Street, proposed by the first committee as a meat market, would serve as both a meat and

herb market. Lastly, the earlier proposed site of the Three Tuns was adopted, but was enlarged so as to fulfill both these functions as well.<sup>53</sup> (see ill. p. 60)

The siting of these markets solved several of the problems of the first proposal. The combining of the functions of herb and meat markets greatly simplified the plan as well as reducing the number of sites required. It also maintained the markets in their traditional areas while still removing them from the streets. Through this plan there would be four markets, at any one of which one could purchase all the necessary food items at a single location. By siting the markets near to the main artery of the city and near their traditional locations as street markets, and the relationship between supply and distribution points was maintained.

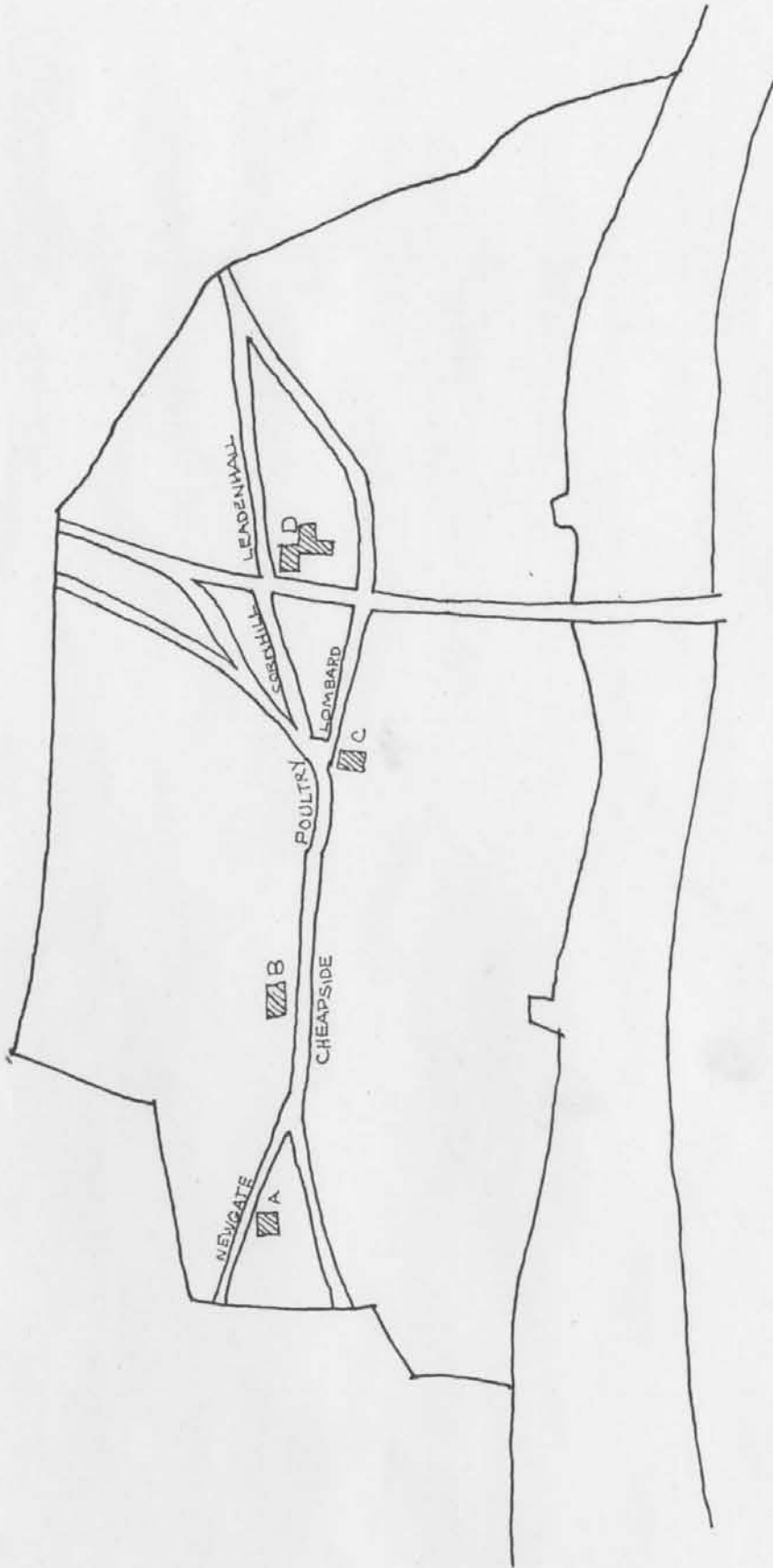
The organization of the markets had several features which distinguished them from the pre-fire markets. In the old markets, although some of the stalls were erected by the city,<sup>54</sup> the bulk of them were built, often illegally, by the sellers themselves.<sup>55</sup> In the new markets all of the stalls were provided by the city as were many other amenities; storage cellars, hooks, racks, laystalls, chopping blocks and water conduits. Responsibilities, which in so many instances in pre-fire London had been left to the individual or the guild, were now assumed by the city and were accompanied by the institution of civic authority.<sup>56</sup> The market houses in the new public markets were supported by Greek columns, crowned with cupolas bearing the city crest, with offices for city revenue collectors within the physical embodiment of this new authority. Characteristic of the many new civic amenities of post-fire London, the bulk of the funding was provided by private speculators, whose operations were supervised and regulated by the city.<sup>57</sup> Thus, after an initial investment in the building of the new markets, the city leased them to private individuals who were responsible for their upkeep and received a portion of the profits from

rental fees. The collection of fees and the accounting duties remained in the hands of the city.<sup>58</sup> In this way the city minimized its own financial obligations, and encouraged commercial investment while maintaining the right of supervisory control. The entrance of the private entrepreneur into the public market system and its subsequent conversion into a speculative enterprise, are indicative of the growing importance of commercialization in the re-shaping of the city.

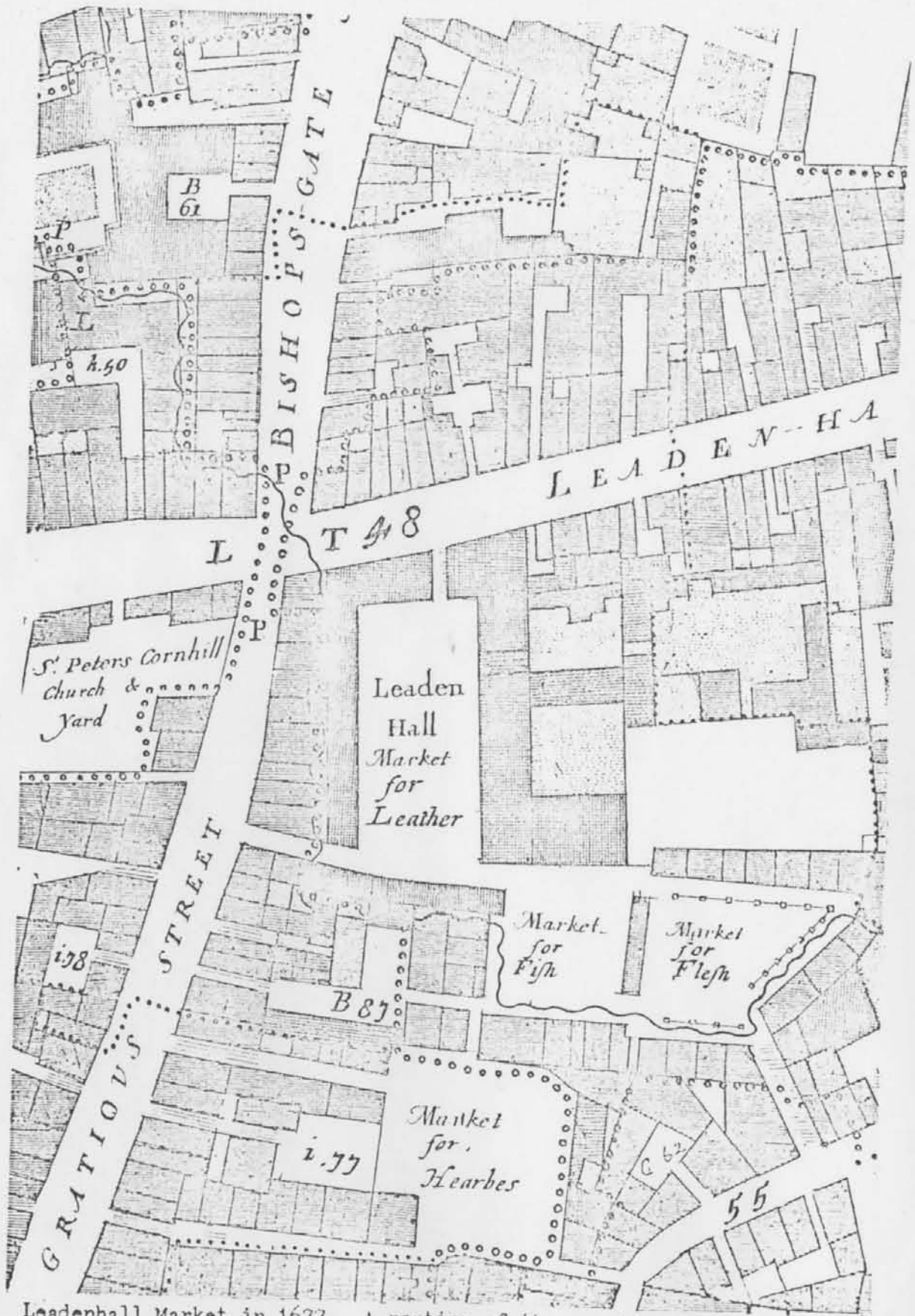
## V. THE POST-FIRE MARKETS

Though somewhat damaged in the fire of 1666, Leadenhall was basically left intact. Following repairs, the structure of the market was much the same as in its pre-fire years: a two to three storey building with an arcade on the ground floor, surrounding an open court. The building had flat battlements leaded at the top, reminiscent of the years when it served as the armory, granary, and the civic meeting hall for the city. There were four entrances, one each off of Leadenhall and Lime Streets, and two from Gracechurch Street. The open market court within was 164 feet from north to south and 80 feet east to west. On the ground were 110 standings for beef sellers. Each stall was from six to twelve feet long and from four to six feet wide and was provided with hooks, racks, blocks, and storage cupboards, and other equipment necessary for the sale of beef. The stalls of Leadenhall were the only ones in all the markets where complete and fully furnished stalls were available.<sup>1</sup> All the stalls were either roofed or lay under the arcade so as to be sheltered from the weather.<sup>2</sup> Below ground were vaults for the storage and warehousing of bulk goods such as wool and grain belonging to the larger companies, and where they were kept before their final finishing into saleable products. The East India Company kept their goods here, and it remained the primary storage place for grain, woollen cloth, and leather goods. By this time the ceremonial functions and the storage of artillery by the city had been discontinued, indicative of the growing separation of civic institutions and marketing enterprises, previously held together by the ties of the feudal gild structure. Around the hall were tenement houses of two stories with a garret and cellar, the land being leased to speculators by the city with the understanding that tenements would be built and rented on the sites.<sup>3</sup>





The public markets c. 1670: A. Newgate B. Honey Lane C. Woolchurch D. Leadenhall



Leadenhall Market in 1677. A portion of the map by Ogilby and Morgan.  
61

The functioning of the market appears to have been little changed during the next two centuries. In 1720 Strype described the Leadenhall he knew:

"Leadenhall is a very large building of freestone, containing within it three large courts or yards, all encompassed with buildings; where is kept a market. . . At Leadenhall are about 100 standings for butchers for the selling of beef, and therefore this court is called the Beef Market. . . on Tuesdays it is a market for leather, on Thursdays a wool market for the waggons from Colchester and other parts with their baiz, and on Fridays for rawhides."

Of the rooms in the hall he says:

". . . the west side for storage of wares of the East India Company, on the east side is a meal warehouse, and wool-hall, on the south end is Colchester Baiz Hall, and on the north end is a warehouse for the sealing of leather."<sup>4</sup>

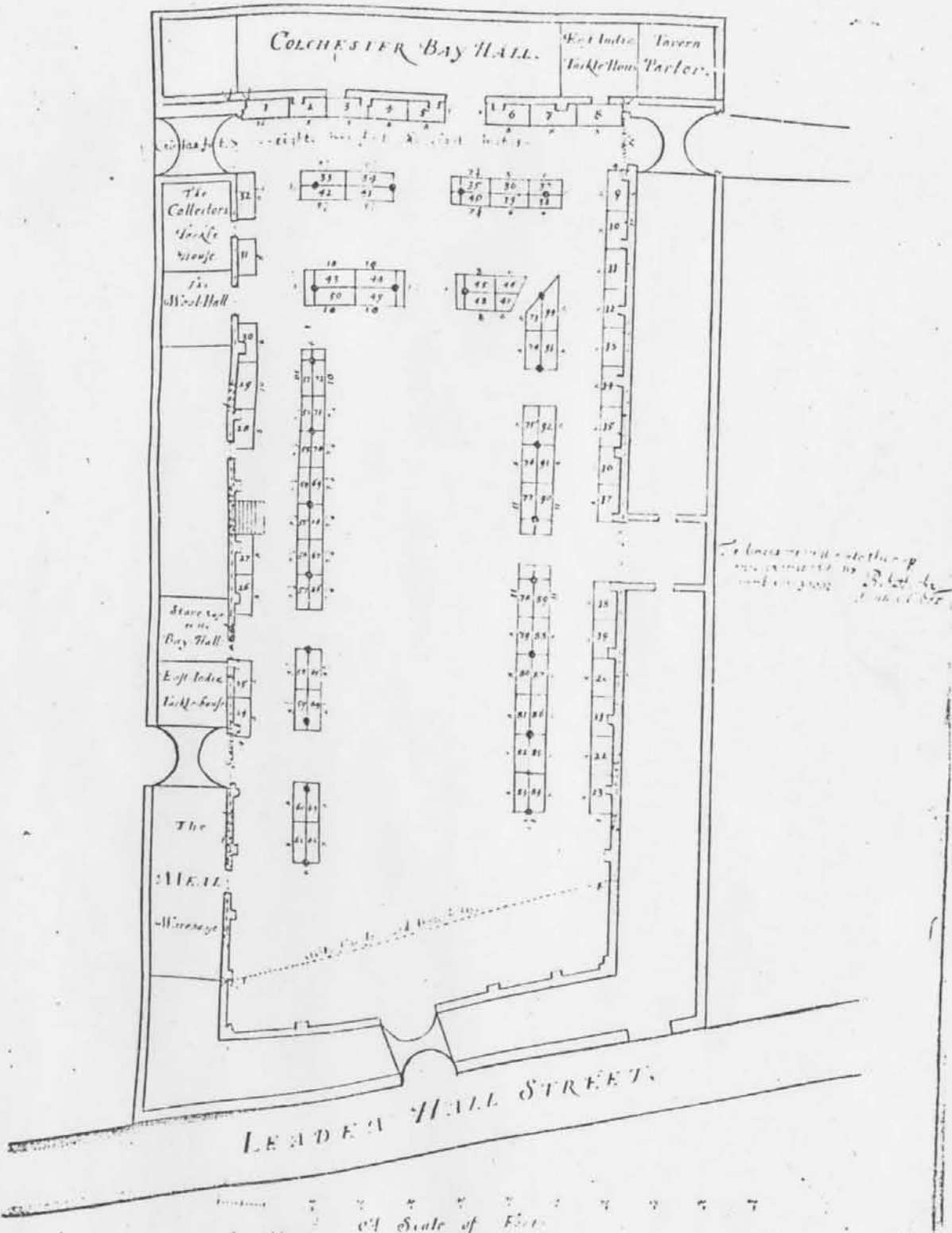
Strype continued to say that in his time the tenements around were occupied by fishmongers, poulterers, cheesemongers, cooks and victuallers.<sup>5</sup>

Southeast of Leadenhall lay Greenyard where the fish and "white" meat sellers had their stalls. The yard, measuring 170 feet east to west and 90 feet north to south,<sup>6</sup> was divided into two unequal portions by the Nailgallery, a long rectangular building extending north to south within the yard. The gallery was  $2\frac{1}{2}$  stories high and was to be used for the sale of all cutlery, nails and other metal products brought into the city by foreigners, i.e. non-freemen.<sup>7</sup> On the ground floor were the shops of cutlerers, while storage

rooms occupied the cellar and upper floors.<sup>8</sup> By the eighteenth century the Nailgallery had been converted to shops, and tenements of fishmongers.<sup>9</sup>

Because Leadenhall was virtually the only large storage space not destroyed in the fire, the warehouses of the large companies and the Nailgallery continued to serve their traditional functions. While the courtyard market of Leadenhall served as a prototype for the new markets, the hall itself was not duplicated. The continuance of leather and wool selling within the court was also unique among the post-fire markets. Thus while the basic concepts of the new markets were derived from Leadenhall, Leadenhall itself retained much of its feudal character, simply because it had survived the conflagration. A comparison of the development of Leadenhall and the other three markets is demonstrative of how the fire served to accelerate the process of change in the physical environment. (see ill. p. 64)

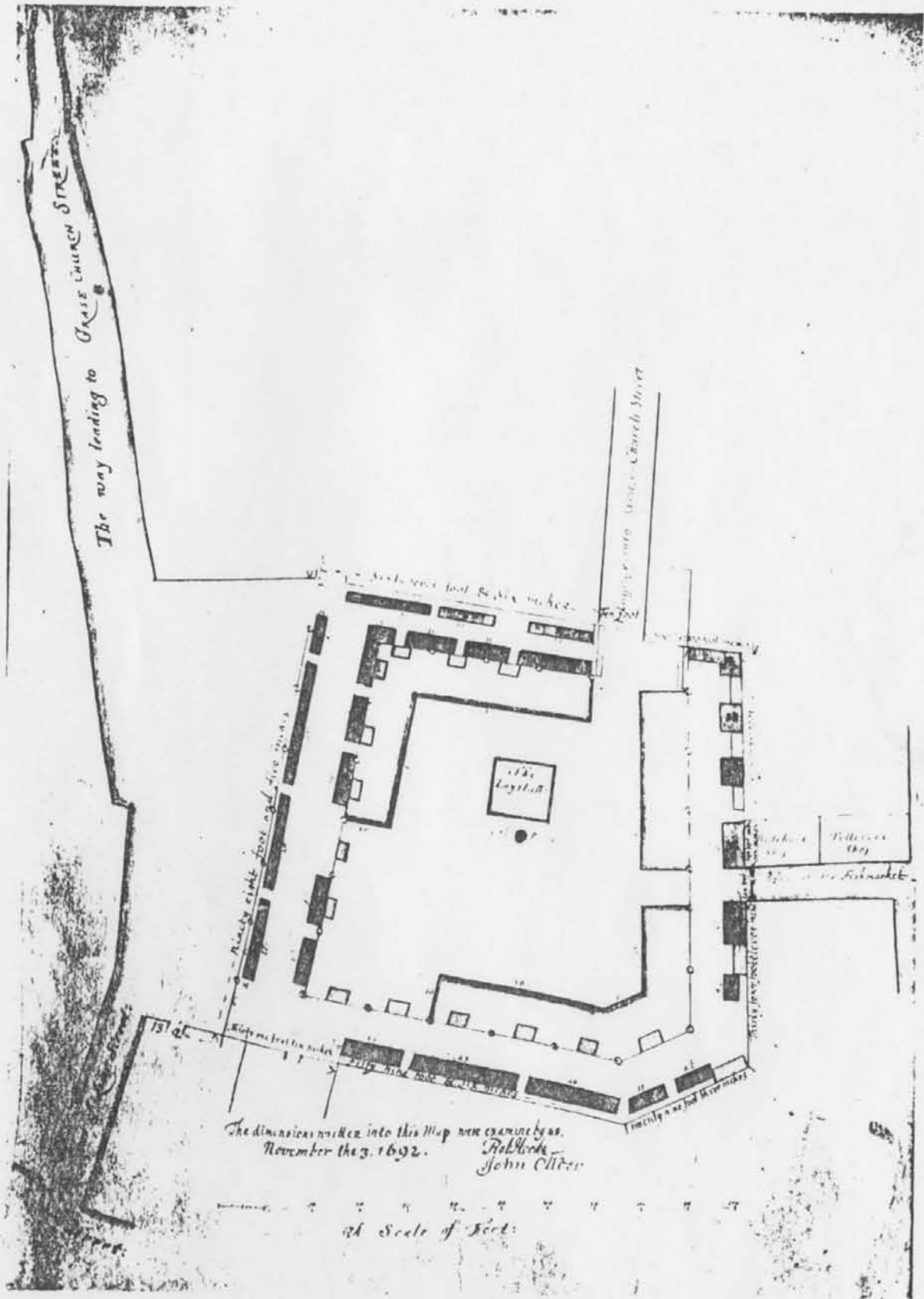
To the west of the Nailgallery was the fish market with a double row of stalls protected by a single boarded roof. The "white" meat market to the east was much larger than the fish market. In the middle of the yard a new square market house was built by Roger Jerman, who also was responsible for the design of all the other new market houses. The ground floor was supported by twelve columns, similar in design to those at Leadenhall, "turned with Capitals and all other ornaments."<sup>10</sup> The open ground floor was occupied by stalls with a central staircase leading to the upper floors. On the first floor were eight small rooms reserved for the market collector and on the second floor and in the cellar below were storage rooms. Like the other market houses the building was topped with a cupola upon which rested a ball and vane with the city crest, and in the cupola was a clock with four dials. On the north, east, and southern sides of the market were piazzas also supported by columns. Permanent stalls were erected under the north and eastern sections



Leybourn's Plan of the Beef Market, Leadenhall. 1677.







Leybourn's Plan of the Herb Market, Leadenhall. 1677.

of the piazza, the south end standing free, presumably for those who could not afford a stall rental fee. The stalls under the piazza were fairly small in comparison to those in the center of the square, and the fees charged were commensurate with the greatness of the stall. Even smaller stalls were ranged along the two passages of the market (on the map, letters A-D, P-R, T-Z, C-H, I, K-L) and along the eastern side of the Nailgallery (M-O, 78-88). All stalls were protected by a single slate roof, some having small storage rooms at the back. Houses surrounded the markets and are indicated on the Leybourn plan. They fronted directly onto the square and the rental rights included the right to the piazza space to use as a walk or to set up stalls. Under these provisions the stalls under the piazzas were to be used by citizen sellers living on the square.<sup>11</sup> Thus, at Greenyard and at other markets, where shops lined the entrance passages, the markets were gradually becoming general food shopping areas, with the distinction between citizen and non-citizen business becoming increasingly blurred. (see ill. p. 65)

Along the south and west ends were more houses and shops for citizen fishmongers. The tenements surrounding the butchers' market had become inhabited by cooks and victuallers, and the passages were lined with the shops of butchers, poulterers and cheesemongers.<sup>12</sup>

The Herb Market did not have the surrounding buildings of the other two markets. Stalls were set up against the back walls of previously existing structures. A continuous piazza covered stalls lining the square with trap doors leading to storage cellars below. The open space in the center was left for sellers standing with baskets or barrows, the most common method for the sale of garden produce. A water conduit and a moveable laystall for market refuse were also provided. Plans of 1686 and 1678 show that on the western side was a bacon market. It had stood there as early as 1676, when

the market was first created. In that year an attempt was made to move the bacon sellers back to the "white" meat market in the Greenyard, but, at their own request, they were moved back only a few months later.<sup>13</sup> (see ill. p. 66)

In continuance of its feudal policy, Leadenhall market retained the division of three markets specializing in different food types. Even here, however, the interest in maintaining its pseudo-gild structure, was no longer a primary concern, as is exemplified by the instance of the bacon sellers.

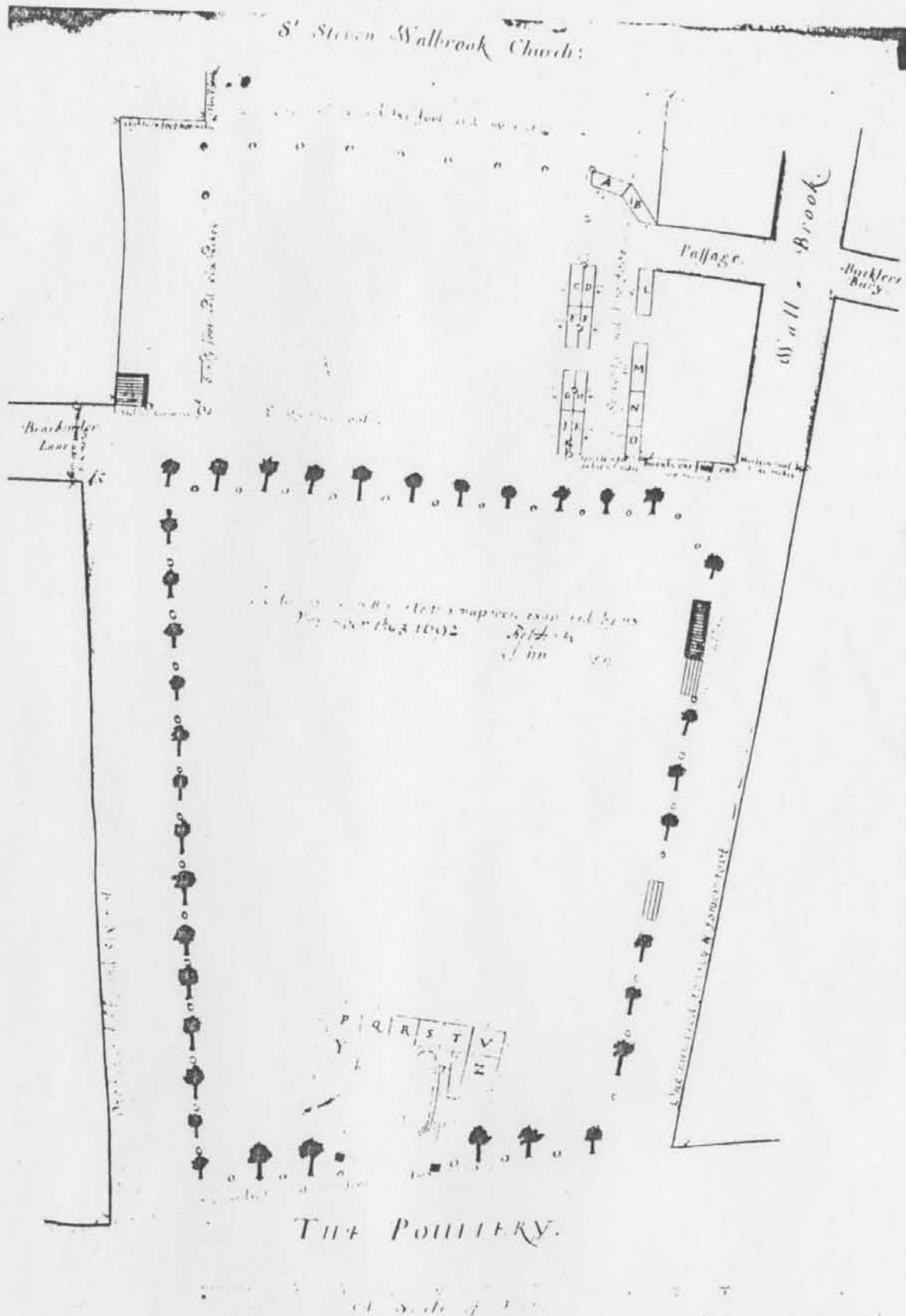
By the eighteenth century the south side of the herb market was taken over by the tenements and stalls of victuallers, poulterers, and cheesemongers. With the growth of tenements and shops surrounding the three yards, their uses gradually became more generalized. By the time of H. B. Wheatley, the late nineteenth century, Leadenhall had become more famous for the sale of veal than beef, and had a great reputation as a rich and varied market for poultry. Poultry was only its specialty, its primary function being that of a general provision market. In 1879-80 the Corporation destroyed the old Leadenhall buildings and constructed new and larger meat and poultry markets, removing the houses nearby. Though the market was rebuilt and enlarged, apparently little of its character of functioning were altered.<sup>14</sup>

Woolchurch was the only market without a market house. Its primary purpose was to serve as an herb market, and as such the provision of stalls and storage spaces were not a high priority. A great statue of Charles II was erected above the water conduit, next to the intersection, in honor of the King's instrumental role in the rebuilding of the city, and substituting for a market house as the reminder of civic authority.

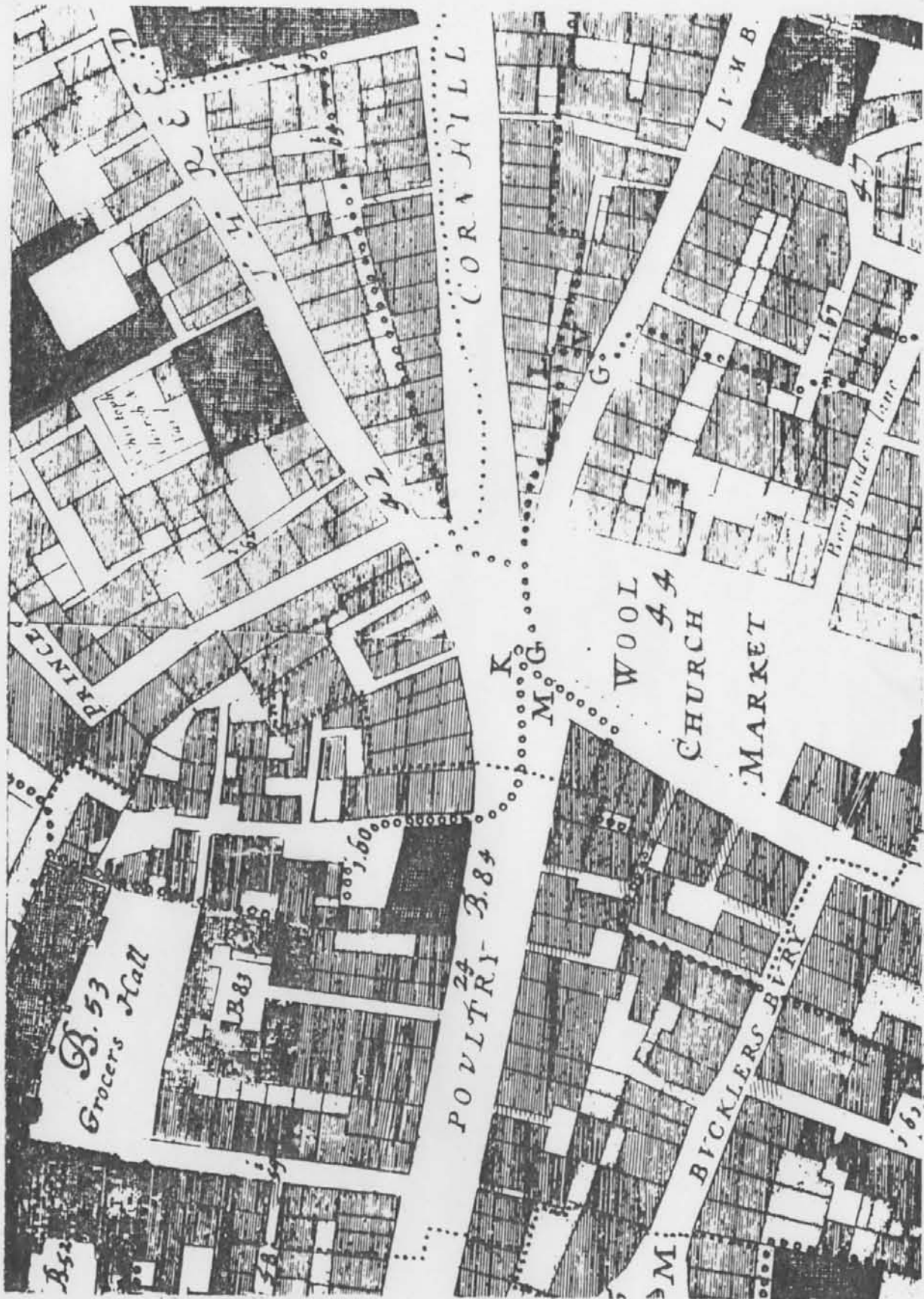
"At the north end of this market place by the water conduit pipe, was erected a nobly great statue of King Charles the Second on Horseback, trampling on slaves, standing on a pedestal, with



Woolchurch Market and the statue of Charles II in the early eighteenth century.  
By Sutton Nicholls. From the copy in the Guildhall Library.

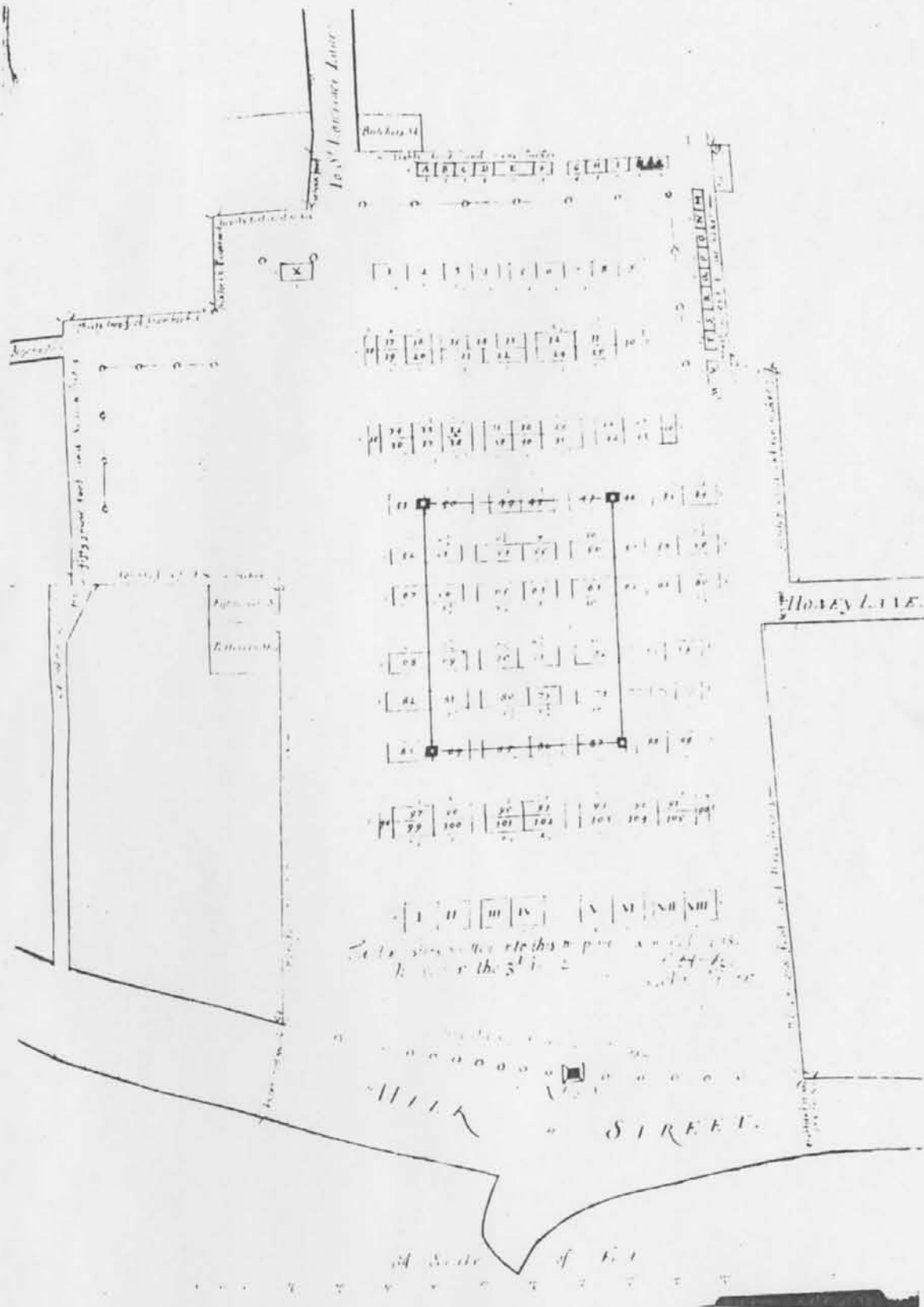


Leybourn's Plan of Woolchurch Market. 1677.

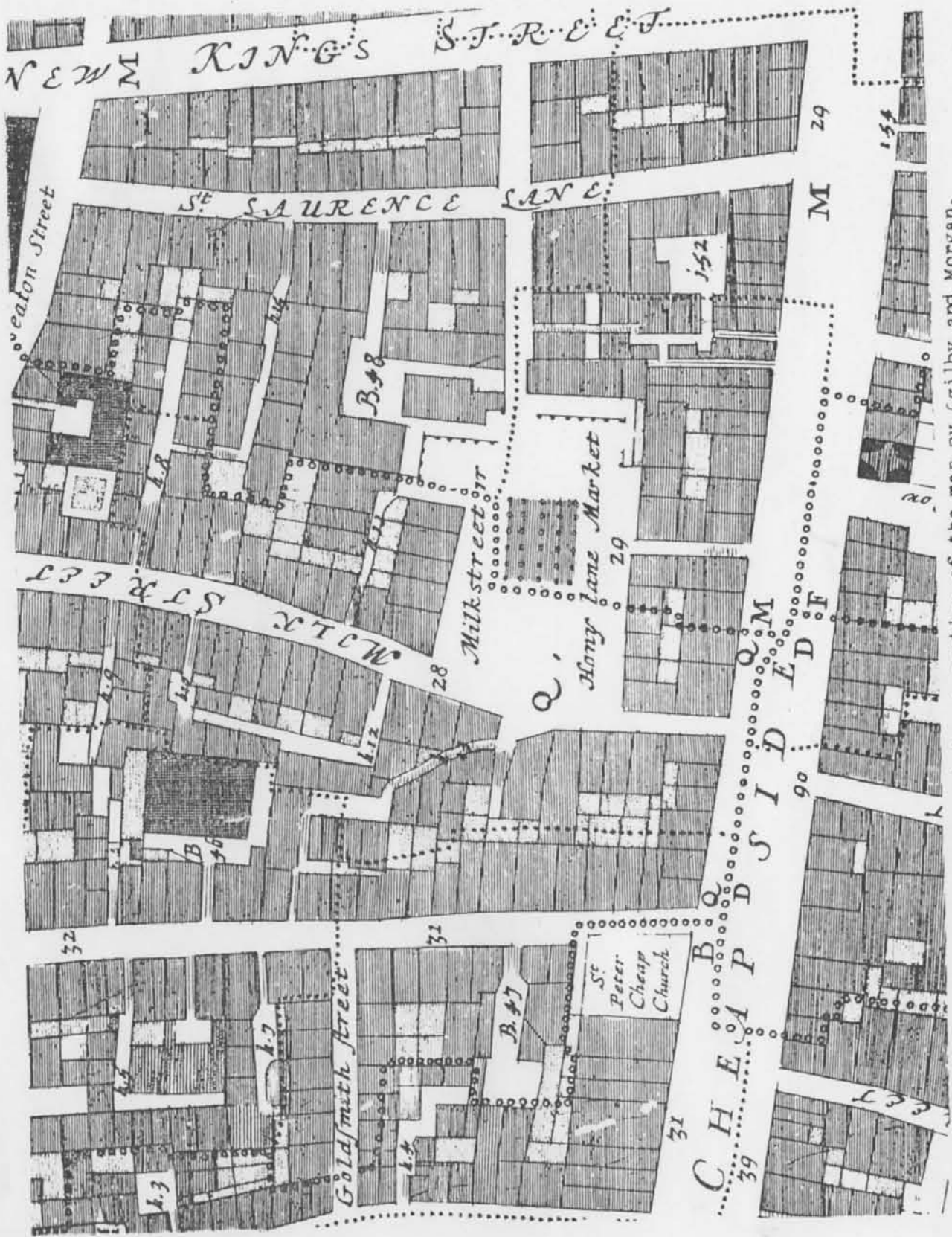


Woolchurch Market in 1677. A portion of the map by Ogilby and Morgan.





Leybourn's Plan of Honey Lane or Milk Street Market. 1677.



Milk Street of Honey Lane Market. A portion of the map by Gilby and Morgan.

dolphins cut in niches, all of freestone, and encompassed with handsome iron grates."<sup>15</sup> (see ill. p. 69)

The market place was 230 feet by 108 feet, and was divided into two unequal parts by Bearbinder Lane crossing through the middle. The only fixed stalls in the market, provided for the beef sellers, lay along its southwestern edge, far from the street. The stalls lay under a piazza which extended only around the three sides of the southern half of the market.

The foremost section of the market was headed by the statue around which were clustered eight stalls for fruitsellers, and further beautified by the planting of lime trees around its four sides. While the statue served as a civic monument, the trees served to shield the view of the passerby from the confusion of carts and barrows within. Woolchurch fronted a large street and lay directly off of an important intersection in the most exclusive area of town. Special measures were taken to maintain the status of the area which was threatened by the lower class activities of the market.<sup>16</sup> (see ill. p.70)

Woolchurch was the first of the markets to close. In 1737 the property was taken over for the erection of the Mansion House, home of the Lord Mayor. The central location was deemed appropriate for a structure "to symbolize the wealth and dignity of the city."<sup>17</sup> The particular care taken in the beautification of woolchurch market and its subsequent replacement by the Mansion House provide yet another example of the continued differentiation of land according to its commercial value and use. The area around the juncture of Cornhill, Lombard Streets and the Poultry was now entirely dominated by banking and city government institutions.<sup>18</sup>

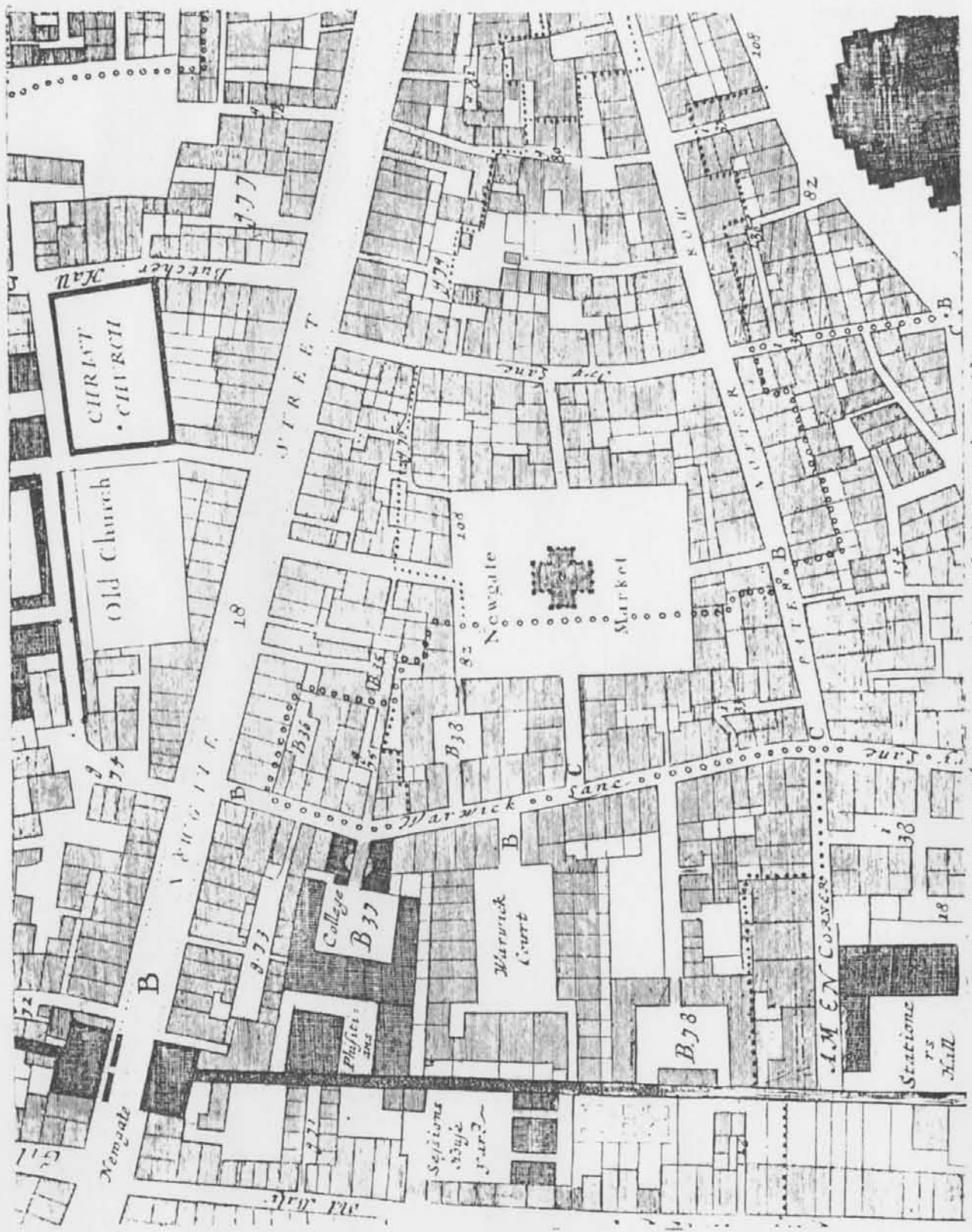
In 1677 there were 105 butchers stalls within the newly erected Honey Lane market. All the stalls were equipped with the usual racks, boards, and hooks necessary for the display and storage of meat. Warehouses were loc-

ated in the cellar and second storey of the market house. The market house was a square structure with a colonnaded ground floor, with a central stair leading to the second storey. Atop the building was a cupola equipped with a market bell. (see ill. p. 72)

At its western end the market opened into Milk Street from which it was separated only by a line of posts and a large "resting stone." Also at this end of the market on its north and southern sides were numerous tenements opening into the market place. These, however, unlike those of Greenyard, had no piazzas fronting them, shops were located on the ground floor of some of the tenements, however, and the rest were used as dwelling places. (See the map by Ogilby and Morgan) At this western end of the market were eight large stalls, four designed for herbwomen (see plan, I-IV), and four for fruitsellers (V-VIII). A piazza on the southeast side gave protection for smaller stalls. On the map A-W were for the sale of fruit, vegetables, and herbs. This area was called the Dorcery, derived from the word dorser, a common term for the baskets in which fruits and vegetables were brought to market and displayed.<sup>18</sup>

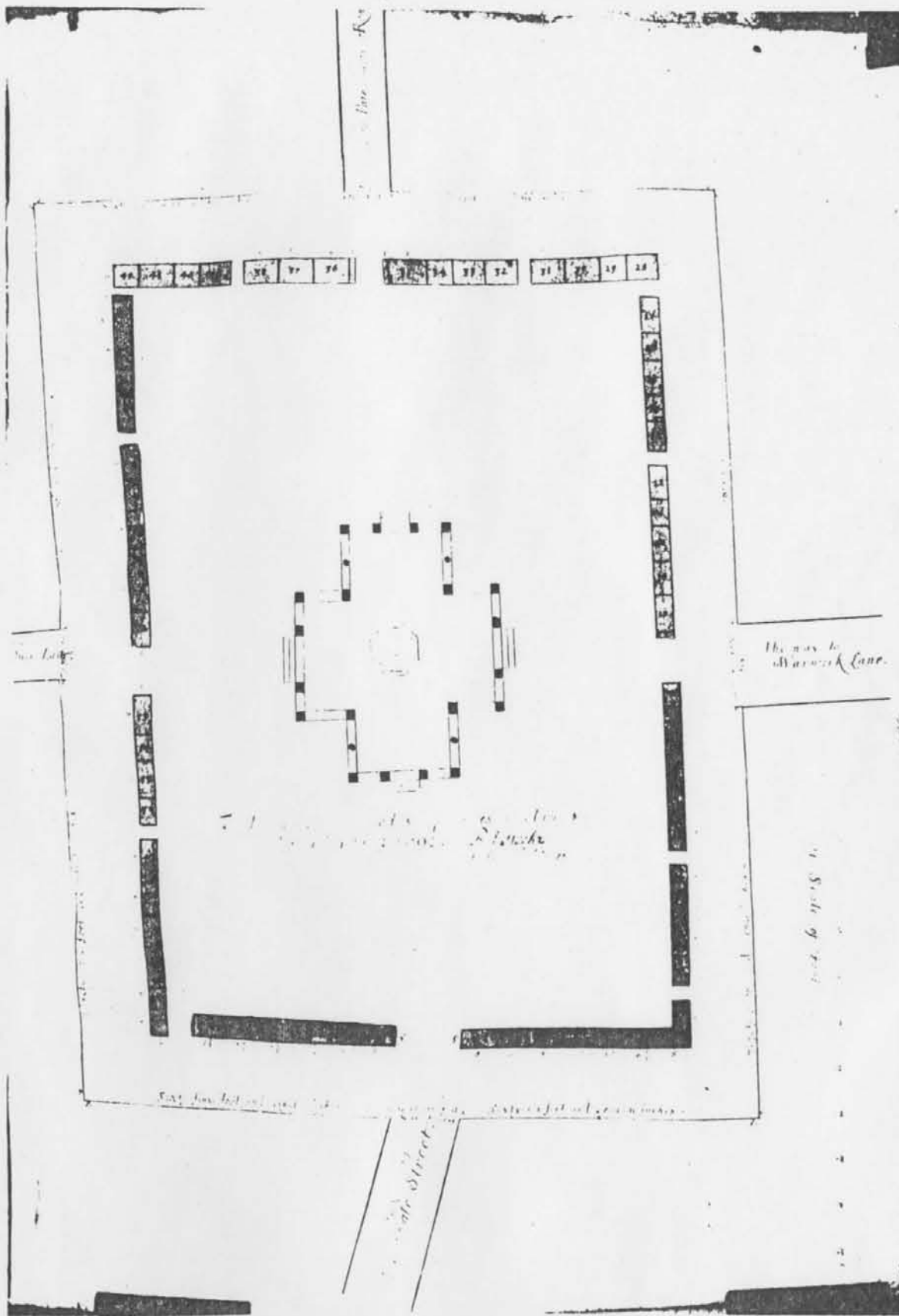
Over the years shops sprang up in the passages to the market: Honey Lane, Milk Street, and St. Lawrence Lane. According to Strype these were inhabited by grocers, fishmongers, poulterers, victuallers, and cheesemongers.<sup>19</sup> The smallest of all the markets of London, Honey Lane seems to have been also the least essential, but also had the greatest reputation for quality food. The market was rebuilt by George Dance in 1787 and removed entirely in 1835 for the erection of the City School of London.<sup>20</sup>

Unlike the other markets there was no piazza at Newgate. Instead 68 butchers stalls were ranged around the square some fifteen feet from the tenements which opened into the square on all of its four sides. It may be assumed that, as in other markets, the owners of these tenements took also



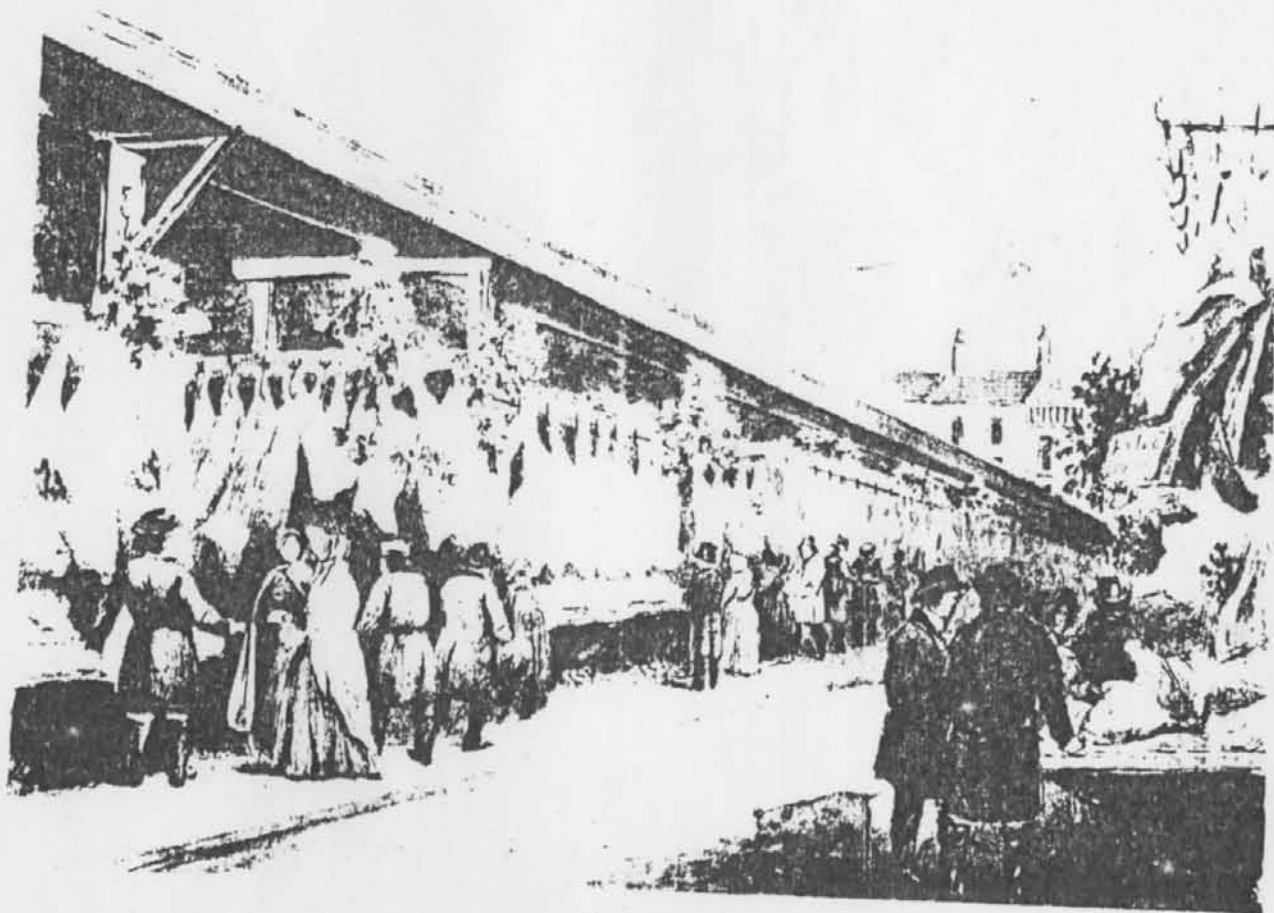
Newgate Market in 1677. A portion of the map by Gylby an. Morgan.





Leybourn's Plan of Newgate Market. 1677.





Newgate Market in the mid-nineteenth century.  
From the original in Guildhall Library.

of the market location, in the erection of shops fronting the square on the ground floor. The fruit, herb, and tripe sellers were to stand in the open space between the market house, the butchers stalls and the tenements. In the center was the most grandiose of all the market houses built in the form of a Greek cross. On each of the four sides were steps leading up to the ground floor which was an open colonnaded area surrounded by a curb. In the cellar and upper stories were storage rooms, the latter being reached by a central stair. On the top of the building was a cupola with another four-faced clock and a market bell. In the original lease of the market in 1677, the market house itself was not included. Its original purpose was to serve as a meal market, and was therefore left under the city's auspices. This explains its particularly grandiose quality. In succeeding years as the traditional usage was discontinued, it became a part of the general market.<sup>21</sup> (see ill. pp. 77, 78)

As with other markets, the surrounding passages were lined with the shops of food sellers. In Rose Alley and White Hart Street were butchers and fishmongers, and in the passage from Newgate Street were shops selling fruit, herbs, butter, eggs, meat and poultry.<sup>22</sup>

Newgate Market was closed in 1869 at which time it was replaced by the new market at Smithfield.<sup>23</sup>

## VI. CONCLUSION

Officially, there were two primary motivations for the re-siting of the markets: to relieve congestion and beautify the city.<sup>1</sup> London was the last of the important European trading centers to develop its international market, but by the seventeenth century it had become the greatest.<sup>2</sup> While its role on the international scene had greatly changed, the medieval structure of the city had remained intact up until the time of the fire.<sup>3</sup> In Italy the great city states of the Renaissance had left a legacy of monumental architecture and planning enhanced their stature and served as prototypes of civic monumentality for other great European cities.<sup>4</sup> The revival of interest in the architecture and planning of antiquity and the development of scientific thought grew with the expansion of European travel and international commerce.<sup>5</sup> With the latent development of London as a commercial center, its long-standing feudal traditions, and its physical isolation from the rest of Europe, the impact of the revolutions taking place in architecture and the sciences were slow in coming.<sup>6</sup> In the sixteenth century Inigo Jones, an extensive traveller to the great cities of Europe, introduced Vitruvian architecture to the court of Charles I.<sup>7</sup> Succeeding architects such as Wren and the members of the Royal Academy worked primarily in service to the King. Nonetheless, through the work of lesser luminaries such as Roger Jerman, the designer of the market houses, the Vitruvian vocabulary of design was utilized by both public and private institutions in the evocation of wealth and power.<sup>8</sup> While the city took no great expense in the construction of the markets, each one of them had some symbol of civic authority: the cupolas, clocks, Greek columns, and simple square plans of Jerman's market houses, the concept of the "piazza" for the housing of the stalls, and the exotic lime trees and the statue of Charles II at Woolchurch. In pre-fire London the churches and halls of the great

Livery Companies and the parish churches symbolized the hierarchical medieval organization of the city. In post-fire London civic monuments, beautification measures, and the implementation of the "Roman science of building" enhanced the image of London as an international entrepot and a great economic power.

The other great change in post-fire London was the institution of regulatory agencies in place of pre-fire restrictive policies and was indicative of a gradual acceptance of the alterations in the socio-economic structure of the city. The new attitude was exemplified by the new building codes, the Fire Court, the systematic registering of property ownership and the offices of civic maintenance which resulted from the fire.

Also, the increasing post-fire tendency to differentiate land in terms of use and property value has been demonstrated to be directly related to the breakdown of the guilds and the re-organization of social structure, on the basis of wealth, a process which was soon reflected in the re-organization of the physical environment. The effort to relieve congestion can be seen in and of itself as an attempt to solve the problems of urban growth, caused by economic growth and the influx of the peasantry to the city. Another motive which bears examination, although not one mentioned in the official records, is the mounting pressure of wealthy shop keepers and merchant traders to rid the city streets of bothersome lower class trades.

The public markets did not escape the transforming influence of these three factors i.e. the new concepts of design, the institution of civic authority, and the differentiation of land use. Following the fire the feudal tradition of the public markets was maintained. What was altered were the physical organization and the administrative mechanisms: the creation of special market squares, the provision of marketing amenities for the sellers, the amalgamation of different food trades within the markets, the assumption

by the city of a stronger supervisory role in lieu of gild authority, and the farming of the markets to private entrepreneurs. All of these changes, as well as the spatial separation of supply and distribution areas, created a more efficient and operative marketing system, and served similarly the organization of the city as a whole. The institution of a new architecture reinforced the shift in political organization, and enhanced the power of the new emblems of civic and crown authority which together had subsumed the power of the gild. The dynamic of these changes were problems of trade,<sup>11</sup> as a disruptive force in the feudal structure of the gild, and as a creative force in the birth of an international entrepot. The speedy evolution of the public markets was made possible by the fire as is demonstrated by a comparative study of the history of Leadenhall. The relationship of this evolution to the changes in the socio-economic sphere is apparent. The question remains as to the effect of such changes on other, and, in many instances, more powerful institutions of the city. In this regard the public markets, being of relatively little importance in the overall scheme, were perhaps more easily dominated by the new authority. In order to firmly establish the role of socio-economic change on the rebuilding of the city a comprehensive understanding of the interaction between its more powerful institutions and the broader changes in the city scape is required. Until the time that such a study has been made the exact nature of this relationship remains a matter of speculation.

## FOOTNOTES

### I. INTRODUCTION

1. Hill, C. The World Turned Upside Down. p. 12. For further information on the economic revolution of seventeenth century England see also Macpherson, The ~~Political~~ Theory of Possessive Individualism, particularly chapter II, R. H. Tawney's Religion and the Rise of Capitalism, and Hill's Reformation to Industrial Revolution, parts I-IV. Wilson's England's Apprenticeship is of particular importance. For an in-depth study of the late evolution of the guilds see Dobbs' Studies in the Development of Capitalism.
2. Bell. The Great Fire of London in 1666. pp. 271-275. The trading companies who comprised the largest single block of landowners in the city before the fire had to sell their small rents at very low prices to encourage the tenant to rebuild. Their many outstanding loans could not be repaid due to the financial losses of their clients. In order to rebuild they could only turn to donations from their more wealthy members and the sale of their lands. This was to lead to the depletion of both their capital and land investments.
3. On speculative builders see Reddaway, The Rebuilding of London after the Great Fire, and Bell, The Great Fire of London in 1666. On the rise of companies outside the city see these works as well as Wilson's England's Apprenticeship. One of the most important developments in encouraging the growth of these companies was the Navigation Act of 1651. For this see England's Apprenticeship, p. 63: "Until the Navigation Act of 1651, the government had tried to control trade by granting privileges to private companies and domestic industry controlled through the guilds. Henceforth the merchant would be free of formal organization but within a protective framework of national legislation. Soon the franchises of the regulated companies were to wither away as those of the feudal magnates and guilds had already done." Also, see Dobb's Studies in the Development of Capitalism, p. 174. Nef's article "A Comparison of Industrial Growth in France and England: 1540-1640" deals with the growth of small industries outside the city walls.
4. On the development of joint-stock companies and the increasing importance of capital in land and money see Ashley's England in the Seventeenth Century, pp. 123-125, Wilson's England's Apprenticeship, pp. 48, 172, and Hill's Reformation to Industrial Revolution, pp. 76, 160, and 189.
5. Bell, The Great Fire of London in 1666, Reddaway, The Rebuilding of London after the Great Fire, and Brett-James, The Growth of Stuart London. The latter is particularly good for a discussion of the speculative development of the west end.



## II. THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PUBLIC MARKET SYSTEM

1. Williams, Gwyn. Medieval London. pp. 9-14. for a discussion of London's relationship to other great trading cities from the thirteenth century to the seventeenth centuries and Wallerstein The Modern World System, chapter 1 on the nature of the world economy resulting from international trading relationships.
2. See Wallerstein, The Modern World System, chapter 5 on international commerce and England's export trade.
3. Dobb, Studies in the Development of Capitalism, pp. 103-104: "Most striking of all was the case of the weavers...By 1300 it is evident that they (the burellers) were a trading element which stood in a kind of employer-relationship to the weavers...The weavers...had previously occupied a fairly protected, if subordinate position...The weavers fought a stubborn rearguard action over several decades; but by the middle of the century the privileges of the London weavers had been drastically curtailed, and the gild and its ordinances strictly subordinated to the authority of the Mayor. In 1364 the London Drapers were given the right to monopolize the trade in cloth, and weavers, fullers and dyers alike were enjoined to "keep themselves to their own mistery, and in no way meddle with the making, buying or selling of any manner of cloth or drapery." The subjection of the craft to the trading element was complete."
4. Dobb, Studies in the Development of Capitalism, p. 110, 165 ff, Hill, God's Englishman, p. 31, p. 31. On the autonomy of London see Williams' Medieval London, chapter IV, and Rasmussen, London: The Unique City, pp. 30-32.
5. Davidge, article, p. 338, on wage levels. Herbert, The Twelve Great Livery Companies, p. 313, and Holmes, Daily Living in the Twelfth Century, p. 14 for information on the other restrictions of gild law.
6. Williams. Medieval London. p. 16.
7. Holmes, Daily Living in the Twelfth Century. p. 14.
8. Slack. English Towns in Transition. Chapter 2, and especially Wilson, England's Apprenticeship, p. 42.
9. Holmes. Daily Living in the Twelfth Century. pp. 27-28: "The open area of Smithfield stretched wide, away from the buildings of St. Bartholomew's. The smooth field, no longer marshy, supported a horse fair every Friday... Crowds from the city flocked there to see the display of horseflesh. At one end were tethered the colts, elsewhere the palfreys, in another spot the war horses, and, in a place not so well favored, the pack animals... Various races were run on these occasions...Farm animals and farm supplies were also on sale at this market; plows, harrows, pigs, and cows. Oxen were on sale and so were mares intended for the carts and plows, often with foals...Another class of merchants were offering furs, spices, swords, lances and wines...Each of the three schools flourishing in London would have its own ball, and the same was true of each guild of tradesmen."

10. Pendrill. Wandering in Medieval London. p. 107.
11. Besant. London in the Time of the Tudors. p. 198.
12. Perks. History of the Mansion House. p. 50.  
Brett-James. The Growth of Stuart London. pp. 21-39 on the history of the churchyards.
13. Pendrill. Wandering in Medieval London. p. 103.
14. Ibid.: p. 106
15. Besant. London in the Time of the Tudors. p. 231.
16. Williams. Medieval London. p. 162.
17. Ibid.: pp. 162-164: "Of fifty-three bakers inspected in 1303, only seven owned their bakehouses; most were held under lease from the wholesalers, who, together with the fishmongers, held a commanding interest in half the twenty-eight mills near the city. In that same year, the cornmongers, ...secured the abolition of haulage dues at their market at Queennithe, despite pleas of ancient usage; several years later, Walter Neel, John Husband and several of their colleagues were trying to get rid of the snipping tolls at Henley, the inland centre." (p. 162) See page 164 on the wholesalers domination of the shipping industry.
18. Ibid.: pp. 167:ff. on the independence of the crafts guilds. Page 172 on the history of the bakers.
19. Masters. The Public Markets of London. pp. 13-14, 34. Jrnl of the Ct. of Common Council. 46, fos. 216-217b.
20. Laslett. The World We Have Lost. Chapter 1 on the medieval patriarchal household.
21. Descriptions of medieval London are numerous. For an example see Bell, The Great Fire, pp. 9 ff.
22. Bell, The Great Fire. p. 9. Besant. London in the Time of the Stuarts. pp. 83-84.
23. Reddaway. The Rebuilding of London after the Great Fire.
24. Besant. London in the Time of the Stuarts. p. 219.
25. Brett-James. The Growth of Stuart London. p. 429., Bell, The Great Fire. pp. 12-13., Williams. Medieval London. p. 16.
26. Besant. London in the Time of the Tudors. p. 199.
27. Ibid. p. 199, Wheatley. London, Past and Present. Vol. I., p. 368.
28. Wheatley. London, Past and Present. Vol. I., p. 368.

29. Pepys. Diary. May 30, 1663, Vol. I, p. 361.
30. Ibid. Sept. 30, 1661, Vol. I, pl. 197.
31. Stow. Survey of London. pp. 92-93.
32. Besant. London in the Time of the Stuarts. p. 83.
33. Allen. The History and Antiquities of London. Vol. II, p. 266.
34. Strype, ed. Survey of London. Vol. II, p. 411.
35. Besant. London in the Time of the Stuarts. p. 81., Wheatley. London, Past and Present. Vol. II, pp. 375-377.
36. Masters. The Public Markets of London. pp. 13-14.
37. Brayley. Londiniana. Vol. I, pp. 303-304.
38. Perks. The History of the Mansion House. p. 140.
39. Pendrill. Wandering in Medieval London. p. 109.
40. The term foreigners, throughout the middle ages referred to anyone who was a stranger to an area, particularly vagabonds or so-called masterless men i.e. people having no feudal bonds as identification. Brett-James, The Growth of Stuart London, p. 70: "The fear of the suburbs, its association with the base, the foreign, the alien, the unregulated, the people of no church, ... seems to be a direct reaction to the breakdown of feudal ties which had once identified each person."
41. Hill. Reformation to Industrial Revolution. chapter 2. It is estimated by Wilson in England's Apprenticeship that in the seventeenth century over one half of the population were "poor" i.e. anyone destitute or potentially so, having nothing to save them from destitution during hard times. (p. 17) See Hill, The World Turned Upside Down for a discussion of the radical uprisings of the lower classes during the seventeenth century; "The essence of feudal society was the bond of loyalty and dependence between lord and man. The society was hierarchical in structure: some were lords, others were their servants. 'Whose man art thou?' demanded a character in one of Middleton's plays. The reply, 'I am a servant, yet a masterless man, sir,' at once produced the incredulous retort, 'How can that be?'... by the sixteenth century society was becoming relatively mobile: ... masterless men were no longer outlaws but existed in alarming numbers... 30,000 in London alone, it was guessed more wildly in 1602. whatever their numbers such men---servants to nobody---were anomalies, potential dissolvents of the society." (p. 32)
42. Strype, ed. Survey of London. Vol. II, p. 411., Wheatley. London, Past and Present. Vol. II, pp. 373-375.

### III. THE PRE-FIRE MARKETS

1. Royal Proclamation of Edard II, no. 19, Sept. 19, 1345, and no. 31, 1357.
2. Ibid.
3. Wheatley. London, Past and Present. Vol. II, pp. 373-375.
4. Besant. London in the Time of the Stuarts. p. 81.
5. Masters. The Public Markets of London. p. 14., Wheatley. London, Past and Present. Vol. II, pp. 375-377.
6. Ibid.
7. Wheatley. London, Past and Present. Vol. II, p. 375.
8. Stow. Survey of London. p. 138.
9. Strype, ed. Survey of London. Vol. I, p. 420.
10. Besant. London in the Time of the Tudors. p. 42., Pendrill. Wandering in Medieval London. p. 223.
11. Masters. The Public Markets of London. p. 13.
12. Besant. London in the Time of the Tudors. p. 42.
14. Stow. Survey of London. pp. 143-144.
15. Ibid. p.144. There is an interesting correlation between the use of Leadenhall and the organization of the early town: "Almost always there was to be found in the town a weekly market whither the peasants from roundabout brought their produce. Sometimes, even, an annual fair was held there. At the gates a market toll was levied on everthing that came in or went out. A mint was in operation within the walls. There were also to be found there a number of keeps occupied by vassals of the bishop, by his advocate or castellan. To all of this must be added, finally, the granaries and the storehouses where were stored the harvests from the monastical demesnes brought in, at stated periods, by the tenant-farmers." Pirenne, Medieval Cities, p. 66.
16. Wheatley. London, Past and Present. Vol. II, p. 374.
17. Ibid.
13. Jrnl. of the Ct. of Common Council. 40, fox. 196b-198b.
19. Masters. The Public Markets of London. p. 14.
20. Allen. The History and Antiquities of London. Vol. V, p. 575.
21. Wheatley. London, Past and Present. Vol. I, p. 368.

22. Ibid.
23. Besant. London in the Time of the Tudors. p. 200.
24. Reddaway, Bell, and Brett-James all deal in detail with the pre-fire containment policy of the city.
25. See particularly Brett-James on the growth of the west end.
26. Besant. London in the Time of the Tudors. p. 180.
27. Strype, ed., Survey of London. Vol. I, p. 684, Besant. London in the Time of the Tudors. p. 116.
28. See Reddaway's discussion of how Newcourt's intimate knowledge of the city gave him an edge in the creation of a post-fire plan of the city in The Rebuilding of London After the Great Fire.
29. See the illustration taken from Newcourt's map.
30. Brett-James. The Growth of Stuart London. p. 78, a map drawn by Brett-James.
31. Stow. Survey of London. p. 307.
32. Strype, ed., Survey of London. Vol. I, p. 627.
33. Ibid. p. 684.
34. Stow. Survey of London. pp. 33-34.
35. Jrnl. of the Ct. of Common Council. 45, fos. 142b, 218.
36. Stow. Survey of London. p. 307.
37. Bindoff. Tudor England. pp. 105-107, 114-115.
38. Jrnl. of the Ct. of Common Council. 45, fos. 147o-148.
39. Malcolm. London Redivivum. Vol. II, p. 440.
40. Pendrill. Wandering in Medieval London. p. 223.
41. Wheatley. London, Past and Present. Vol. I, p. 372.
42. Herbert. The Twelve Great Livery Companies. Vol. II, p. 128.
43. Stow. Survey of London. p. 309.
44. Besant. London in the Time of the Tudors. p. 141.
45. Ibid. p. 403.
46. Allen. The History and Antiquities of London. Vol. II, p. 174.



47. Wheatley. London, Past and Present. Vol. II, p. 414-416.
48. Jrnl. of the Ct. of Common Council. 45, fo. 142.
49. Ibid. 41X, fos. 160b-163.
50. Ibid. 45, fos. 116b-117b, 248-249.
51. Ibid. 45, fos. 217b, 249.
52. Masters. The Public Markets of London. p. 13.
53. Wheatley. London, Past and Present. Vol. I, p. 209.
54. Stow. Survey of London. pp. 306-307.
55. Brayley. Londiniana. Vol. II, p. 121.
56. Williams. Medieval London. pp. 86, 189.
57. Perks. The History of the Mansion House, p. 72.
58. Pendrill. Wandering in Medieval London. p. 223.
59. Masters. The Public Markets of London. p. 52.
60. Herbert. The Twelve Great Livery Companies. Vol. I, p. 308.
61. Ibid. pp. 304-310., Brayley. Londiniana. Vol. III, p. 5.
62. Wheatley. London, Past and Present. Vol. III, p. 274.
63. Ibid. Vol. I, p. 297.
64. Ibid.
65. Masters. The Public Markets of London. p. 13.
66. Besant. London in the Time of the Tudors. pp. 83-84.

#### IV. PLANNING THE NEW MARKETS

1. Dobb. Studies in the Development of Capitalism. pp. 134 ff.
2. Ibid. "The rise among the craftsmen of a richer, capitalist element who wished to invest their capital in the employment of other craftsmen and themselves to assume the role of merchant-employers represented a challenge to the close corporation of the older mercantile element. The control of the latter was exercised through their dominance over the company which possessed the exclusive right to engage in a particular branch of production.



The challenge to it, accordingly, took two forms: the struggle of the Yeomanry for a share in the government of the Company, and in a number of cases the attempt to secure independence and a new status of their own by incorporation as a separate company. The latter was the basis of the new Stuart corporations, formed from the craft elements among some of the old Livery Companies: corporations which, ...so quickly became subservient to a capitalist element among them, to whom the mass of the craftsmen were subordinated as a semi-proletarian class." p. 135

3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Brett-James. The Growth of Stuart London. "...the freedom of London which is heretofore of very great esteem is grown to be of little worth, by reason of the extraordinary enlargement of the suburbs, where great numbers of trades and handicraftsmen do enjoy without charge equal benefit with the freemen and citizens of London." p. 226  
See also Bell, The Great Fire, pp. 72, 276, and Wilson England's Apprenticeship, pp. 54, 136.
6. Dobb. Studies in the Development of Capitalism. pp. 134 ff.
7. Moore. The Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy. pp. 4-20.  
Perry. Lineages of the Absolutist State. pp. 113-142.
8. Williams. The Country and the City. pp. 48 ff.  
Wilson. England's Apprenticeship. pp. 12 ff. "National identity was aided by the increasing number of the upper and middle classes to visit London, usually brought because of Parliament's increasing influence on their affairs." p. 37.
9. Moore. The Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy. pp. 10, 128.  
Hill. The World Turned Upside Down. pp. 32-33.
10. Hill. The World Turned Upside Down. p. 33.  
Wilson. England's Apprenticeship. p. 118.
11. See footnote #40 of Chapter II above.
12. Hill. The World Turned Upside Down. p. 32.
13. In 1610 a suggestion was made that all strangers coming to London be required to carry a certificate from their town of origin as a means of identification. Brett-James, The Growth of Stuart London, p. 87.  
"In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as population rapidly expanded, London, ...became the refuge of 'masterless men'---the victims of enclosure, vagabonds, criminals---to an extent that alarmed contemporaries. ...Not far below the surface of Stuart society, then, discontent was rife....This class antagonism was exacerbated by the financial hardships of the years from 1620 to 1650...described as economically the most terrible in English history." Hill, The World Turned Upside Down. pp. 16-17.

14. Ashley. England in the Seventeenth Century. Chapter 11. Tawney Religion and the Rise of Capitalism. pp. 187 ff. "The social teaching of the Church had ceased to count, because the Church itself had ceased to think. Energy in economic action, realist intelligence in economic thought---these qualities were to be the note of the seventeenth century, when once the confusion of the Civil War had died down. When mankind is faced with the choice between exhilarating activities and piety imprisoned in a shrivelled mass of desiccated formulae, it will choose the former, though the energy be brutal and the intelligence narrow. In the age of Bacon and Descartes, bursting with clamorous interests and eager ideas, fruitful, above all, in the germs of economic speculation, from which was to grow the new science of Political Arithmetic, the social theory of the Church of England turned its face from the practical world, to pore over doctrines which, had their original authors been as impervious to realities as their later exponents, would never have been formulated. It was neglected, because it had become negligible." p. 188-189.
15. Laslett. The World We Have Lost. pp. 9 ff. "The ancient order of society was felt to be eternal and unchangeable by those who supported, enjoyed and endured it. How could there be when economic organization was domestic organization, and relationships were rigidly regulated by the social system, by the content of Christianity itself?" p. 4.
16. Ashley. England in the Seventeenth Century. Chapter 9., Hill. The World Turned Upside Down. Chapter 17.
17. See Macpherson The Political Theory of Possessive Individualism, Appendix, pp. 179 ff. "Social Classes and Franchises in England c. 1648."
18. Brett-James. The Growth of Stuart London. p. 80.
19. Ibid. p. 67.
20. Bell. The Great Fire. p. 174.
21. Bell. The Great Plauge of London. p. 68.
22. Bell. The Great Fire. Chapter 14.
23. Ibid.
24. Brett-James. The Growth of Stuart London. pp. 117 ff.
25. Ibid. See page 303 on the new mercantilist spirit.
26. Jrnl. of the Court of Common Council. 46, fos. 138b-146B.
27. Ibid. 46, fo. 147a. "all streets and lanes shall be accounted streets and lanes of note other than such as are or shall be appointed for high streets or lanes."
28. Ibid. 46, fos. 147b, 149.

29. Ibid. fo. 146b.
30. Wilson. England's Apprenticeship. p. 136.
31. Jrnl. of the Ct. of Common Council. 46, fo. 147b.
32. Ibid. 46, fo. 148.
33. Masters. Leybourn's Plans of London Markets, 1677. pp. 16-17.  
Bell. The Great Fire. pp. 252 ff.
34. Oliver, Stuart and Mills. The Survey of London. Vol. II, fo. 132v.
35. Ibid. Vol. II, fo. 134v.
36. Ibid. Vol. III, fo. 167.
37. Evelyn's Fumifugium is a good example of this.
38. Wren. Parentalia. p. 72.
39. See the articles by Peets, Abercrombie, and Reddaway.
40. Jrnl. of the Ct. of Common Council. 45, fo. 147b.
41. Ibid.
42. Bell. The Great Fire. pp. 295-296.
43. Jrnl. of the Ct. of Common Council. 45, fo. 147b.
44. Brayley. Londiniana. Vol. I, p. 338., Brett-James. The Growth of Stuart London. p. 431.
45. Pepys. Diary. Vol. I. p. 316, Dec. 15, 1662.
46. Strype, ed. Survey of London. Vol. II, p. 49.
47. Jrnl. of the Ct. of Common Council. 46, fos. 187b-188.
48. Ibid. 46, fos. 187b-188.
49. Masters. Leybourn's Plans of London Markets, 1677. p. 16.
50. See the map of the proposed market sites.
51. Masters. Leybourn's Plans of London Markets, 1677. pp. 13 ff.
52. Perks. History of the Mansion House. p. 122.
53. Jrnl. of the Ct. of Common Council. 46, fos. 172, 187b-88.
54. Besant. London in the Time of the Tudors. p. 200.

55. Brett-James. The Growth of Stuart London. p. 108.
56. Masters. Leybourn's Plans of London Markets, 1677. pp. 20 ff.
57. Ibid.
58. Ibid. pp. 18-20.

V. THE POST-FIRE MARKETS

1. Masters. Leybourn's Plans of London Markets, 1677. p. 24.
2. Strype, ed. Survey of London. Vol. I, p. 420.
3. Masters. Leybourn's Plans of London Markets, 1677. pp. 24-26.
4. Strype, ed. Survey of London. Vol. I, p. 89.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. Jrnl. of the Ct. of Common Council. 32, fos. 64b-66b.
8. Masters. Leybourn's Plans for London Markets, 1677. p. 28.
9. Ibid.
10. Ibid. p. 22.
11. Ibid. pp. 28-29.
12. Strype, ed. Survey of London. Vol. I, p. 89.
13. Masters. Leybourn's Plans of London Markets, 1677. p. 31.
14. Wheatley. London, Past and Present. Vol. II, p. 377.
15. Strype, ed. Survey of London. Vol. I, p. 517.
16. Masters. Leybourn's Plans of London Markets, 1677. pp. 34-35.
17. Wheatley. London, Past and Present. Vol. II, p. 463.
18. Masters. Leybourn's Plans of London Markets, 1677. p. 34.  
Strype, ed. Survey of London. Vol. I, p. 566.
19. Strype, ed. Survey of London. Vol. I, p. 566.
20. Wheatley. London, Past and Present. Vol. II, p. 229.

21. Masters. Leybourn's Plans of London Markets, 1677. p. 44.
22. Strype, ed. Survey of London. Vol. I, p. 684.
23. Wheatley. London, Past and Present. Vol. II, p. 500.

## VI. CONCLUSION

1. Jrnls. of the Ct. of Common Council. 45 & 46. These are the only reasons ever mentioned in the Journals either by the Court itself or by the Crown in response.
2. Wallerstein. The Modern World-System. Chapter 5.
3. This is particularly in physical terms as has been described. More extensive information is available in the works of Bell, Brett-James, and Reddaway. It is also generally true in social and political terms although changes in these areas began to surface somewhat earlier beginning with the Civil War, through the Interregnum and the Restoration of 1660. The fire was also instrumental in furthering these changes in the city through both the subsequent re-organization of city government and through the impact of the rebuilding on the traditional socio-economic structure.
4. Peets. "Famous Town Palnners: The Plans for Rebuilding London in 1666."
5. Ibid., Summerson. Christopher Wren.
6. Hill. Reformation to Industrial Revolution. pp. 72 ff.  
Wallerstein. The Modern World-System. Chapter 5.
7. Summerson's biographies of Wren and Inigo Jones are helpful in this area.
8. Jerman designed many other civic institutions such as Christ's Hospital and a number of private homes which have often been attributed to Wren. It appears that in this regard the markets were rather unique: most of the civic buildings were reconstructed with funds supplied by private benefactors. (See Bell, The Great Fire, p. 293) Apparently the markets benefited by their association with street life, as the Coal Dues which were primarily instituted to fund street improvements were extended to cover market reconstruction as well.



## BIBLIOGRAPHY

### OFFICIAL DOCUMENTS AND MANUSCRIPTS:

Calendars of Domestic State Papers, Charles II. London: The Public Records Office, 1666-78. Gives the details of the attempts to cope with the fire and the problems of its immediate aftermath. The correspondence is from the King and the Privy Council to the city.

City Lands Committee Grant Books. London: Guildhall, The Records Department of the Corporation of London, Vols. 3-4, 1651-1686. A miscellaneous collection of lease renewals with a listing of rentals, fines (feudal dues used as supplements to rental fee), and the years of tenancy. Complete and systematic records are available for the post-fire period only. The Grant Books deal only with lands leased to individuals by the city.

Comptroller's Record Series. London: Guildhall, The Records Department of the Corporation of London, Box I, 1670-1686. Contains a miscellany of material concerning encroachments, property values, and repairs to public buildings.

Deeds and Wills. London: Guildhall, The Records Department of the Corporation of London. Some of the deeds record lands given for street widening and the creation of the markets. Square footages, locations, owners, and compensations are listed.

The Decrees of the Fire Court. London: Guildhall, The Records Department of the Corporation of London, 3 vols. Records all disputes between landlords, landowners, and tenants concerning rebuilding liability, lease alterations due to losses incurred by the fire, and compensations made to the various parties concerned.

Jones, and Smith. A Guide to the Records in the Corporation of London Records Office. London: English University Press, 1951. This guide details the nature of the information to be found in the documents and manuscripts at the Guildhall Office.

Journals of the Court of Common Council. London: Guildhall, The Records Department of the Corporation of London, vols. 46-47, 1666-7. Contains the various listings of the hierarchy of streets, and the King's subsequent recommendations. Volume 46 contains the two proposals for the new market sites.

Oliver, Stuart, and Mills. Survey of London. London: Guildhall, The Guildhall Library, Ms. 84, 4 vols. Contains the complete records of properties as staked out after the fire, listing owners, locations, and lands appropriated by the city for street widening and the re-siting of the markets.

Partial Accounts of City Money Spent on Public Buildings. London: Guildhall, The Guildhall Library, Mss. 184-189. Pages 106, 170, and 171 give a partial account of the moneys spent in the construction of Woolchurch Market.



Registers of Evidence of Land Belonging to Christ's Hospital, 1594-1612. London: Guildhall, The Guildhall Library. Some of the property used in the construction of Newgate Market is recorded here.

Reperatories of the Court of Aldermen. London: Guildhall, The Records Department of the Corporation of London, vol. 74, 1667. Contains the determinations of the court concerning market placement and street widening.

Registers of the Privy Council. London: The Public Records Office, vols. 26-30, 1667-1677. Deals primarily with the immediate efforts to deal with the aftermath of the fire as suggested by the King and the Privy Council to the city.

Sworn Viewer's Books. London: Guildhall, The Records Department of the Corporation of London. A miscellaneous collection of property surveys and encroachments following the fire as testified to by certified witnesses.

Satutes at Large, 22 Charles II, 1670. London: Guildhall, The Records Department of the Corporation of London. An order by the Privy Council and the Common Council of July 8, 1667 for the widening of twelve additional streets.

Ward Assessments. London: Guildhall, The Records Department of the Corporation of London. Starting in the year 1670 assessments of property were taken in order to institute a poll tax. The number of inhabitants, their trades, and the house location are recorded for the first time.

#### MAPS:

Agas, Ralph. Plan of London. (c. 1560-70) London: Guildhall, The Guildhall Library.

Birch, George H., F. S. A. Priory Church of St. Helen's Bishopsgate, and its Surroundings in 1533. London: Guildhall, The Guildhall Library.

Faithorne and Newcourt. Map of London in 1658. London: Guildhall, The Guildhall Library. The only exact survey ever made of the city before the Great Fire of 1666.

Gould, James, F.S.A.A. Plan of St. Martin's Outwich Belonging to the Parishoners, with Box Attached, Hammons Alley, A Plan in 1725. London: Guildhall, The Guildhall Library, Ms. 6091. Shows details of houses, shops, and yards.

Hoefnagel. Plan of London in 1560. From Braun and Hogenling's "Civitates Terrarum". London: Guildhall, The Guildhall Library.

Hollar, Wenceslaus. The Collected Works of Wencelaus Hollar. Hollar did many panoramic views, maps, and drawings of pre and post fire London.

Leake, John. Survey of London After the Fire of 1666. London: Guildhall, The Guildhall Library. Leake was authorized to map the city following the fire, indicating the burnt out area and an exact plan of those buildings left standing.

Morden and Lea. A Plan of London and Westminster in 1682. London: London Topographical Society, 1905.

Ogilby, John and Morgan, William. London Surveyed: or an Explanation of the Large Map of London. 1677. London: Guildhall, The Guildhall Library. The first detailed map of London following the reconstruction and including the new markets.

A Plan of the Houses Destroyed in March 25, 1748, Cornhill. London: Guildhall, Guildhall Library. An extract from "The London Magazine" Mar. 1748. In 1748 Cornhill was destroyed by fire. This map shows in detail all the shops and their trades, as well as the houses, courts and alleys.

Wilkinson, Robert. A Plan of the Fire in Bishopsgate St., Cornhill and Leadenhall St., Nov. 7, 1765. London: Guildhall, The Guildhall Library. A detailed view of the shops and homes as surveyed before the fire.

#### PRIMARY SOURCES:

Allen, Thomas. The History and Antiquities of London, Westminster, and Southwark. Curious and Strange. 1828. London: Guildhall, The Guildhall Library. A grangerized history including various newspaper clippings, drawings, and personal accounts starting from about the mid-fourteenth century.

Barbon, Nicholas. A Discourse on Trade. Baltimore: John Hopkins Press. A reprint of the original of 1690 in a collection of reprints of economic extracts edited by Jacob H. Hollander. 43 pages. A notorious speculator of his own day and the builder of several of London's most exclusive housing areas, Barbon wrote several articles on the basic principals of speculative enterprise. In this article, which was used by Marx in his development of the concepts of use and surplus value (see Capital, Vol. I), Barbon discusses the role of the speculator in establishing a balance of trade. In his Apology for the Builder Barbon defends the practice of building speculation. His building projects of the west end played a great part in the development of the area following the fire.

Brayley, E. W. Londiniana. London: 4 vols, 1829, The Guildhall Library. A topographical history of London with useful information dating from as early as the mid-fourteenth century.

Defoe, Daniel. A Journal of the Plague Fear. London: Penguin Books, 1722. 255 pp. A fictional work containing many of the first hand accounts of the plague which Defoe had heard in his youth.

Evelyn, John. The Diary of John Evelyn. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, first published in 1818, covering the years 1620-1706, 335 pp. A contemporary description of life in London and the royal and academic circles in which Evelyn travelled.

Evelyn, John. Fumifugium: Or the Inconveniency of the Air and Smoke of London Dissipated. London: 1661. A tract proposing the removal from the

city of all industries and the creation of a green belt around the wall and gardens within the city "to sweeten the air."

Hobbes, Thomas. Leviathan. New York: Collier Books, 1651, 510 pp.  
A contemporary description of changing economic and social conditions.

Hobbes, Thomas. Behemoth. Contains a valuable perspective on the forces at work during the Civil War.

Hodges, Nathaneal, M. D., Loimologia. London: E. Bell, Cornhill, 1720.  
Hodges' first hand experience as a physician during the plague years.

Malcolm, James Peller. London Redivivum. London: John Nichols & Son, 1803, 4 vols. An account of the years of rebuilding following the fire.

Pepys, Samuel. The Diary of Samuel Pepys. New York: Everyman's Library, 1659-1669, 2 vols. Contains a wealth of material on daily life, politics, and social activities; and historical events.

Stow, John. The Survey of London. London: Everyman's Library, 1598, 533 pp.  
A topographical history of pre-fire London written in great detail. It also contains information on social activities and customs.

Stow, John. The Survey of London. John Strype, editor. 1720, 2 vols.  
A revision of Stow's work with a contemporary post-fire updating.

Wren, Stephen. Parentalia. England: Gregg Press, Ltd., RIBA, 1760.  
History of the Wren family with special attention to the life of Christopher Wren, including many of his drawings and letters.

#### SECONDARY SOURCES:

Ashley, Maurice. England in the Seventeenth Century. London: Penguin Books Ltd., 1952, 267 pp. A general social and political history.

Anderson, Perry. Lineages of the Absolutist State. London: New Left Books, 1974, 324 pp. A discussion of absolutism during the late middle ages. Pages 112-142 deal exclusively with England.

Bell, Walter George. A Short History of the Worshipful Company of Tylers and Bricklayers of the City of London. London: H. G. Montgomery, 1938.  
A helpful case study of the changing traditions of the small guilds. Particularly important for information on the impact of the fire on the building trades.

Bell, Walter George. The Great Plague in London in 1665. London: John Lane, The Bodley Head, 1924, 374 pp. The definitive work on the Great Plague, it describes the causes and the spread of the plague, and the resultant state of the city just prior to the fire.

Besant, Sir Walter. London in the Time of the Stuarts. London: Adam & Charles Black, 1903. An independent social and topographical history.

- Besant, Sir Walter. London in the Time of the Tudors. London: Adam & Charles Black, 1904. An in-depth social and topographical history.
- Bindoff, S. T. Tudor England. London: Penguin Books, Ltd., 1950, 320pp. A general political history.
- Braudel, Fernand. Capitalism and Material Life: 1400-1800. New York: Harper & Row, Pub., 1967, 462 pp. A discussion of the impact of demographic, agricultural, and technological factors on the growth of capitalism and changes in the quality of material life.
- Brett-James, Norman G. The Growth of Stuart London. London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1935, 556 pp. A topographical history of London with important information on the post-fire growth of the west end.
- Clapham, Sir John. A Concise Economic History of Britain. Cambridge: University Press, 1949, 324 pp. A standard economic history of the period.
- Calrk, Peter, ed., The Early Modern Town. London: Longman Group Ltd., 1976, 332 pp. A collection of essays on English towns during the transition period of the late middle ages.
- Clark, Peter, and Slack, Paul. English Towns in Transition: 1500-1700. London: Oxford University Press, 1976, 167 pp. A general discussion of English towns, their social, political and cultural organization, with a special chapter devoted to London.
- Dobb, Maurice. Studies in the Development of Capitalism. New York: International Publishers, 1947, 402pp. A standard Marxist economic history of the origins of capitalism, beginning with the decline of serfdom. Of particular help for the discussion of the changing nature of guild organization.
- Herbert, William. The History of the Twelve Great Livery Companies of London. London: J. & C. Adlard, 1837, 2 vols. The standard history of the great companies from origin to decline.
- Hill, Christopher. God's Englishman. New York: Harper & Row, 1970, 300 pp. A biography of the political career of Oliver Cromwell and the rise of Puritanism.
- Hill, Christopher. Reformation to Industrial Revolution. London: Felican Books, 1967, 350 pp. A social, political, and cultural history of the transformation of England from 1530-1780.
- Hill, Christopher. The World Turned Upside Down. New York: The Viking Press, 1972, 350 pp. A history of radical thinking among the English lower classes during the seventeenth century, and its effect on the formation and reorganization of political control.
- Hilton, Rodney, ed., The Transition from Feudalism to Capitalism. London: New Left Books, 1976, 195 pp. A collection of essays in response to Dobb's theories on the rise of capitalism in his Studies in the Development of Capitalism.



Holmes, Urban Tigner, Jr. Daily Living in the Twelfth Century. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1952, 337 pp. A social history of daily living conditions in early European towns.

Laslett, Peter. The World We Have Lost. London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1968, 325 pp. An important social history of daily life during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Macpherson, C. B. The Political Theory of Possessive Individualism: Hobbes to Locke. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1962, 310 pp. An illuminating study of the inter-relationship between social and economic theory and social and economic history.

Merton, Robert, K. Science, Technology and Society in Seventeenth Century England. New York: Harper & Row, 1970, 260 pp. Discusses in particular the work of the members of the Royal Academy.

Middlesex Surveys of London. London: Guildhall, The Guildhall Library. A grangerized history of newspaper clippings, drawings and maps.

Minchinton, W. E., ed. The Growth of English Overseas Trade in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries. London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1969. See especially Fishers' article, "London's Export Trade in the Early Seventeenth Century" and Davis' "English Foreign Trade, 1660-1700."

Minchinton, W. E., ed. Essays in Agrarian History. London: David & Charles Ltd., 1968. See Habbakkuk's "Economic Functions of English Landowners in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries", for information on the changing nature of land ownership.

Moore, Barrington, Jr. Social Origins of Dictatorship and Democracy. USA: Beacon Press, 1967, 140 pp. See pages 1-40 for an interpretation of the role of the bourgeois revolution in the transition from the pre-industrial to the modern world as it occurred in England.

Nef, John U. "A Comparison of Industrial Growth in France and England: 1540-1640." The Journal of Political Economy, Oct. 1936, No. 5, Vol. XLIV, pp. 643-666. An important discussion of the rise of small industries in and around London.

Pendril, Charles. Wandering in Medieval London. London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1928, 2 vols. Contains important information on the early markets and their topographical history.

Perks, Sidney. The History of the Mansion House. London: Cambridge University Press, 1922. An in-depth history of the site of the old Stocks fish market.

Pirenne, Henri. Medieval Cities: Their Origins and the Revival of Trade. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1925. A pioneer work in the early development of market towns.

Rasmussen, Steen Eiler. London: The Unique City. Cambridge, Ma.: MIT Press, 1934, 409 pp. Contains information on the post-fire development of London squares and the gradual differentiation of space.

Summerson, Sir John. Sir Christopher Wren. London: Penguin Books, 1953. Contains important information on the social and political background of Wren's early years and its impact on his work.

Tawney, R. H. Religion and the Rise of Capitalism. London: Penguin Books, 1922, 335 pp. A study of the effect of changing social and political forces on traditional doctrines.

Thomas, Keith. Religion and the Decline of Magic. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1971, 716 pp. A social history of the seventeenth century with a concentration on popular beliefs and customs.

Wheatley, W. B. London, Past and Present. London: John Murray, 1891, 3 vols. A topographical dictionary of London.

Wallerstein, Immanuel. The Modern World System. New York: Academic Press, 1976, 245 pp. An analysis of the socio-political structures of the sixteenth century based on a world-wide economic unity.

Williams, Gyn A. Medieval London: From Commune to Capital. London: The Athlone Press, 1963, 377 pp. An important study of the transition of gild structure in the re-organization of the London economy.

Williams, Raymond. The Country and the City. New York: Oxford University Press, 1973, 335 pp. Pages 1-55 discuss the idealization of feudal and post-feudal values during the early years of the socio-economic revolution.

Wilson, Charles. England's Apprenticeship: 1603-1763. London: Longman's Press, 1945, 415 pp. An economic history of the transition period.

#### PREVIOUS RESEARCH ON THE GREAT FIRE:

Abercrombie, Patrick. "Wren's Plan of London after the Great Fire." The Town Planning Review. Vol. X, May 1923, No. 2, pp. 71-79. An early article on Wren's proposal for the rebuilding of London.

Bell, Walter George. The Great Fire of London in 1666. London: John Lane, The Bodley Head, 1920, 556 pp. The first comprehensive study of the fire and the rebuilding.

Bedford, John. London's Burning. London: Abelard-Schuman, 1966, 272 pp. A rather simplistic history of the fire with, however, some valuable reproductions of drawings and maps.

Davidge, W. R. "The Development of London and the London Building Act." RIBA Journal, Vol. 21, Third Series, No. 11, 11 April, 1924, pp. 333-369. A helpful article on the formation and the institution of the building acts.

Hearsy, John. London and the Great Fire. London: John Murray, 1965. Not much new information, a popular history.



Masters, Betty. The Public Markets of the City of London Surveyed by William Leybourn in 1677. London: London Topographical Society, 1974, 117 pp.  
The only systematic study of the pre and post-fire markets

Leason, James. The Plague and the Fire. New York: McGraw Hill, 1961, 280 pp. A popular history.

Peets, Elbert. "Famous Town Planners: The Plans for Rebuilding London in 1666." The Town Planning Review. May 1930, No. 1, Vol. XIV, pp. 13-30. A study of the plans of Wren, Hooke, Newcourt, and Evelyn stressing the influence of European prototypes.

Reddaway, R. T. The Rebuilding of London after the Great Fire. London, 1940, 500 pp. An update of Bell's work on the fire. A comprehensive study of the fire, the building acts, the proposed plans, and the actual rebuilding.

Reddaway, R. T. "The Rebuilding of London after the Great Fire: A Re-discovered Plan." The Town Planning Review. July 1939, No. 3, Vol. XVIII, pp. 155-161. An important study of the proposal of Valentine Knight.



Hollar's map of London in 1666 showing the extent of the fire damage.

#### Notes

1. The basic works on the Great Fire are R.T. Reddaway, *The Rebuilding of London After the Great Fire* (London, 1940), and Walter Bell, *The Great Fire of London in 1666* (London, 1920). On the transition from feudalism to mercantile capitalism see Maurice Dobb, *Studies in the Development of Capitalism* (New York, 1947), and Charles Wilson, *England's Apprenticeship* (London, 1945), among others. Gyn Williams, *Medieval London* (London, 1963), was also particularly helpful.
2. Bell, *Great Fire of London*, 271-275.
3. Wilson, *England's Apprenticeship*, 48, 172; Dobb, *Studies in the Development of Capitalism*, 134 ff.; Christopher Hill, *Reformation to Industrial Revolution* (London, 1967), 76, 160, 189.
4. The only published work on the rebuilding of the public markets is Betty Masters, *The Public Markets of the City of London Surveyed by William Leybourn in 1677* (London, 1974).
5. Urban Tigner Holmes, *Daily Living in the Twelfth Century* (Madison, 1952), 16, 27-28.
6. Partial listings of the market laws are found in John Stow and John Strype, eds., *The Survey of London* (London, 1720), II, 411; Walter Besant, *London in the Time of the Stuarts* (London, 1903), 81; Masters, *The Public Markets of the City of London*, 13-14; E.W. Brayley, *Londiniana* (London, 1829), I, 303-304; W.B. Wheatley, *London, Past and Present* (London, 1891), II, 375-377.
7. Peter Laslett, *The World We Have Lost* (London, 1968), chapter 1.
8. *Royal Proclamation of Edward II*, No. 19 (September 1345) and No. 31 (1357).
9. Stow and Strype, *Survey of London*, I, 420; John Stow, *The Survey of London* (London, 1598), 143-149.
10. *Journals of the Court of Common Council*, Nos. 45 and 46.
11. For information on Roger Jerman, see Masters, *The Public Markets of the City of London*, passim.
12. The most complete description of new laws and institutions created to cope with the aftermath of the fire is in Reddaway, *The Rebuilding of London*.
13. Norman Brett-James, *The Growth of Stuart London* (London, 1935), 177 ff, 303, 431; C.B. Macpherson, *The Political Theory of Possessive Individualism: Hobbes to Locke* (Oxford, 310); R.H. Tawney, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism* (London, 1922), 187 ff.