THE URBAN HISTORY GROUP

Annual Conference

TRANSGRESSIVE CITIES: PRACTICES AND PLACE

University of Durham

25 – 26 March 2010

Programme and Abstracts of Papers
# Contents

Contents .................................................................................................................................................... i
Conference Programme Resumé ................................................................................................................ iii
Conference Theme ......................................................................................................................................... v
Conference website ..................................................................................................................................... v
Brief guide to conference arrangements .................................................................................................. v
Campus Map – Durham ............................................................................................................................... viii
Conference Programme ............................................................................................................................. ix
Slum deceits: urban space, performance and social action ....................................................................... 1
Turning day into night: transgression at the interwar roadhouse ................................................................. 2
Prostitution and the making of social marginality in early twentieth-century colonial Cairo ........................... 2
‘Theatres of transgression’: municipal parks in Edwardian Manchester .................................................... 3
‘Our flag here flies’: Irish nationalism in London, 1917-21 ..................................................................... 4
‘How we celebrate the Coronation’: the battle over the decoration and desecration of London’s architecture in 1937 .................................................................................................................................. 5
Trading blows: the role of violence in trade disputes in medieval Great Yarmouth ................................. 6
A deplorable case of fraud in fifteenth-century York: a deception perpetrated by John Lilling, mercer ........ 6
Transgressions during periods of dearth ...................................................................................................... 7
Division and destruction? The redistribution of land in reformation St Andrews (c.1530-80) .................... 7
The problem of the empty plots: urban space and environment in Amsterdam, 1815-40 ......................... 8
Shopping street, central business district and urban ideal: the changing central urban space of Danish provincial cities, 1870-1970 ......................................................................................................................... 8
Imagining Bradford: nation, region, locality and the BBC ....................................................................... 9
Fourteenth-century Prague as a stage for radical preaching .................................................................... 10
‘Mis-using their freedoms’: Schemnitz and the problems of introducing a new 
*Bergordnung* in sixteenth-century Royal Hungary ................................................................................. 11
Dublin’s unemployed protest movement (1957-8) and Jack Murphy, ‘the unemployed T.D.’ .................. 12
Shoplifting in eighteenth-century Bristol: crime, social interaction and performance on the shop-floor ................................................... 13
Prostitution in provincial cities in the eighteenth century: between vision and Visibility .......................... 14
Property, expenditure and business networks under the new poor law in nineteenth-century London .... 15
For the common good? The governance of Birmingham and Edinburgh, c.1820-50 ............................ 16
From Richmond to Rio: urban slave resistance and control in Brazil and the United States ...................... 17
‘A great city is a great study’: growth politics, radicalism and the struggle over understanding urbanisation in a Civil War-era American metropolis .................................................. 18
Faith in the antebellum urban spatial order ................................................................................................. 19
Everyday life micro-scale transgressions and mediations in Ottoman cities: individuals and the social value of urban space ................................................................. 20
Diversity, urban space and labour control in nineteenth-century Istanbul .................. 21
Street children as a transgression in the new bourgeois urban space: juvenile delinquency, public order and philanthropy in the late Ottoman Empire ........... 21
When history meets geography: mapping made simple ............................................ 23
Urban History Group Conference

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TRANSGRESSIVE CITIES: PRACTICES AND PLACE

Conference Programme Resumé

Thursday 25 March

11.00-14.00  Registration
13.00-14.00  Lunch (not included in one-day package)
14.00-15.30  Session 1: plenary session
             Transgressive spaces and the city
15.30-16.00  Tea
16.00-17.30  Session 2: parallel sessions
             2.1: Public space as theatres of transgression
             2.2: Transgression in the medieval market place
17.45-19.15  Session 3: new researchers’ workshops
             3.1: Urban spaces: real and imagined
             3.2: The city as a theatre of action
             3.3: Sex and shopping (i); Profit and loss (ii)

Coach to Collingwood College

19.20-19.50  Reception (sponsored by: Carnegie Publishing)
20.00-21.30  Conference dinner
21.30-late   Bar

Friday 26 March

08.00-08.45  Breakfast

Coach to Collingwood College

09.00-11.00  Session 4: parallel sessions
             4.1: Ordering the nineteenth-century city
             4.2: Ottoman microcosms: social norms, their transgression and urban space
11.00-11.30  Coffee
11.30-12.45  **Session 5: plenary session**  
*New teaching in urban histories*

12.45-13.00  Closing remarks

13.00-14.00  Lunch (included in one-day conference package)

14.00  Conference ends
Conference Theme

This year’s conference explores the relationships between practices of resistance and transgression and the exercise of authority in urban spaces. As ‘a theatre of social action’, to use Lewis Mumford’s phrase, cities attract and encourage a wide variety of practices that subvert, transgress or resist the rule of authority. The papers presented seek to explore these forms of transgression and their relationships with urban spaces and the exercise of power. As well as the new researchers’ workshops, which showcase the latest doctoral research projects, there are separate sessions on transgressive spaces and the city; ordering the nineteenth-century American city; regulation and resistance in Ottoman cities; public space as theatres of transgression; power, authority and trade in medieval towns; and a discussion of new approaches to teaching in urban history.

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Conference website

Abstracts and conference programme are available from the conference website which also contains links to registration (http://www.le.ac.uk/ur/uhg/conf2010.html).

Brief guide to conference arrangements

The conference will take place on two sites on the University of Durham campus: Collingwood College and the Science Site. Residential accommodation will be located in Collingwood College; all parallel sessions will take place in the Earth Sciences building and tea/coffee served in the adjacent Calman Learning Centre on the Science Site. The College is a 10-minute walk from the Science Site; shuttle buses will be provided at certain times of the day.

Conference accommodation on campus

Ensuite and standard accommodation will be provided in Collingwood College (no. 6 on the campus map), which is located a 10-minute walk from the Earth Sciences building (no. 43 on the campus map). A campus map can be found on page viii.

Check-in for residential delegates

All residential delegates should please check in at Reception in Collingwood College, where keys will be available from 2.00 p.m. onwards; a luggage storage facility is available for those arriving before 2.00 p.m. Reception is usually open 8.00 a.m. – 6.00 p.m., but will be open until 8.00 p.m. on Thursday, 25 March to allow delegates
to uplift keys after the last session ends at 7.15 p.m. If you plan to arrive after
reception has closed you should please call the Porter on the free phone next to
Reception. Porters are on site 24 hours.

Registration
Registration will take place between 11.00 and 14.00 in the Foyer of the Calman
Learning Centre (no. 43 on the campus map) on the Science Site; luggage can be
stored here if required prior to check-in for residential delegates at Collingwood
College. The registration desk will be staffed for the duration of the conference.

Alternative Accommodation
www.marriott.co.uk
www.premierinn.com
www.radissonblu.co.uk/durham
www.swallow-hotels.com

The Economic History Society does not necessarily endorse any of the hotels listed.

Car parking
Delegates may park in the car park at Collingwood College; permits are available from
Reception. There is no parking at the Science Site.

Book displays
Publishers’ and booksellers’ displays will be in the Calman Learning Centre.

Meals and Morning Tea/Afternoon Coffee
Lunch will be served in the Calman Learning Centre, teas and coffees in Earth
Sciences and dinner in the dining hall at Collingwood College.

Receptions and Bar
All receptions and the bar will be located in Collingwood College.

Meeting rooms for sessions
Meeting rooms for all sessions will be located in the Earth Sciences building.

Internet Access
There are computers available in the Calman Learning Centre and Collingwood
College. Wi-fi is available in all conference rooms at Collingwood College and the
Calman Learning Centre and in public areas in both venues. Temporary passwords are
available, on request, from the registration desk. No internet access is available from
delegate bedrooms.

Useful Contacts
Event Durham: Tel: +44 (0)191 334 3039 Email: cra1@durham.ac.uk
Maureen Galbraith Tel: +44 (0)141 330 4662 Email: ehsocsec@arts.gla.ac.uk
Travelling to Durham
Comprehensive information on travel to the University of Durham, as well as maps, can be found at: www.dur.ac.uk/travel/todurham

By Road
Leave the motorway at Junction 62 on the A690 Durham – Sunderland road and follow signs to Durham City Centre.

Durham is 264 miles from London, 187 miles from Birmingham, 125 miles from Edinburgh and 67 miles from York.

There are several express coach services daily from most major cities. Durham is well served by both regional express services and the local bus network. From the city bus station – a short walk from the railway station – a bus service runs every 15 minutes past the Colleges on South Road.

By Rail
Sixty InterCity trains from most major centres in the country call at Durham daily including 14 trains from London. The National Express high speed service takes under 3 hours from London King’s Cross on the main East Coast line. First Transpennine Express offers frequent links to Manchester, Sheffield and Leeds, while Cross Country links Durham directly with Scotland, the Midlands, and the South West.

Durham is just over 3 hours from Birmingham, 2½ hours from Manchester, 1½ hours from Edinburgh and 45 minutes from York.

A taxi will take you from the station to any College within 5 minutes and you can walk to the city centre in 10 minutes.

Detailed information and timetables can be found at: http://nationalrail.co.uk/times_fares/

By Air
Durham is 30 minutes’ drive from Newcastle Airport and about 40 minutes from Durham Tees Valley. Both have regular domestic and international flights. Durham is linked to Newcastle Airport by rail and metro. Travellers into Durham Tees Valley can take advantage of the free Sky Express bus service that links the airport to Darlington railway station, with regular connections to Durham.

By Sea
Scheduled ferry services link the River Tyne to The Netherlands.

Taxis
The taxi services listed below are Durham-based but if pre-booked can provide services to/from Newcastle and Durham Tees Valley (Teesside) Airports.

- Mac’s Taxis: 0191 384 1329
- Paddy’s Taxis: 0191 386 6662
Campus Map – Durham

(A copy of this map can be found at: www.dur.ac.uk/map/durham/)

- viii -
Conference Programme

**TRANSGRESSIVE CITIES: PRACTICES AND PLACES**

All academic sessions will take place in the Earth Sciences building (ES)

**THURSDAY 25 March 2010**

11.00-14.00  Registration  
(Calman Foyer)

13.00-14.00 Lunch  
(Calman)  
(For those who selected this option on booking – not included in one-day package)

**14.00-15.30  Session 1: Transgressive spaces and the city**  
(ES230)  
(Chair: Vivian Bickford)

_slum deceits: urban space, performance and social action_  
Alan Mayne

_Turning day into night: transgression at the interwar roadhouse_  
Michael John Law

_Prostitution and the making of social marginality in early twentieth-century colonial Cairo_  
Francesca Biancani

15.30-16.00 Tea  
(ES228)

**16.00-17.30  Session 2: parallel sessions**

**2.1: Public space as theatres of transgression** (Chair: Bob Morris)  
(ES231)

_Theatres of transgression’: municipal parks in Edwardian Manchester_  
Carole O’Reilly

_Our flag flies here’: Irish nationalism in London, 1917-21_  
Darragh Gannon

_How we celebrate the Coronation: the battle over the decoration and desecration of London’s architecture in 1937_  
Bronwen Edwards

**2.2: Transgression in the medieval market place** (Chair: Catherine Casson)  
(ES230)

_Trading blows: the role of violence in trade disputes in medieval Great Yarmouth_  
Janka Rodziewicz

_A deplorable case of fraud in fifteenth-century York: a deception perpetrated by John Lilling, mercer_  
Louise R Wheatley

_Transgressions during periods of dearth_  
John Lee
17.45-19.15 Session 3: parallel new researchers’ workshops

3.1 Urban spaces: real and imagined (Chair: Roey Sweet) (ES229)
Division and destruction: the redistribution of land in reformation St Andrews, c.1530-80
Bess Rhodes

The problem of empty plots: urban space and environment in Amsterdam, 1815-40
Merel Klein

Shopping street, central business district and urban ideal: the changing central urban space of Danish provincial cities, 1870-1970
Jens Toftgaard

Imagining Bradford: nation, region, locality and the BBC
Christine Ferguson

3.2 The city as a theatre of action (Chair: Nick Hayes) (ES230)

A new Jerusalem: fourteenth-century Prague as a stage for radical preaching
Eleanor Janega

‘Mis-using their freedoms’: Schemnitz and the problems of introducing a new Bergordnung in sixteenth-century Royal Hungary
Andrea Fröhlich

Dublin’s unemployed protest movement (1957-8) and Jack Murphy, ‘the unemployed T.D.’
John Johnston-Kehoe

3.3 (i) Sex and shopping (Chair: David Green) (ES231)
Shoplifting in eighteenth-century Bristol: crime, social interaction and performance on the shop-floor
Matt Neale

Prostitution in provincial cities in the eighteenth century: between vision and visibility
Marion Pluskota

3.3 (ii) Profit and loss (Chair: David Green) (ES231)
Property, expenditure and business networks under the new poor law in nineteenth-century London
Douglas Brown

For the common good? The governance of Birmingham and Edinburgh c.1820-50
Malcolm Noble

19.20-19.50 Reception (JCR/Bar, Collingwood College)
FRIDAY 26 March 2010

08.00-08.45 Breakfast (Dining Hall, Collingwood College)

08.45 Coach to Science Site

09.00-10.30 Session 4: parallel sessions

4.1 Ordering the nineteenth-century city (Organiser: Kyle B Roberts) (ES230)

From Richmond to Rio: urban slave resistance and control in Brazil and the United States
James Campbell

‘A great city is a great study’: growth politics, radicalism and the struggle over understanding urbanisation in a Civil War-era American metropolis
Andrew Heath

Faith in the antebellum urban spatial order
Kyle B Roberts

4.2 Ottoman microcosms: social norms, their transgression and urban space (Organiser: Nora Lafi) (ES231)

Everyday life micro-scale transgressions and mediations in Ottoman cities: individuals and the social value of urban space
Nora Lafi

Diversity, urban space and labour control in nineteenth-century Istanbul
Florian Riedler

Street children as a transgression in the new bourgeois urban space: juvenile delinquency, public order and philanthropy in the late Ottoman Empire
Nazan Maksudyan

11.00-11.30 Coffee (ES228)

11.30-12.45 Session 5: New teaching in urban history (Chair: Shane Ewen) (ES230)

When history meets geography: mapping made simple
Richard Rodger, Stuart Nicol and Chris Fleet

Vodcasting urban history
Malcolm Noble

Roundtable discussion: Urban theory and the Dysonian legacy
David Green
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<td>12.45</td>
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ABSTRACTS OF PAPERS
Slum deceits: urban space, performance and social action

Alan Mayne (University of South Australia)
(alan.mayne@unisa.edu.au)

In this presentation I aim to apply this year’s conference theme to reconsideration of the spatial form we call ‘slums’. I will refer both to the term’s nineteenth-century origins and its present-day prominence in Millennium Development Goal programmes to halve global poverty by 2015.

The emergence of slum stereotypes in nineteenth-century Britain – which had the effect of obfuscating the spatial and social realities of the poor city districts to which the term was applied – was conditioned by theatricality and the urge to control. Although H.J. Dyos sought incorrectly to draw a distinction between what he regarded as factual social investigation and slumland sensationalism, Anthony Wohl recognised both genres of slum depiction as elements of cultural performance. The performances sought to consolidate appropriate urban norms by making visible and unambiguously repugnant their reprehensible antithesis. Charles Dickens called this process ‘the attraction of repulsion’. That slum performances have been remembered, whereas the actual spatial forms and social lives of poor neighbourhoods have not, is a product of the underlying unevenness of society and of the exercise of authority within it. As a result, understanding of disadvantaged neighbourhoods has been submerged by dominant representations of the slum’s historically deceitful relationship with its host society: slums are regarded as having a subversive and corrosive presence within mainstream society.

I have long argued that the deceit lies in the slum performance rather than in the social action of disadvantaged neighbourhoods. In this presentation I will consider fresh evidence from two ‘slums’: Hungate in York, and ‘Little Lon’ in Melbourne. The point at issue is not the deficient physical infrastructure of such places, their effects on social wellbeing, and the limited life-chances available to inhabitants. These are clear. Rather, the issue concerns ‘slum mindedness’: the supposedly deleterious effects of living in slums upon social organisation and behaviour. Slum stereotypes about widespread criminality, degeneracy, and dysfunctionality are under attack, and archaeological analysis has challenged characterisations of slum dwellers as passive victims of capitalism. These revisionist interpretations of ‘slums’ emphasise subaltern strategy and resilience.

Yet, even as historical redefinition proceeds, slum deceits continue to skew present-day social research and public policy. In India, for example, social scientists equate slums with ‘a total suffocation of a civilised social life’ and its replacement by a separate ‘way of life, having a special character with its own set of norms and values as reflected in poor sanitation, health values, health practices, deviant behaviour and social isolation’. The unfortunate effects of these deceits upon social policy can be seen in the continuing clearances of shanties in Mumbai (including those of the child actors in the movie Slumdog Millionaire) and the crack-down upon pavement dwellers in New Delhi before the 2010 Commonwealth Games. Such examples in the
Developing World, and arguably, the Pathfinder programme in British cities, underline the need for urban social policy today to heed missed opportunities in the past.

**Turning day into night: transgression at the interwar roadhouse**

*Michael John Law (Royal Holloway, University of London)*

(mjohnlaw@googlemail.com)

In the interwar Home Counties, the roadhouse, a sizeable country club style location of entertainment and dancing, was an iconic destination of consumption and leisure aimed at the wealthier middle classes. For the newly motorised, they provided an alternative and modern meeting point for the consumers of London’s metropolitan night club scene. High speed and drunken motoring from central London led to roadhouses located in the uncertain area between London and the countryside, well outside the control of the Metropolitan Police. The roadhouse owners provided all-night dancing and drinking, cabaret, jazz bands restaurants and swimming in vast illuminated open air swimming pools.

These establishments were marketed in newsreels as exclusive and sophisticated but in reality were open to much wider groups. Fast arterial roads and fast cars led to an anonymised *suburban* location. This idea is in marked contrast to the usual readings of the metropolitan centre providing freedom for action with the suburb providing safety and domesticity. As well as dancing and drinking, Roadhouses provided the opportunity for sexual liaison that was not easily available elsewhere at this time. Roadhouses were highly Americanised and took on some of the colour of American examples that were consistently portrayed in Hollywood movies as dangerous and dissolute. Reflecting this, roadhouses were also used in literature and in cinema as a locus of danger. Graham Greene used roadhouses as a meeting point for his gangsters in *Brighton Rock* and as a site of intrigue and violent encounter in *The Confidential Agent*. Both magistrates and the popular press were concerned about the possible flouting of convention at roadhouses, the *Daily Mirror* asking ‘would you send your daughter to a roadhouse?’ These sites fell from favour with the smart set within a few years and eventually became patronised by suburbanites and then fell into decline with the onset of the Second World War.

**Prostitution and the making of social marginality in early twentieth-century colonial Cairo**

*Francesca Biancani (London School of Economics)*

(f.biancani@lse.ac.uk)

Modernist planning from the 1860s onwards structured and ‘colonised’ Cairo’s urban space in an unprecedented way: the creation of a modern, rational and sanitised environment entailed its alter-ego, the ‘traditional’, ‘oriental’, ‘anti-modern’ city. According to Janet Abu Lughod, modern Cairo tells a ‘tale of two cities’ (Abu
Lughod, 1965 and 1971) with the establishment of a spatial hierarchy where the modern Western city stood in opposition, but yet inextricably connected, I argue, to the wretched, ‘traditional’, un-sanitary indigenous city. Modern Cairo was imagined as the setting for the correct development of the Egyptian political community, while marginalising those undesirable classes considered to be incompatible with change and progress by the modernist nationalist elites. Such reading, based as it is on narrow structuralist-functionalist articulation of a sharp dichotomy tradition-modernity, fails to take into account the complexities of the relationship between modernist spatial planning and the fabrication of social marginality in social practice. In modernist political experiments, hegemony and marginality were fabricated not only through alienating spatial devices in urban planning (in other words through the physical removal of subaltern social groups from the manufactured modern space and their confinements to the margins), but also by an imagined public discourse revolving around the dichotomy ‘morality/immorality’ where non-conformity was seen as a menace to modernity, progress and order. The Azbakiyyah area in Central Cairo provides us with an example of a mixed bourgeois-subaltern space where dominant forces – the global market and Empire – shaped a plural urban environment where fashionable travellers, Cairo’s local and expatriate high society, occupation armies, a racially-mixed population of tricksters, ne’er-do-wells, pimps, licensed or disguised sex workers shared the same physical space. Taking the articulation of public discourse on the moral danger of the Azbakiyyah and the failure of the system of enclosure and regulation of prostitution in a reserved area of the neighbourhood as a point in case, this paper shows how the Azbakiyyah became a site for the definition of normative understandings of modernist Egyptian citizenship. Far from being discursive effects only, subaltern groups, though, were not simply subjected to discriminatory legal provisions. This paper endeavours to engage with issues of visibility, agency from below, resistance, power and subversion in an urban setting by showing how subaltern actors appropriated and turned apparatuses of control in self-empowering tools through a strategic class-based alliance and cooperation with foreign subaltern groups sheltered by the Capitulation system for mutual economic interests, as showed by the spread of clandestine prostitution across Cairo’s urban fabric.

‘Theatres of transgression’: municipal parks in Edwardian Manchester

Carole O’Reilly (University of Salford)
(c.oreilly@salford.ac.uk)

This paper will argue that municipal parks in Manchester provided the citizens with the space not solely for recreation and sporting facilities but for a whole range of often transgressive behaviours. Despite the efforts of the civic authorities, parks had always attracted convention-breaching activities such as drinking and gambling. However, the failures of attempts to impose middle-class norms on municipal parks users during the Victorian era (‘rational recreation’) led to Edwardian parks becoming more intensely
contested spaces in which different users struggled for supremacy. This paper will be especially mindful of Mumford’s dictum that ‘mind “takes form” in the city’ and, in turn, ‘urban forms condition the mind’. Parks as an urban form sought to condition the minds not only of their creators but their users.

The paper will examine the actions of Manchester City Council and its Parks and Cemeteries committee (often in conflict with each other over matters of park policy) in attempting to enforce their vision of the role of the park in the modern city. This will be set against the actions of both individual and group users of the parks who sought to pursue their own agendas. Examples to be discussed will include the uses of municipal parks for political meetings by groups such as suffragettes and members of the co-operative movement, attempts by the Parks and Cemeteries committee to regulate park user behaviour and user resistance to this and acceptance of and challenges to the provision of paid-for sporting amenities in the parks.

These struggles were the crucible in which various definitions of the municipal park emerged – the park as recreational space, the park as a symbol of civic pride and authority and the park as theatre in which various social and political movements asserted their dominance. It was in this era, not the Victorian, that the full flowering of the municipal park took place.

The tensions and contraventions of park administrators and park users reveal municipal parks to be truly theatres of transgression in which various alternatives to the prevailing social order were explored and debated. Such parks thus became political playgrounds of competing and contrasting ideologies about citizenship, social responsibility and self-help – all hallmarks of the Edwardian period.

‘Our flag here flies’: Irish nationalism in London, 1917-21

*Darragh Gannon (National University of Ireland, Maynooth)*
*(darragh.j.gannon@nuim.ie)*

Lewis Mumford’s contention that the city is a ‘theatre of social action’ draws attention to the essential role played by the city in bringing together various actors and fostering an atmosphere in which their interactions are intensified and, often, made more clearly visible.

This paper considers Mumford’s conception of the city and the theme of transgressive cities by examining the scope and limitations of national political expression within the Irish community in London during the years 1917-21, a period which led to the formation of the Irish State. It begins with an evaluation of the importance of the city in the abstract, and London in the specific, to the Irish nationalist movement of this period, and investigates to what extent the Irish community in London acknowledged this importance and responded to it. The paper then documents the propaganda campaign launched by Irish nationalists during this period and assesses the impact of public resistance within the host community to the success of this campaign. The analysis also investigates the weight attached by Irish nationalists in London to public displays of loyalty to, and celebration of, the
nationalist political movement in Ireland, and asks what response did they hope for and/or anticipate from the British government in conducting these demonstrations.

This study, in addition, addresses the question of Irish nationalism’s interaction with similarly transgressive movements within London during this period. Was open advocacy of Irish nationalist aspirations exclusive to the Irish community in the city? In addition, to what extent did practices of resistance on the part of the Irish community encourage their involvement, both individually and collectively, in other campaigns of agitation? It also evaluates the British Government’s response to the Irish nationalist threat within its capital city. In a period where authorities were focused on subverting potentially revolutionary organisations, and social unrest was palpable on the streets of London, my study examines how the public authorities assessed Irish nationalists within this context of public disillusionment, and to what degree their exercise of political power inhibited the Irish nationalist movement in London.

Finally, this research will consider the relationship between Irish nationalism, traditionally an ideological expression of rural life and values, and the modernity associated with city life. Did the espousal of rural virtues within nationalist rhetoric impact on the urban London-Irish community’s willingness to participate in political resistance on behalf of the nationalist movement? Ultimately, the paper asks, was London’s urban landscape compatible with the London-Irish campaign of political resistance?

‘How we celebrate the Coronation’: the battle over the decoration and desecration of London’s architecture in 1937

Bronwen Edwards (Leeds Metropolitan University) (b.edwards@leedsmet.ac.uk)

In May 1937, central London prepared its most famous streets with paint, streamers and temporary architectures in preparation for the coronation parade of George VI. The May edition of the Architectural Review carried a pair of coronation-themed articles by Robert Byron and Osbert Lancaster: ‘How we celebrate the Coronation’ and ‘The English way with ceremonial: what have we lost?’. Unlike most of the numerous special editions, full of patriotic and imperial rhetoric, that had become a defining feature of the spectacular and commercialised British coronations during the twentieth century, the Architectural Review critiqued the contrived publicity and commerciality of contemporary culture and design. It also contributed a polemic about the shameful crimes being committed against London’s architectural body by government, landowners and property developers in the coronation year, using the event as a springboard for attacks on the powerful figures who controlled London’s built landscape.

This paper examines why the decoration of London during the coronation was of such concern to readers of the Architectural Review, considering the increasingly coordinated, professionalised and architectural nature of national pageantry during the twentieth century, coordinated carefully by national and local government. It also
draws attention to the problems that arose from the positioning of part of the coronation parade route through London’s principal shopping thoroughfares: Oxford Street and Regent Street. It proved extremely difficult to police the individualistic spectacular practices of the fashionable shops that lined this route. Retailers were well versed in the visual vocabulary of display and decoration, but had very different understandings of English modernity from those of the architects coordinating and critiquing the coronation festivities. This paper considers just how the colourful coronation displays became embroiled in an argument about the modernity of London: about who was controlling it, and what was at risk. It also explores the very vocal concerns raised over the influence of commercial and business interests on London’s fabric, at a moment when architecture and commerce became entangled with coronation spectacle, national life and imperial imaginings.

Trading blows: the role of violence in trade disputes in medieval Great Yarmouth

Janka Rodziewicz (University of East Anglia)
(jdr@cardolan.com)

This paper will investigate a violent trespass committed at night on the Great Yarmouth beaches during the town’s herring fair in 1366. This attack was set against a background of years of feuding between Great Yarmouth and the Cinque Ports over trading rights. Through this example and its connection to the town’s history of feud, this paper will consider how the state and the civic authorities viewed the use of violence in trade disputes. The paper will examine how such violence, in the borough’s interest, might have been more acceptable than attacks over personal trade disputes.

A deplorable case of fraud in fifteenth-century York: a deception perpetrated by John Lilling, mercer

Louise R Wheatley (University of York)
(lrwheatley@gmail.com)

In c.1425 it came to the attention of York’s Civic Council that substandard tin was being forged into decorative shapes for use on belts. Over the course of the investigation, it became apparent that it was the supplier John Lilling, a mercer, who was at fault and not the artisans. Lilling initially denied the allegations but further investigation exposed more deliberate and widespread deception, including the dangerous adulteration of the dye mordant alum with lye. This paper explores Lilling’s fraud in the context of his livelihood as an agent of trade and considers the prosecution in the light of contemporary perceptions of merchants.
Transgressions during periods of dearth

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This paper explores the responses of English civic and central governments during periods of dearth in the later Middle Ages. The outcome of each harvest was of fundamental importance in a pre-industrial economy; as towns relied on the surrounding countryside for their food supplies and raw materials, they were particularly vulnerable at times of shortage. Authorities developed measures to try to prevent the withholding of grain from the market, to avoid the enhancing of prices, and to regulate bakers and grain merchants, as well as related legislation regarding vagrancy and alehouses. There were many parallels between these market regulations and the ideas promoted in sermons and moral texts. The paper concludes by suggesting that civic authorities acted at times of grain shortage to restrict morally unacceptable behaviour and thereby to promote social order.

Division and destruction? The redistribution of land in reformation St Andrews, c.1530-80

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The past four decades have seen increasing research into sixteenth-century Scottish burghs. However, as yet, relatively little work has been undertaken regarding the impact of the Scottish Reformation on urban landownership. This paper will outline the ways in which I hope my research will address this issue by investigating land transactions in the city of St Andrews between 1530 and 1580.

As the seat of an archbishopric and home of the relics of the nation’s patron saint, St Andrews was a major centre for the Catholic Church. Yet, after 1559, the city became regarded as an exemplary Presbyterian community. In St Andrews the Reformation did not merely entail religious change; it necessitated major transformations in the power structures of the burgh. To understand the full extent of the shifts in authority within the city it is vital to consider the economic implications of the Reformation, notably, the redistribution of the Church’s extensive property.

I intend to investigate how the Catholic Church administered its lands within St Andrews prior to the Reformation, and what that may reveal about the relationship between clerics and laity. Knowledge of the landholdings of the pre-reformation church should provide a basis for analysing the extent of the mid sixteenth century redistribution of ecclesiastical lands and illuminate the impact this may have had on St Andrews citizens. Discovering how the St Andrews ecclesiastical estates were divided up, and who benefited from this process, should further our understanding both of the nature of power structures within the burgh, and of the establishment of the Protestant kirk.
The problem of empty plots: urban space and environment in Amsterdam, 1815-40

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After the French troops left Amsterdam in November 1813, both citizens and civic authorities hoped, and many even expected, for the seventeenth-century prosperity to return. Yet the Amsterdam port no longer enjoyed the international pre-eminence it had once possessed and Dutch industry had become outmoded. These economically hard times had severe consequences for the physical fabric of the city. The maintenance of buildings, streets and cays was neglected for decades, and the fabric of the city fell into decay. Especially in poorer neighbourhoods, such as the western Jordaan district and the Jewish quarter, some of the houses were on the verge of collapse. Extra motivated by the gains of the valuable building-material demolition would produce, many citizens decided to tear down their property. During the first decades of the nineteenth century houses, shops, stables and sheds were demolished on an unprecedented scale. As a result empty plots sprang up within the densely populated city. Many of the inhabitants of Amsterdam, as well as the civic authorities, regarded the vacant plots as an important threat to the urban order and environment.

Through a case study of the discussions about the urban fallow, this paper examines the ideas of citizens and civic authorities of Amsterdam about urban space and environment. The discussions between citizens and municipal government about the grand-scale demolitions and its practical consequences offer an interesting opportunity to get a deeper understanding of the experiences, meanings and social norms associated with open empty spaces in the urban fabric. What made the open empty space so problematic and unacceptable? Above that, the regulations and use of the open urban fallow enlighten us about the division between public and private space, and about the shifts that were to take place in this division during the next decades. This paper discusses questions concerning the responsibility of the urban environment and the divisions between public and private space.

Shopping street, central business district and urban ideal: the changing central urban space of Danish provincial cities, 1870-1970

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From the middle of the nineteenth century Danish market towns were industrialising and modernising rapidly. New industrial districts, working-class housing and bourgeois suburbs spread around the old urban cores. These new urban areas have been the subject of much historical research. By contrast, little attention has been given the significant changes taking place at the same time in the central part of the city. During the period 1870-1970 the pre-modern market town centres of mixed
residential, industrial and commercial use were transformed into modern business districts, where night-time population dwindled as shops, offices and clinics occupied building after building. The urban elite abandoned their representative, central residences in favour of a villa in the suburbs. However, the symbolic struggle for dominance of the central urban space was intensified as banks, insurance firms, professionals, retail stores and public buildings competed for attractive urban land. Public authorities increased the control and regulation of the central urban space to ensure the prominence of traffic and consumption. Outsiders such as street hawkers, prostitutes and poor people were restricted from the prime shopping streets where streets and buildings had to live up to certain functional and aesthetic standards.

This paper will approach the complex process of urban transformation through the concept of urban space understood as both a physical and a mental entity. The material or structural approach will deal with the socioeconomic transition in demographic patterns, urban land values and use as well as changing retail structure. The physical changes to the built environment will be highlighting the shifting appearances of city streets and new commercial building types. The mental aspect concerns the varying ideals for and views upon the development of the city centre. The central urban space became an important part of local politics. Associations voicing the interests of property owners, retailers, particular streets, city beautification or preservation tried to influence the local government. On the other hand the municipality tried to affect the attitudes of the citizens. For instance the design of the property tax system encouraged the city centre’s traditional owner-occupiers to think of urban land as a source of rent and intensify land use. Furthermore, as the number of cars rose in the postwar years, the local government took radical measures to ensure accessibility to the centre.

The main object of study is the Danish provincial city of Odense (1970 pop. 130,000) in close comparison with two other large provincial cities of Denmark, Aarhus and Aalborg, and within the broader context of Danish and Northern European urban history. One aim of the study is to supplement the predominant view of the city centre as a medieval relict. The centre and its physical heritage are an integral part of the history of the modern city of the industrial period.

**Imagining Bradford: nation, region, locality and the BBC**

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Media historians, governments and the BBC frequently mention regional and local broadcasting together as though they are one and the same thing. As part of my research focusing on the Yorkshire region to investigate the extent to which over time the BBC – long identified as the nation’s most important cultural institution – has been successful in providing regional and local broadcasting, the city of Bradford will be used as a case study to examine the marginalising of locality in the development not only of national but of regional media cultures.
Despite the opening of BBC local radio stations across the country starting in 1967, the consensus amongst media historians has been that broadcasting was never more local than it was at its beginning. Broadcasting had an early start in Bradford with the opening of the Leeds-Bradford relay station in 1924 but by 1931 this had been closed down and Bradford listeners could choose between the National Programme from London or the Regional Programme from Manchester. The opening of the Holme Moss transmitter in 1951 brought TV to the north of England and in 1968 a new BBC television region based in Leeds was created to serve Yorkshire. Later, BBC local radio stations, most of which ended up providing a county-wide service rather than bringing the BBC to ‘your town’ as intended, were incorporated into this regional structure.

Returning to his hometown with a BBC film crew in 1958, writer and broadcaster J.B. Priestley declared that Bradford was not good enough for Bradfordians. Fifty years on, negative perceptions of Bradford have grown to the extent that they provide a ready definition of the city. This short paper will mainly focus on BBC programmes about the city’s built environment, exploring the extent to which, and why, BBC programme makers – from London or Leeds but almost always outsiders – may have internalised such images, adding to the marginalisation of the city. Bradford’s changing urban landscape is very much part of this story.

Fourteenth-century Prague as a stage for radical preaching

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The fourteenth century saw the city of Prague in the midst of sweeping change. The Holy Roman Emperor Charles IV had established the city as the new capital of the Empire and was actively encouraging its growth. It was the Emperor’s intent that Prague should become the jewel in the crown of the Empire, a beautiful, holy city that would serve as a beacon to all Christians.

This rapidly growing urban milieu was home to the popular and outspoken radical reform preacher Jan Milič z Kroměříže. Milič’s preaching focused upon the need for spiritual reform within the Church and warned of the imminent coming of the Antichrist. Although extremely popular with the townspeople of Prague and favoured by Imperial patronage, Milič was seen by other clergy members in Prague as an adversary whose preaching was incendiary and detrimental to the church.

This paper will argue that Milič used Prague as a stage from which to deliver his radical message of reform and pious works and lend them authority. It is my assertion that his work was allowed to continue unhindered by any city officials or the Bishop of Prague because it was undertaken in the context of a city actively attempting to position itself as a religious leader in Europe. This paper suggests that Milič’s tendency to preach in new churches and religious communities helped to cast his message as modern and forward thinking, rather than provocative and heretical. So successful was Milič’s use of the city as a stage on which to display his ideals that his
adversaries eventually had to appeal to authorities outside of Prague, going to the Pope himself in Avignon, in order to curtail his practice.

The topography of fourteenth-century Prague as a whole, Charles IV’s directives on the expansion of the city, and the areas in which Milič worked, are considered in this paper, establishing the context within which his preaching was undertaken. In particular, the individual churches and religious communities in which Milič preached, their locations and surrounding neighborhoods as well as their dates of construction are considered. Evidence for the paper is drawn from Imperial Bulls (the Bulla Aurae), chronicles (the Chronicon Benesii de Weitmili and the Chronicon Universitatis Pragensis), access to the sites under consideration, and two of Milič’s biographies (the Narricio Myliczyo and the Vita venerabilis presbyteri Milicci).

This paper addresses the conference theme through an examination of the use of display both by government bodies and individuals in a city and its ability to confirm authority even on transgressive ideas.

‘Mis-using their freedoms’: Schemnitz and the problems of introducing a new Bergordnung in sixteenth-century Royal Hungary

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The absolutist tendencies of Holy Roman Emperors Ferdinand and Maximilian can be demonstrated with the introduction of new mining laws in the Erblände, Bohemia and Hungary from the mid to the end of the sixteenth century. These Bergordnungen replaced charters which had been granted in the Middle Ages. The first article of these new Bergordnungen typically confirmed and strengthened the monarch’s right to income from the mines, and expanded on the medieval privileges to include articles concerning social behaviour. The paper will examine the opposition of Schemnitz town council to the introduction of the new mining law in their town. The paper will also demonstrate the limitations of an absolutist policy in an urban setting, an awareness on the part of the court of these limitations, and an ability of a town to use the militarily precarious situation the Habsburgs faced in their central European lands to their own advantage.

The town of Schemnitz (Banská Štiavnica) is situated in the Carpathian Mountains (modern day Slovakia). Known as the ‘silver town’ the mines of Schemnitz were one of the main sources of precious metal for the medieval kingdom of Hungary. Settled by German-speaking miners, probably from Kuttenberg, Bohemia (Kutná Hora, Czech Republic) the hospites received their privileges in the mid-thirteenth

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1 Quotation in title is from Hofkammerarchiv, Vienna, Vermischte Ungarische Gegenstände 9A, fol. 852r.
century. References suggesting the introduction of a new mining law in the area can be found from the 1530s onwards. In the early 1540s the town successfully avoided an attempt to replace the medieval law with a more up to date version, by non-cooperation with the authorities. While simultaneously the town council constantly assures the monarch of its unwavering loyalty, the town representatives fail to turn up for meetings with the royal commissioners, ‘forget’ to answer letters requesting their opinion on a new drafting of the law, and cover for certain members of the council who have found a loophole in the old law, and are avoiding paying taxes for metal sold. The method of protest is one of evasion couched in the terminology of loyalty, and is for a while effective. The court recognises the delicate situation of the introduction of the new law in Schemnitz, and recommends in 1555 that the publication of a new *Bergordnung* be delayed until after the current Ottoman military threat is dealt with. Eventually in 1565 the court publishes a revised *Bergordnung* for the region. More protest leads to two further editions appearing, one in 1571, followed by another in 1573. The paper will discuss the battle the Habsburg court was faced with when attempting to alter the medieval law of Schemnitz, and the necessity of compromise. The paper will be an exploration of the interaction between the court and a town, and the limited success of protest.

**Dublin’s unemployed protest movement (1957-8) and Jack Murphy, ‘the unemployed T.D.’**

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This paper examines unemployed protest in Dublin in the 1950s. Two waves of unemployed agitation occurred in Dublin in that decade, in 1953-54 and in 1957-58, which marked high points in the political mobilisation of the unemployed in Ireland. These campaigns adopted the tropes of unemployed protest that had been used by the Unemployed Workers Movement of Britain through staged demonstrations and co-ordinated ‘marches’. The second campaign went a step further with the election of the chairman of the Unemployed Protest Committee, Jack Murphy, to national parliament at the General Election of 1957. The performative element of the campaign was heightened soon after the election, when Murphy walked out of parliament to lead a three-man hunger strike against the budget.

The paper examines Jack Murphy’s brief and turbulent period in national politics, and offers an analysis of the unemployed protest campaign of 1957-8. The paper draws on author interviews with some of the Protest Committee leadership, personal papers made available by Jack Murphy’s family, contemporary newspapers,

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2 The exact date is unknown, but in 1255 the mining town of Neusohl was granted the privileges of Schemnitz. Therefore Schemnitz received their privileges sometime before 1255.

3 HKA, Vienna, VUG 2A, fols. 186, 191.
and socio-economic statistics for the period. It posits a re-interpretation of Murphy’s resignation based on a re-examination of archival correspondence. It hopes to have significantly developed on the single pamphlet study of the topic to date, and in particular, to have presented a rounded and contextualised treatment of an often deprecated and misunderstood figure, Jack Murphy, ‘the Unemployed T.D.’ (member of parliament).

By the latter 1950s, the ethos that had underpinned national identity and informed economic policy was seen to have failed. Domestic unemployment was subject to sharp fluctuations in the fifties, and a markedly higher standard of living was available to Irish emigrants in Britain and elsewhere at this time. The curtailment of heavy State funding for house-building in Dublin caused a sharp fall-off in the industry. Those laid-off from building sites formed the bedrock of the unemployed protest movement. Urban elements such as the presence of a proletariat, the greater concentration of unemployed at larger labour exchanges, the greater opportunities for publicity, and the existence of anti-establishment networks were critical factors in the unemployed movement that emerged in Dublin.

The unemployed movement was interdependent with the physical geography of the city. It mobilised support among inner-city women raising families in cramped municipal flats and among construction workers laid-off from suburban house-building programmes. The unemployed campaign imposed itself on the cityscape by its theatrical public demonstrations, by white-washing buildings, by posting Murphy’s distinctive silhouette through the constituency, and by making headlines at the city’s newspaper stands. The reorientation of the Irish economy in the latter 1950s was particularly difficult for the poor. The unemployed campaign of 1957-8 played out facets of this pivotal period on the streets of Dublin, in the backroom of the Protest Committee, and in its popular press.

### Shoplifting in eighteenth-century Bristol: crime, social interaction and performance on the shop-floor

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Recent work on polite consumption in eighteenth-century England has emphasised the importance of social interactions in the experience of shopping. Historians such as Helen Berry have shown how shopkeepers’ reliance on credit, and customers’ desire to inspect goods and to treat shopping as a pleasurable activity, meant that the shop was an important arena of encounter, observation and conversation between strangers.

This paper will seek to examine how criminals exploited the conventions of shopping to commit crime. Rather than seeing criminals as passive, unassertive thieves who stole in an opportunistic manner, it will be argued that criminals operated in an *assertive* way. This is to say: they employed their refined understanding of the nature of the retail transaction to gain access to valuable goods, to disrupt the surveillance strategies employed by shop-workers, and to conceal the presence of their crime.
Rather than wait passively for opportunities to arise, criminals created opportunities to shoplift through their ability to perform the role of the legitimate customer. These findings have implications which reach beyond the ‘history of crime’ discipline. By studying the way that criminals exploited the conventions and practices of shopping, we can make new discoveries about the nature of shopping itself. For example, my paper will consider the ways that criminals made use of systems of credit to obtain goods without payment. How they did this – often by pretending to be a servant, or by producing a forged letter from their supposed employer – reveals a great deal about how credit was obtained, who it was given to, and the risks that shopkeepers were prepared to take in giving it. Similarly, the study of shoplifters gives a new perspective on the questions of who could access luxury goods, who participated in shop-based socialising, and who understood the conventions of credit and of fashion. Studying how shopkeepers dealt with credit-based transactions in the anonymous city environment has important wider implications for urban history: for example, we can understand how businesses functioned in the absence of ‘close-knit’ community and economic networks.

These points will be explored through the study of the court records of Bristol in the later eighteenth century. The ‘informations’ (also known as ‘depositions’) which survive in substantial quantity from the city provide an opportunity to study shoplifting using sources which are rich in descriptive content, with the details of crimes being recounted in-depth by the victims themselves. This permits the kind of close-analysis of retail transactions necessary to consider some of the issues discussed above.

**Prostitution in provincial cities in the eighteenth century: between vision and visibility**

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My paper will explore the relationship between prostitutes and authority in Bristol and Nantes in the eighteenth century and how the appropriation of specific areas by prostitutes allowed them to sell their body quite openly.

Practice and condemnation of prostitution involved every class of the society. The prostitute was one of the many figures which created and entertained social interaction between classes. Mentioned and condemned (not always) by the upper middle class and clergy, frequented by popular classes and sometimes born a pauper, the prostitute, even though she would have mainly evolved in popular communities, has also been a source of major concern to legislators. But prosecutions of prostitutes were always a bone of contention between the lower members of the police/authorities, who acted on the field, and the upper middle class who dictated the rules. The vague judicial context surrounding the condemnation of prostitution obliged watchmen, constables and *commissaires* to ‘work from scraps’ and adapt the common rules, even though they went against the inclination of the main authorities to condemn this behaviour.
Three specific locations could be defined as ‘appropriated’ by prostitutes and their customers (mainly sailors in this case): their own room, the public house and the theatre. In each case, disorderly women were little or not at all stigmatised for their trade. So common seemed to be the figure of the prostitute in a port city, that it reached the rank of stereotype. In Nantes, at the opening of the new Vauxhall in 1795, the director, in accordance to the commissaire principal’s order, allowed the filles publiques to be present on the left hand side of the first floor. Therefore, no policeman or constable ever attempted to catch them in this place. Prostitutes were sometimes seen in their own room in the act of selling their body. They were seen in public houses where policemen patrolled. The vision of prostitution by authority was a reality but it became a problem only when prostitutes appeared ‘visible’ and crossed the imaginary bounds of decency and threatened public order. When inebriated or exhibiting their naked body in the streets, the display of their trade was considered as a challenge to morality and authority and became a reason to be jailed.

Streets leading to the port seemed to be the area where prostitution was tolerated by default. Tower Lane and Fisher Lane in Bristol, or the rue des trois marins in Nantes, were known as paths where prostitutes were available. Commissaires and watchmen relinquished their right to go to these streets at night. At the theatre, the prostitutes were allowed entry and had their own place to stay. In public houses, their presence was written down and known by the police. And in these places, the display of their trade and its visibility could not be challenged without creating difficulties. Prostitutes followed the rule of demand and supply the police had to comply with it. Even though Nantes had a more developed and professionalised police than Bristol, the same pattern of compliancy towards prostitutes prevailed in both cities.

**Property, expenditure and business networks under the new poor law in nineteenth-century London**

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This paper presents preliminary findings from an examination into local finances and business practices under the new poor law, the basis of welfare from 1834 to the early twentieth century in England and Wales. In terms of local expenditure, the poor law was often the largest single consumer of goods and services in an area, yet we know relatively little about how it was supplied and the business practices involved. This paper therefore explores the variations in patterns of expenditure in relation to overall rateable value as a means of identifying different types of relief practices in specific types of union. It then examines in more detail a case study of Hackney and its neighbours as a way of understanding business practices involved in running the local poor law.

The amount raised locally for expenditure on the poor by poor law unions – the administrative units comprised of clusters of parishes – was based on a ‘rateable value’ assigned to each property. Rateable value is not an absolute measure of the wealth of a local economy, but varies according to the urban or rural nature of the
area, its level of industrial or agricultural development, its population density and so on.

Roughly one pound in every eleven or twelve of rateable value was spent on the poor by unions on average. Despite this high proportion, there are significant gaps in our understanding of patterns of expenditure. By analysing and mapping rateable value, population size, land area and expenditure on the poor for every union we can begin to fill these gaps. These data are available in Parliamentary Papers including censuses, Parliamentary returns and annual reports of the central government authority, the Poor Law Board.

The amounts spent by unions and the ways in which spending was directed were also dependent on a number of other factors, however. These include the effectiveness of rate collection, the seasonality of poverty in an area and the willingness of the individuals on the union board to spend on particular types of people, for instance. A northern industrialised town would have a very different demographic and economic profile to a rural area in East Anglia, for example, but the proportion of rateable value spent on the poor in each union could be the same, as with Liverpool and Mitford & Launditch in 1870.

Comparing expenditure and rateable value across the country therefore highlights unions for more detailed examination, to investigate why this might be the case. Local records and correspondence with the Poor Law Board can enable the reconstruction of the finances of unions, and this paper examines Hackney and its neighbours in the 1850s. Such investigation reveals how much was spent directly on cash relief, on medical treatment, on salaries and on workhouse supplies such as food, clothing, coal, materials for useless labour in return for relief and so on.

From this can be also be identified the companies and individuals who bid for and won contracts to supply unions. Following these suppliers through poor law and company records can enable a reconstruction of their business networks including their suppliers, their clients and their peers. This can help answer questions about the importance of the poor law within local economies and the national economy as a whole; and about business practices, such as how competitive was tendering, how specialised was poor-law supply or how widespread was fraud.

For the common good? The governance of Birmingham and Edinburgh, c.1820-50

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My thesis is a comparative study of urban governance in the crucial years of reform, 1820 and 1850. It is concerned with the idea of the ‘Common Good’ in Birmingham and Edinburgh. In this paper I contrast the role played by major charitable trusts, schools and hospitals and minor philanthropic ventures, alongside the Street Commission in Birmingham, with Edinburgh’s experience of a Town Council funded by the ‘Common Good’.
Many Scottish burghs had ‘Common Goods’, which originated from the crown, encompassing a range of lands, feu duties, customs, market duties and other traditional rights. These were of substantial value, and in Edinburgh were realised by farming them out to businesses that paid back a fixed sum for the right to collect that duty. This income was set aside for ‘the common good’, under heads of accounts separate from any other revenues. As there was no clear legal definition of what the common good meant, or of how these funds were to be disposed, this was an area of controversy. Some commentators alleged malpractice and poor administration of these funds, for which there was little by way of a statutory framework, for governance and use. How these funds were used to support a range of municipal services reveals a great deal about expectations of local government, and what were legitimate charges on the public purse, and what was considered to be for ‘the welfare of the town’.

In Birmingham, where this ‘Common Good’ income and other institutions of governance were absent, there were fundamentally different expectations of public services. Whilst there was less official governance, other institutions played a greater role in the provision of basic public services. In the gap between the remit of the Street Commission, and the scope of a Corporation’s activity, a number of charities operated, caring for the old, the sick and the incapacitated. Major trusts such as Lench’s Charity were substantial landholders, which they used for almshouses, the maintenance of bridges, and the paving of streets. Whilst there were also charities in Edinburgh, they were much more significant in Birmingham as they were often the major actor in any one given area. Charities, by law, had to achieve some kind of public benefit, in the same way in which a ‘Common Good’ was supposed to operate.

Whilst Birmingham’s inhabitants had to find different ways to pay for public services in the context of English *laissez-faire* attitudes, in Scotland the ‘Common Good’ was used, leaving inhabitants with much higher expectations of government. This uncovers a distinctive pattern of urban governance. In this paper, as well as outlining my study, I will also explain the location of the ‘Common Good’ in political debate about urban governance and reforms.

**From Richmond to Rio: urban slave resistance and control in Brazil and the United States**

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This paper is concerned with issues of slave resistance, crime control, and urbanization in nineteenth-century Brazil and the southern United States. Drawing primarily on evidence from Richmond, Virginia, and Savannah, Georgia, in the U.S., and Rio de Janeiro and Salvador in Brazil, the paper explores the challenges slaveholders faced in maintaining slave discipline in city environments at a time when the enslaved were a declining minority of rapidly expanding urban populations. Through a comparative analysis, the paper explores two main issues. First, it considers developments in forms and cultures of urban slave resistance and control that were driven throughout the Americas by distinctive urban slave labour demands, the nature of the urban built
environment, the transience and ethnic and class diversity of free urban communities, and the trade networks that enmeshed slave cities within cultural and economic networks that reached throughout the Atlantic world and facilitated the exchange of goods, peoples, and ideas. As cities compromised slaveholder authority, the state necessarily assumed a primary role in policing urban slave conduct and prisons and police forces became pervasive features of urban landscapes across slaveholding regions of the Americas. What is more, in the cities of both Brazil and the United States mechanisms of slave control were informed by similar cultural norms and ideas about punishment and violence. In this light, slave cities challenge historiographical frameworks that interpret the distinct legal traditions and racial attitudes of Iberian and English settlers as the basis for fundamentally different forms of slavery in North and Latin America.

The second part of the paper considers how regional and national contexts – including dominant racial ideologies, legal systems, and issues of political economy – impacted on the regulation of free urban populations that was integral to policing the enslaved in city spaces where interracial communities flourished. In Brazilian cities, forms of slave policing and punishment merged with oppressive measures used to regulate the free population to create an authoritarian system of control that was enforced against all lower class city residents. By contrast, in the United States, municipal authorities struggled to reconcile local justice systems based explicitly on race and slavery with the crime control needs of urban societies that were increasingly characterised by social disorder and class divisions among the free population. As such, although slave resistance was invariably most extensive and threatening to slaveholders in the cities of Brazil, slave control posed unique ideological challenges to urban slaveholders in the southern United States.

‘A great city is a great study’: growth politics, radicalism and the struggle over understanding urbanisation in a Civil War-era American metropolis

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In mid-nineteenth century Philadelphia urban boosters elided concerns over growing social and spatial divisions by insisting urban development benefited every sector of the population. The booming real estate market, they argued, benefited the building trades, drew capital to the area, and opened access to the property market to the ‘labouring classes’. Philadelphia therefore became (to borrow the phrase of one recent historian) a ‘middle-class city’ in which the extremes of wealth and poverty were invisible. Widely accepted by the press and political and business elites this way of understanding the urban process in the rapidly industrialising metropolis – which had a national parallel in the developmental politics of the Republican party – acquired almost hegemonic power. Its adherents envisaged a growth coalition uniting employer and employee in building the city upwards and outwards.
My paper explores how Philadelphians on the margins of this coalition challenged growth politics. The existence of poor neighbourhoods characterised by overcrowding, disease, and violence were impossible to miss to even the most sanguine of boosters; so too were the luxury mansions erected in the fashionable West End of the city and its romantic suburbs. Middle-class reformers, though frightened by the ‘plague-spots’, tried to cast them as the last vestiges of a city fast disappearing under the progressive hand of the builder. The houses of the wealthy on the other hand were celebrated as the physical embodiment of the city’s dynamic growth. But novelists and radicals tried to insist instead that unequal development was the inevitable consequence of capitalist urban development. Drawing on the labour theory of value to argue the built environment was the sum total of workingmen’s endeavours, they forged a transgressive way of knowing the city that read the new metropolis more as a landscape of exploitation than of opportunity.

I therefore argue that beyond conflict at the point of production there was also a struggle over how to make sense of the urban process. A rival sociology of metropolitan development, emphasising conflict over consensus, continually challenged the hegemonic claims of growth advocates, and provided an intellectual rationale for radicals’ claims that any answer to the ‘labour question’ had to address the inequities of the city’s spatial development.

**Faith in the antebellum urban spatial order**

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When John Bornet drafted his ‘Panorama of Manhattan Island’ in 1854, one of the first bird’s-eye views of New York City, he contrasted the horizontal regularity of the city’s gridded streets with the vertical thrust of the steeples and spires of its churches. Each demonstrated a kind of authority over the landscape: what we might crassly label the rationality of the street and the irrationality of the spirit. That sort of thinking pervades the histories that have been written of New York since Bornet’s time, histories where the gridded streets are omnipresent, but the churches are little explored at best.

This paper explores the intersection of faith and space in the city. Rather than seeing the city as merely a stage on which actions play out, I am interested in the ways in which the spaces of the cities not just reflect, display, or contain the cultural meanings and social forms of urban dwellers but are invested with the power to generate new meanings and forms. When the Commissioners unveiled their famous plan for the city in 1811, New Yorkers celebrated the promise of what the grid could offer to the city’s future. As the work of Dell Upton and other historians have shown, the plan for a grid offered a vision of urban society as a system that could be reformed and reorganised into a single, centralised, rational order. New York’s religious community – evangelicals especially – enthusiastically embraced that vision and set to work using it to fulfil their ambitions of populating the city with churches and converting its inhabitants.
Before long, however, it became apparent that there were limits to what the grid could actually deliver. Pulling back to consider the period from 1760 to 1860 makes clear that antebellum New York’s gridded landscape displaced, but could not escape, a conception of space that derived its authority less from rationality and more from symbolic power. By the late 1840s, as people grew disenchanted with the limitations of rational planning, this earlier conception re-emerged, offering its own strategies of resistance. The city’s religious landscape offers a particularly useful lens for understanding this process because it initially embraced (and later resisted) both spatial orders: the symbolic order privileged moral meanings and the linking of economic, political, and spiritual power while the rational order promised to remove barriers to citywide conversion.

**Everyday life micro-scale transgressions and mediations in Ottoman cities: individuals and the social value of urban space**

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Social order in an Ottoman urban context is often understood as the sum of various rules and norms: a general context of Islamic and Imperial precepts, and a hierarchy of institutional precepts pertaining to the various scales of the exercise of power: city, confessional community, guild, quarter, street, family. There were also implicit norms which defined the relationship between the individual, society and the urban space: behavioural, etiquette, language, dress code. The problem is that such a vision tends to induce a certain dimension of rigidity: the city tends to be seen as the juxtaposition of places marked by certain rules and norms. In an old regime situation, the concept of superposition might help introducing nuance into the picture. But the one of microcosm and the study of micro-scale transgressions might also help refine the perception of the presence of social order upon and within individuals and space.

Micro transgressions are here conceived as all the apparently innocent actions an individual might take in contrast to the given order as seen in its (false) stability in common views: a Jewish merchant crossing a Muslim quarter, a Women alone at night in the street, a Muslim in a Christian Tavern, a Butcher in the street of the guild of the Jewellers … .All these everyday life situations, which sometimes as they break implicit rules create incidents (and archival records), but which also constitute the banality of urban life and are a source of inter-group mediation, reveal a more complex dimension of the relationship of the individual with space: changing according to the context, the place, the time. Space then can be seen not only as a passive theatre, but also as an active feature of the definition of urban individual and collective identities. Based upon a reading of various urban chronicles (these old regime civic annals of urban life many ottoman cities are rich of), and of petitions pertaining to conflicts deriving from such situations, this papers intends to explore, from Tunis to Cairo and from Aleppo to Istanbul the dimension of complexity of the relationship between individuals and the urban space and contribute to the present deconstruction of mechanist visions of the Ottoman city.
Diversity, urban space and labour control in nineteenth-century Istanbul

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The diversity of its inhabitants made Ottoman Istanbul look like a microcosm of the whole Empire. Because of its symbolic position as the capital, it was of particular importance that the government surveyed and pushed through their interpretation of social norms. In the course of the nineteenth century it acquired new means of control to do so. One group under special scrutiny was constituted of workers from the provinces who came without their families to the capital to earn a living. In many instances the authorities intervened when public morals were supposed to be threatened by these groups of potentially unruly young men. A spatial segregation from the resident city population was upheld by custom and through the legal system.

While the stage where the regular city population acted out its social relations were the quarters (mahalle), provincial workers who, in theory, were banned from there had to find other places to live their social life. Normally this life turned around the group of fellows from their home region on which these workers were very much dependent. In certain cases these solidarity groups could crosscut religious divides. In their daily lives, on the streets, in coffee houses or in workers’ inns, they could act out the particularities of these regionally defined groups (their attire, foods, languages, songs etc.). The open display of difference by these groups of workers gave nineteenth-century Istanbul much of its diverse character that was especially noted by European travellers. Owing to the imperial tradition of governance the display of this kind of difference until the very end of the empire was not an issue of either transgression or control. Only with the rise of nationalism in the twentieth century, did cultural differences become politicised to the extent that differences among Istanbul inhabitants were pushed under the surface of public life.

Street children as a transgression in the new bourgeois urban space: juvenile delinquency, public order and philanthropy in the late Ottoman Empire

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In the nineteenth century, the ‘dangerous child’ began to occupy a significant place in international public opinion and entered the agenda of the elites and the states. There was public anxiety about poor children occupying newly expanding urban public spaces, when they should be, according to middle-class opinion, in school, the family home, the farm, and the factory or workshop. In the Ottoman case, although urbanisation and industrialisation were not at a comparable level to that of Europe, Ottoman reformers and experts developed similar concerns towards children insofar as they followed the Western discourses of public order and disciplining of the period.
This paper focuses on the introduction and spread of juvenile ‘reformatories’ (islâhhânes) in the Ottoman Empire. After the establishment of the first such institutions in the early 1860s, the late nineteenth century witnessed the mushrooming of the institution, such that more than thirty reformatories were opened within two decades. Apparently, the increased pace of urbanisation and migration to the cities were thought to be creating social problems, such as begging, vagabondage, and vagrancy. Moreover, there were new discursive developments such as the emphasis on security and order as well as increasing importance attached to industrial productivity.

Together with emphasis on pity and affection for their misery, children engaged in any activity on the streets were readily seen as the chief source of crime and pauperism in the cities, as potential delinquents and risked being treated as such. One of the most significant crimes they committed was to wander in the streets and perform ‘the ugly act of begging’. In fact neither wandering nor begging were crimes in themselves until the 1890s and vagrant children in the streets were considered criminal without being charged with a specific offence. Given the fact that begging used to be a recognised Ottoman ‘occupation’ with even a guild of its own, concern and criticism about beggars and vagrants in urban areas was a very novel and imported discourse, introduced and disseminated by expert opinion.

The change of discourse was partially related to increasing circulation of commercial goods in and around cities and it was linked with new conception of urban areas and modern governance. The municipality and police assumed, with the interference and influence of local notables, the protection of the local community of commerce. Street children, who could potentially become productive artisans or labourers, were instead joining the ranks of ‘infamous vagabonds’ of the cities. In that sense, reformatories were necessary to drive them into a proper livelihood, before their age turns out to become an impediment.

As children were perceived as a form of threat for the order and security of the cities and their ‘working, tax-paying, and respectable’ inhabitants, it was argued that they should be cleared from urban spaces. Claiming that ‘a modern state’ should both protect children from danger and protect society from dangerous children, there was a compulsive and brutal activity of ‘child collection’ and incarceration in the second half of nineteenth century in major cities of the Empire.

Though most descriptions of quasi-criminal bands of children in city streets refer specifically to boys, girls were also threatened and threatening, most significantly in moral terms. Lower-class girls were seen as the target of sexual predators when they occupied public spaces. Girls were in danger because of their sexuality, while that same sexuality posed a corrupting threat to society in general. To protect girls from sexual abuse and the presumed attractions of a life of prostitution, corrective institutions for girls were conceived as a necessity in order to keep them under discipline and to protect them from demeanour. Interestingly, the legitimisation for opening girls’ orphanages was always tied to the morality, order, and safety of the urban space, instead of evoking pity for the girls.

Primarily based on the Prime Ministry’s Ottoman Archives, Ottoman Educational and Provincial Yearbooks, and French diplomatic archives, this research aims at analysing this large network of Ottoman juvenile reformatories, which targeted
the disciplining of the orphan and destitute children of the Empire on a very large geographical scale. As one of the first researches on the discourses and policies regarding juvenile delinquency in the Ottoman Empire, this paper focuses on the appearance and re-formulation of skill training and vocational education as a significant intersection point of order-keeping in the urban centres, by removing the children and youth of the urban poor from the streets, and the aim of progress in urban economic activity, by turning ‘idle and wandering children’ into skilled and productive labourers.

**When history meets geography: mapping made simple**

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In urban history especially, and indeed throughout the humanities and social sciences, a significant volume of data is held as an address, or as an area, such as a registration district or ward. We even talk of post codes when referring to differential levels of contemporary health provision or motor insurance. However, at all academic levels, from undergraduate projects to advanced post-doctoral research, the spatial dimension of historical analysis is often under-utilised by urban historians because the learning curve of Geographical Information Systems (GIS) is fierce for non-specialists. To have an accessible tool to map historical data for GIS novices would thus transform the research and teaching potential for many who are currently deterred by the steep investment of learning GIS.

This presentation will introduce new tools currently being developed at Edinburgh as part of an AHRC Knowledge Transfer project in collaboration with the National Library of Scotland’s Map Collection. It will demonstrate how a simple tool can provide you with a spatial distribution of your data – probably in about 10 minutes. Furthermore, if your university or local library has a digitised, geo-referenced historical map, you can superimpose your data on it fairly easily. The presentation is an attempt to encourage urban historians to develop a methodological approach that has recently become easily adaptable to individual research projects.