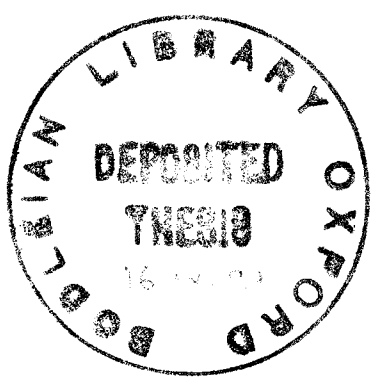
THE HOSPITALS OF LONDON

THE HOSPITALS OF LONDON:

ADMINISTRATION, REFOUNDATION, AND BENEFACTION, c.1500 - 1572

A THESIS
SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN HISTORY

THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD



Christopher Thomas Daly
Jesus College, Oxford
Michaelmas Term, 1993

For my mother and in memory of my father

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract I vii

Abstract II viii

Acknowledgements xv

List of Abbreviations xvii

Introduction 2

I. The Medieval Hospitals of London 10
1) Late-Medieval Hospitals (p. 13)
2) The Foundation and Early History of St. Bartholomew's (p. 25)
3) The Hospital of the Savoy: A Late-Medieval Foundation (p. 37)

II. The Hospitals of London in the Decades before the Reformation 45
1) St. Bartholomew's Hospital and Criticisms of the Monastic System: 1500-1536 (p. 46)
2) Ideas of Poor Relief and Hospital Reform in London: 1530-1536 (p. 54)
3) Attacks on the Hospitals of London: 1535-1540 (p. 63)
4) Initial Attempts of the City to Take Possession of Monastic Properties (p. 70)

III. Charity and the Mid-Tudor Commonwealth 75
1) The Building of a Christian Commonwealth in England: c.1535-1550 (p. 78)
2) London and Its Place in the Commonwealth (p. 86)
3) The Ideals of the Commonwealth and the Use of Church Wealth: The Dissolutions under Henry VIII (p. 91)
4) The Court of a Godly King: Edward VI and the Triumph of Protestantism (p. 103)

IV. London and the Poor in the Sixteenth Century 112
1) The Social and Political Framework of London's Government (p. 113)
2) London and the March of the Poor (p. 117)
3) Social Experimentation Abroad and English Reflections on Foreign Hospital Systems (p. 133)

V. The Refoundation of the Hospitals - Part I: St. Bartholomew's Hospital, 1544 - 1547 144
1) St. Bartholomew's Hospital: 1544-1546 (p. 146)
2) Negotiations between the Crown and City: 1546-1547 (p. 149)

VI. St. Bartholomew's Hospital: 1547 - 1572 160
1) St. Bartholomew's and the City: 1547-1552 (p. 160)
2) The Structure of the Government of the Hospital (p. 173)
3) The Care of Patients at St. Bartholomew's Hospital (p. 182)
4) Estate and Business Affairs of St. Bartholomew's Hospital (p. 190)
5) The Medical Officers at St. Bartholomew's Hospital (p. 193)
6) Staff and Patient Life within the Hospital (p. 200)

VII. The Refoundation of the Hospitals - Part II:
Christ's, St. Thomas's, and Bridewell Hospitals 204
1) King Edward VI, Bishop Ridley, and the Governors of the City:
New Strategies for the Relief of the Poor (p. 206)
2) The Royal Grants of 1552 (p. 210)
3) The Gift of Bridewell Palace (p. 221)
4) Challenges to the Hospitals from the Marian Regime:
1553-1558 (p. 226)

VIII. St. Thomas's Hospital - Part I 244
1) Southwark and the Hospital of St. Thomas (p. 244)
2) Procedures for the Entry of Patients (p. 258)
3) Patronage and Sponsorship of Patients (p. 264)
4) The Contributions of Patients to Daily Life at St. Thomas's (p. 275)

IX. St. Thomas's Hospital - Part II 283
1) The Government and Administration of St. Thomas's (p. 283)
2) Discipline of the Staff and Patients of St. Thomas's (p. 289)
3) Patient Numbers and the Business Concerns of the Hospital (p. 296)
4) The Care of Patients and Terms of Dismissal (p. 300)
5) Legacies to the Hospital and the Finances of St. Thomas's (p. 308)

X. Christ's Hospital: 1552 - 1572 313
1) The Children of Christ's: Processions and Appearances
in Public (p. 313)
2) Moral Tuition, Education, and Training of the
Children of Christ's Hospital (p. 318)
3) Apprenticeships Monitored by the Rulers of Christ's Hospital (p. 327)
4) The Court of Christ's and its Jurisdiction in
Cases of Sexual Offenses and Abuse of Apprentices (p. 333)
5) The Finances of the House and Relations with City Parishes (p. 339)
6) Policies for Admissions, and the Problem of Abandonment (p. 347)

Conclusion 361

Appendix I - Patients and Dieters in St. Thomas's Hospital: 1566 - 1571 365

Appendix II - Medications from the Records of St. Thomas's Hospital 369

Appendix III - Admission of Children to Christ's Hospital: 1552 - 1573 370

Bibliography 372
Primary Sources in Manuscript (p. 372)
Printed Primary Sources (p. 376)
Printed Secondary Sources (p. 387)
Articles (p. 400)
Dissertations and Theses (p. 410)

ABSTRACT I

for

THE HOSPITALS OF LONDON:

ADMINISTRATION, REFOUNDATION, AND BENEFACTION, c.1500 - 1572

by

Christopher Thomas Daly
Jesus College, Oxford

A THESIS
SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN HISTORY
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Michaelmas Term, 1993

This thesis studies the organisation and government of the hospitals of London in the first three quarters of the sixteenth century. Particular emphasis is laid on the changes in the network of church-affiliated hospitals during the period of the Dissolution of the Monasteries, and the subsequent reorganisation of several of these institutions in the reign of Edward VI. Mainly through the use of the contemporary records of the hospitals and the City, the different but complementary functions of St. Bartholomew's, St. Thomas's, and Christ's Hospitals are analysed over the span of the first twenty-five years after their reorganisation. The implementation of the Elizabethan Poor Laws in 1572 is adopted as the terminus point for this study.

In 1547, the Crown ceded to the City control over St. Bartholomew's Hospital and Bethlem Hospital. In 1552, the City also successfully negotiated with the royal government for possession of St. Thomas's Hospital, Christ's Hospital, and Bridewell. All of these institutions were administered by the City, and each had distinctive tasks, which included the general tending of the sick (St. Bartholomew's and St. Thomas's), treatment of the mentally disturbed (Bethlem), the care and education of the children of the poor of London (Christ's), and the incarceration and rehabilitation of the idle poor (Bridewell). St. Bartholomew's, St. Thomas's, and Christ's are studied in depth. This thesis attempts to demonstrate the way in which these hospitals fit into the larger efforts of the government of the City to combat poverty, stem the flow of the poor into London, provide wide access to institutional care, and reduce the risks of crime, social friction, and the spread of communicable diseases. The problems of funding these institutions were severe and persistent for much of the sixteenth century; demand for a place within one of the hospitals frequently exceeded capacity. However, the promises the hospitals of London made of helping the poor in ways both pragmatic and compassionate ensured that they remained institutions of intense interest and growing civic pride to all ranks of residents within the metropolis.

ABSTRACT II

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This thesis examines the role played by several of the larger hospitals in London from the beginning of the sixteenth century until the formulation of the Elizabethan Poor Laws in 1572. Hospitals in London played a pivotal role in providing care, nourishment, rest, and an orderly environment for sick people since medieval times. However, the revolutionary social, economic, and political changes of the English Reformation hastened the demise of church-affiliated hospitals, and helped to inspire the creation of City-run entities that could cope with changing demographic situations.

The hospitals of London in the second half of the sixteenth century attempted to satisfy needs which arose from the social problems troubling the capital. The difficulties that confronted Londoners were numerous, and included poverty, unemployment, underemployment, the migration of the poor from the countryside, the spread of infectious diseases, homelessness, increasing disparities and tensions between rich and poor residents, and the disorder, vices, and crime which accompanied rapid increases in urban population. All these dilemmas had their origins in the first half of the century, or even earlier, but contemporaries felt they were particularly virulent from the mid-century onward. Ordinary citizens and royal and civic officials feared that if these problems were not eliminated, or at least the intensity of them

sharply reduced, the pressures on the political framework of the metropolis might prove explosive.

Chapter I contains an analysis of some of the general problems faced by hospitals in England during the later medieval period. The origins of two hospitals are examined. St. Bartholomew's in West Smithfield was founded in 1123 by Rahere. It was run by the Austin Canons. St. Bartholomew's illustrates the general nature of the hospitals of that period: its primary duties were to isolate the diseased, to provide housing for pilgrims, to care for unwed mothers, to give alms to the poor, and generally to care for "Christ's poor." One of its long-term problems was that its original endowment was insufficient to meet the demands placed upon it by its clients and by its managers.

The other hospital examined is the Hospital of the Blessed Jesus of the Savoy. Henry VII provided funds for its construction in 1505. The Savoy illustrates the changing nature of hospitals by the end of the period; it was designed specifically to care for the sick, as well as to perform the more traditional functions discussed above. It was loosely affiliated with Westminster Abbey. This hospital, in contrast to St. Bartholomew's, was very richly endowed. Orders were devised for the governance of the house in 1523: they show an organisation recognizably 'modern,' with officers having clearly defined tasks.

It was often charged by the Protestant Reformers that the medieval hospitals had significantly departed from their founders' intentions and had, in many instances, become in effect sinecures for their officers and staffs. These case studies do not entirely bear out these charges. In the period immediately preceding the Dissolution of the Monasteries, St. Bartholomew's appears to have been carrying out its founder's intentions, albeit in straitened circumstances. The Savoy was a new hospital and seemed to be functioning as expected; a decline in standards and services would come only after the period of the Reformation in England.

Chapter II is a more detailed examination of St. Bartholomew's Hospital in the decades immediately preceding the Dissolution. This chapter also presents the general debate current among sixteenth-century intellectuals and reformers concerning methods of poor relief and hospital reform. In 1533, one of the ideas proposed was to establish a hospital in London under lay control. This plan did not materialise, but as will be seen, ideas like it became more and more prominent as the 1530s progressed. The chapter concludes with an exposition of the attacks made by the Crown on the church-run hospitals.

Chapter III discusses the intellectual climate in England which led to lively debate about the social and moral problems of the day. By the time of the Reformation, important social critics and activists--both clerical and secular--had begun to establish the ethical underpinnings for a new Christian Commonwealth in the kingdom. With regard to social policy, the Reformers wished to rebuild England as a society that lived by the Golden Rule and acknowledged the poor as reflecting the image of Christ. The seizure of church lands and properties, and the opportunities to begin to redefine church teachings seemed to offer reformers a chance to reshape the attitudes of people in every station in life. They felt that the old church had forgotten its mission towards the poor, and in London they wished to re-establish the hospitals using the endowments of the monastic foundations. Many of these endowments had been dissipated following the Dissolution, passing from the Crown to courtiers and local officials. Both social critics and the ruling elite of the City wanted the hospitals to be under secular control.

Chapter IV surveys the problems confronting London in the first half of the century. Economic dislocations in the countryside brought indigent persons to the great metropolis seeking a better life. For many poor immigrants, London proved to be a town of rude awakenings; both before and after the Reformation, newcomers discovered that the social services offered them were minimal, and at times inadequate. Social commentators also worried about growing disparities between the very rich, and the more numerous poor. As London experienced

decade after decade of population expansion, the governors of London felt that the demands which immigrants to the City placed on traditional agencies of poor relief like parish churches and outdoor doles were untenable. After the organisations of relief provided by the old church had been dismantled, the City government found it even more difficult to cope with the growing numbers of poor. Essentially, there were only the parishes, the livery companies, and one's friends and relatives to offer help in times of distress; for non-native residents, it was difficult to make claims on any of these. In the search for more sensible outlets of poor relief which could ameliorate suffering and want without fostering dependency, or invite more migration from the provinces, the city fathers looked to Europe, and especially to Northern Italy, for examples of how these problems could more effectively be met.

Chapter V deals with the negotiations between the Crown and the City between 1544 to 1547 looking toward reestablishment of the hospitals. The expectations of those seeking a Christian Commonwealth were not being met; the situation of the poor seemed to be getting worse. Accordingly, the city fathers maintained pressure to gain some concessions from the Crown regarding the seized monastic properties. One consequence of this was the refoundation of St. Bartholomew's Hospital in 1544; however, the City remained unsatisfied with the conditions of refoundation in that they had to share control with religious overseers. In 1546/7, the City renegotiated the refoundation so that it took full control of the hospital. Negotiations between Crown and City were protracted, but ultimately successful for London, and the City acquired control over Bethlem Hospital as well as St. Bartholomew's. The major source of funding for St. Bartholomew's was returned monastic properties of the old Priory and Hospital.

Chapter VI discusses the government of St. Bartholomew's from 1547 to 1572. The rules and methods of governance which were set up came to be a model for the other hospitals. Of special importance in this regard was the *Order of the Hospital of St. Bartholomew's in West Smithfield in London*, published in 1552. This explanatory work mentions the presence

of regular medical personnel for the first time. This and other provisions of the *Order* make it clear that hospitals were assuming more and more a medical function. Each governor was given a specific area of responsibility; this seems to have been a particularly effective reform.

Like the City hospitals that would come later, St. Bartholomew's served many purposes within the City. It offered a clean environment, good nourishment and rest, medical care, and a reasonably disciplined environment for sick poor people: the illnesses treated by its staff ranged from tending relatively straightforward cases of trauma induced from bruises, abrasions, burns, and flesh wounds to confronting more complicated and disabling maladies like venereal infections. The hospital also provided limited financial relief to those dismissed from its gates. It tried to ensure that those who were not originally from the City, and who had no means of support there, were returned to their place of origins once the hospital did what it could for them. Disciplinary officers of St. Bartholomew's, and eventually of the other hospitals, aided other City and parish officers in patrolling the streets, keeping watch against vagrants, homeless people, and the diseased poor.

Chapter VII narrates the refoundation of St. Thomas's Hospital, and the creation of Christ's, and Bridewell Hospitals. By 1552 it had become clear that St. Bartholomew's alone could not begin to cope with the problem faced by the City. The negotiations for these hospitals were facilitated by a more complaisant king, Edward VI, and a better attitude at Court. Preachers at court also played an important role in making the City's case that it needed more tools to deal with its poor: the City's case was further strengthened by the sensitivity of the regimes of the two regents of Edward VI to threats of disorder, particularly within the capital. The accommodating attitude of the court did not last beyond Edward VI's life, however. Mary Tudor was deeply suspicious of charitable institutions unconnected with her Church. The remainder of the chapter deals with some of the challenges posed by the regime of Queen Mary I to the refounded hospitals. Since Mary ruled for only five years, her unfavourable atti-

tude did not produce lasting damage, nor did royal hostility have any discernible effect on the widespread support the urban hospitals enjoyed among the citizenry.

Chapters VIII and IX supply a detailed study of St. Thomas's Hospital. It was located in Southwark, which in 1550 was incorporated into London. St. Thomas's, like St. Bartholomew's, primarily treated sick people. This is the hospital most adequately described by contemporary records. Despite the fact that it was a medical hospital, the main concern of the Governors seems to have been keeping discipline, among staff and patients alike. Another concern was to restrict the number of patients, since the demands for its service almost always exceeded its capacity. The problem of capacity was exacerbated by the custom of the day which allowed important people to gain admittance for their dependents; the Governors attempted to deal with this problem by developing procedures which centralised admissions. St. Thomas's was financed by revenues from the properties of the old Savoy Hospital, private donations, and properties of the former hospital before the Dissolution.

Chapter X deals with Christ's Hospital, which was primarily an orphanage. Because its functions differed significantly from the other major hospitals, and because its patrons and the citizenry-at-large regarded Christ's in a different light from St. Bartholomew's and St. Thomas's, it is presented last.

No doubt because it helped the children of the City most in need, it occupied a special position in the affections of the people of London. The Aldermanic Council took advantage of this fact, using processions of the orphans and other public appearances to soften the hearts and open the purses of the populace. The hospital was established for the orphaned children of Londoners, as well as for the children of financially overburdened people. The medical functions of the house were of secondary importance: the governors of Christ's made their arguments for support on the basis of the healthy, wholesome environment they provided, and on the sense of direction and education they provided poor children. In this, Christ's was like Bridewell, which started out as a work house *cum* rehabilitation centre, and would ultimately

end up as a prison for vagrants, prostitutes, and other non-violent offenders. While Christ's occupied the site of the old Grey Friars monastery, it did not get the bulk of the endowments which supported the old monastery. That is why it was particularly reliant on the generosity of the people of London; it also enjoyed the fruits of a parish levy.

The mission of Christ's Hospital was especially important to the City's policies because of the number of abandoned children in London. These included not only native Londoners but many children from other parts of England who were stranded in the City. The hospital gave these children a bed and board, an education, and found them an apprenticeship or a job. Rulers of the City worried that the existence of Christ's actually encouraged people from the provinces to bring their unwanted children into the City, with the assurances that the hospital could not reject them if they were abandoned. The governors of Christ's therefore took a keen interest in problems of abandonment of children and of promiscuity among the poor; their concerns reflected the worries of the rulers of London that moral standards were continually being eroded, with dire consequences to honest citizens and the stability of the City. The court at Christ's ruled in cases in these matters, as well as in problems which arose between craftsmen and their apprentices who had been formerly associated with Christ's.

The City of London faced many threats throughout the sixteenth century. While the City indisputably prospered in its accustomed role as the economic and political heart of the kingdom, its citizenry and government still struggled to cope with the needs of the poor. London was also troubled by the strains of the religious and political controversies of the day. For these reasons, the political and social cohesiveness of the capital was at times imperiled. The City's capacity to control, reorganise, and direct St. Bartholomew's, Christ's, St. Thomas's, and to a lesser degree, Bridewell, and Bethlem in the second half of the century gave the urban polity instruments it needed in the long but ultimately successful struggle to uphold unity and stability within a metropolis gripped by prolonged and painful spurts of growth.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Perhaps the most satisfying aspect of undertaking a project which I have been painfully slow in bringing to completion is looking back on the very many instances of kindness and friendship I have been shown throughout the process. I am greatly indebted to the efforts of the staffs of the libraries and archives I worked in; special assistance was given to me in Bethlem Royal Hospital in Beckenham, Kent, the Public Record Office in London, the Guildhall Library, the Corporation of London Records Office, the Greater London Records Office, the Guildhall Library, St. Bartholomew's Hospital, the Library of Cambridge University, the Francis Drexel Library at St. Joseph's University in Philadelphia, the Mormon Genealogical Center in Broomall, Pennsylvania, the Van Pelt Library and Rare Books Room at the University of Pennsylvania, the Law Library at the Library of Congress in Washington, D.C., and the Muniments Room at Westminster Abbey.

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The hard work and unceasing care of my parents have made so many things possible for me: anything good I accomplish is thanks to them. In particular, my mother has been extremely helpful, assisting me in so many practical matters and especially in proofreading and in assembling the bibliography. My father was with me at the beginning of this task, and it is a profound source of sadness that he did not live to see its completion. Still, his memory is always with me, and so it is to my father and mother's goodness that I dedicate this study.

LIST OF COMMONLY USED ABBREVIATIONS

APC	*Acts of the Privy Council of England*, 32 vols. J.R. Dasent, ed. London: 1890-1907.
AHR	*Agricultural History Review.*
B.L.	British Library, London.
Bodl. Lib.	Bodleian Library, Oxford.
CJ	*Journals of the House of Commons.*
C.L.R.O.	Corporation of London Records Office.
CPR	*Calendar of Patent Rolls*, Edward VI, Mary, and Elizabeth. London: 1924-1939.
CSP, Dom.	*Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series.*
CSP, Sp.	*Calendar of State Papers, Spanish*, 13 vols., G.A. Bergenroth, *et al.*, eds. London: 1862-1964.
CSP, Ven.	*Calendar of State Papers, Venetian.*
DNB	*Dictionary of National Biography*, 63 vols. London: 1885-1900.
EETS	*Early English Text Society.*
EHR	*English Historical Review.*
G.L.	Guildhall Library, London.
G.L.R.O.	Greater London Records Office.
HJ	*The Historical Journal.*
HMC	Historical Manuscripts Commission.
JEH	*The Journal of Ecclesiastical History.*
Journal	Journal of the Court of Common Council, London.
LJ	*Journals of the House of Lords.*
LPFD	*Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, of the Reign of Henry VIII*, 21 vols. and addenda, J.S. Brewer, J. Gairdner, R.H. Brodie, *et al.*, eds. London: 1862-1932.
Parl.	Parliamentary.
PCC	Prerogative Court of Canterbury Wills.
P.R.O.	Public Records Office, London.
Rep.	Repertory of the Court of Aldermen, London.
S.B.H.	Saint Bartholomew's Hospital, London.
SP	State Papers.
SR	*Statutes of the Realm*, 11 vols., A. Luders, *et al.*, eds. London: 1810-1828.
STC	*A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and of English Books Printed Abroad, 1475-1640*, A.W. Pollard and G.R. Redgrave, eds. London: 1926; vol. 2 of second edition, W.A. Jackson, F.S. Ferguson, K.F. Pantzer, eds. London: 1976.
TED	*Tudor Economic Documents*, 3 vols., R.H. Tawney and E. Powers, eds. London: 1924.
TRHS	*Transactions of the Royal Historical Society.*

TRP	*Tudor Royal Proclamations*, 3 vols., P.L. Hughes and J.F. Larkin, eds. New Haven, Connecticut: 1964.
VCH	*The Victoria History of the Counties of England.*
W.A.M.	Westminster Abbey Muniments.

The Old Style has been retained when dates are cited. Years are assumed to have begun on the first of January. Spelling, capitalisations, and punctuation have usually been modernised.

THE HOSPITALS OF LONDON:

ADMINISTRATION, REFOUNDATION, AND BENEFACTION, c.1500 - 1572

INTRODUCTION

The fascination felt by twentieth-century historians in studying all aspects of life in Tudor London curiously mimics the overwhelming interest most sixteenth-century Englishmen felt towards the great metropolis. Yet both then and now, there is more than a little ambivalence in any preoccupation with London. Particularly since the middle of this century, historians have been more intent on comprehending the social, cultural, and political dynamics of the provinces; and early-modern English historiography is indisputably richer for an increased sensitivity that the England of the Tudors and the Stuarts consisted of much more than Westminster, the City, and its suburbs.[1] If now the amount of scholarly attention paid to the capital is more nearly proportionate to London's place within the whole of society, studies of London still dominate the discipline.[2] Perhaps this is inevitable. After all, historians can only attempt to reinvoke for their audiences the passions and sensibilities Londoners and non-Londoners used to express their feelings about the capital. Clearly, those feelings were varied, but they were almost always intense. London loomed as a behemoth, a place of mythical expectations and perverse disappointments, a locale which ambitious persons from the farthest reaches of the kingdom struck out to reach--frequently at great personal risk--even as its natives recoiled from its filth, crime, and squalor.

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[1] Perry Gauci, "The Corporation and the Country: Great Yarmouth, 1660-1722," (Unpublished D.Phil Thesis, Oxford: 1991), pp. 1-2. For noteworthy contributions to the study of early-modern towns, see *The Tudor and Stuart Town: A Reader in English Urban History, 1530-1688*, Jonathan Barry, ed. (London: 1990); *English Towns in Transition: 1500-1700*, Peter Clark and Paul Slack, eds. (London: 1976); *The Transformation of English Provincial Towns*, Peter Clark, ed. (London: 1984). Important regional studies include A.D. Dyer, *The City of Worcester in the Sixteenth Century* (Leicester: 1973); David M. Palliser, *Tudor York* (Oxford: 1979); J.F. Pound, *Tudor and Stuart Norwich* (Chichester: 1988); Charles Phythian-Adams, *The Desolation of a City: Coventry and the Urban Crisis of the Late Middle Ages* (Cambridge: 1979); and Miri Rubin, *Charity and Community in Medieval Cambridge* (Cambridge: 1987).

[2] Major recent studies include *The Making of the Metropolis: London, 1500-1700*, A.L. Beier and Roger Finlay, eds. (London: 1986); Susan Brigden, *London and the Reformation* (Oxford: 1989; paperback edition, 1991); Ian W. Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability: Social Relations in Elizabethan London* (Cambridge: 1991); Frank Freeman Foster, *The Politics of Stability: A Portrait of the Rulers of Elizabethan London* (London: 1977); Steven Rappaport, *Worlds Within Worlds: Structures of Life in Sixteenth Century London* (Cambridge: 1989). All are cited frequently in this work.

Contemporary chroniclers and other commentators of life in sixteenth-century London were alive to its contradictions and paradoxes. The City's lustre and vitality were fuelled by a prodigious growth in population over the century, yet this very growth at times seemed to threaten that age-old civic harmony would spin disastrously out of control. Men like John Stow, John Howes, Henry Machyn, Charles Wriothesley, and Richard Grafton all understood and captured in their chronicles the larger irony of the age: it was the legendary wealth and dense concentration of talent and industry within the metropolis that made the City seem a beacon of hope to the poor in the provinces, yet as these displaced men and women came to the capital, they laid heavy burdens on an underdeveloped and overcharged network of social welfare organs. And at no time were the poor relief services of London more tested than during and immediately after the period of the English Reformation.

The array of services the sick poor might call upon at the beginning of the sixteenth century had been in place for centuries. Religious houses, parish communities, guilds, almshouses, hospitals, doles, and relief offered by livery companies all supplemented what was provided by families, neighbours, or the charity of strangers. Nothing, however, remained static during this period of intensive change. In particular, some of the ecclesiastical properties were challenged--or even threatened--in the earliest decades of the century by problems and systematic flaws and abuses which had been building up over the course of decades. Nor were any of these institutions, individually or even collectively, fully capable of dealing with the non-native poor that began to inundate the City after 1530.

But atop these problems, which were developing organically, came the wrenching changes of the Reformation. This revolution shook all institutions, and poor relief in the capital had thereafter to be reinvented, to fit the shifting composition of London's population, but also in light of the social, economic, religious, and ethical controversies begotten by the clash between the new faith and the old.

Different generations of scholars have had various approaches in studying how London weathered its problems. Of course, even within a given generation, there has not necessarily

been uniformity in outlook, but in general, the present generation of leading historians of sixteenth-century London tends to stress the durability of the social and political framework of the capital, especially that which existed on the local level. Despite the very real fact of London's extraordinary problems, especially throughout the middle and later years of the century, the City averted collapse, and to a large extent, historians have viewed this as a testament to the strength of civic and parochial institutions. Whereas one of the most important (and controversial) scholars of early-modern England from the post-World War II era, Professor Wilbur K. Jordan of Harvard University, emphasized what he perceived to be the rupture in charitable outlooks and practices from the late-medieval period to the post-Reformation age, more recent writers like Frank Foster, Steven Rappaport, and Ian Archer have reminded readers that all sense of continuity with the past was not lost in mid- and late-Tudor London.[3]

According to the assessments of this new group of historians, the Corporation held many instruments that kept social order and cohesion from fraying too severely. When the citizenry was denied participation in the ancient religious festivals and rites of the old church, the Corporation was able to compensate, to some extent, with increased emphasis on civic pageantry.[4] With the sustained influx of immigrants, the City also did what it could to see that a sense of a coherent urban identity was not altogether lost, even if over the long process that identity had to be readjusted several times over. Nonetheless, different sections of London inevitably developed along individual lines, and what Dr. Jeremy Boulton convincingly argued for the early seventeenth century can reasonably be applied to the mid and later sixteenth: "London

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[3] See Jordan's massive studies on English charity, poor relief, and philanthropy. Wilbur Kitchner Jordan, *The Charities of London, 1480-1660: The Aspiration and the Achievements of the Urban Society* (New York: 1960); Wilbur Kitchner Jordan, *Philanthropy in England, 1480-1660: A Study of the Changing Pattern of English Social Aspirations* (New York: 1959); see also E.M. Leonard, *The Early History of English Poor Relief* (Cambridge: 1900).

[4] D.M. Bergerson, *English Civic Pageantry, 1558-1642* (London: 1971), p. 2; A.L. Beier and Roger Finlay, "The Significance of the Metropolis," in *The Making of the Metropolis: London, 1500-1700*, A.L. Beier and Roger Finlay, eds. (London: 1986), p. 20.

society may be conceived of more fruitfully as a mosaic of neighbourhoods rather than as one single amorphous community."[5]

An expanding franchise meant that more substantial male citizens had some share in the political decision-making procedures than ever before. The work of Dr. Archer and Dr. Rappaport has indicated that the small size of the ruling oligarchy was not ultimately detrimental to the effectiveness of urban government. The Corporation's "paternalistic competence and the spreading of responsibility throughout the citizenry (one in ten adult males served in some sort of office every year) made the traditional political structure quite acceptable."[6] The most wealthy and able citizens served on municipal bodies like the Aldermanic Court and the Court of the Common Council, but many more were able to serve in offices within their own neighbourhoods. Parish vestries and wardmotes were significant outlets for popular participation in City government, and they were important agencies that permitted office-holders to transcend differing occupational and economic backgrounds as they worked together to solve local and metropolitan problems. Moreover, programmes of apprenticeship sponsored by the great livery companies ensured that many adolescents from poor provincial and urban families, as well as children from better-connected families, were eventually assimilated into the productive workplaces of the capital.

Civic government from the time of the beginnings of the English Reformation onwards began to assume new and sometimes aggressive stances in confronting its problems. Dr. Susan Brigden details the importance of London to the royal government, especially over the stressful, long period when Catholic orthodoxy was undermined and the City wrestled with social and economic challenges. Dr. Claire Cross has summarised that the "sheer force of Londoners caused successive Tudor governments to pay special attention to the disposition of

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[5] Jeremy Boulton, *Neighbourhood and Society: A London Suburb in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge: 1987), p. 293.

[6] Alan Dyer, review of Steven Rappaport's *Worlds Within Worlds*, in *EHR*, ccccxxv (October 1992), pp. 1010-1011.

Londoners."[7] At least to some extent, the governments of Henry VIII and Edward VI bowed to popular pressure in releasing former church lands so that the City could develop its own resources to control poverty and care for the helpless sick. Particularly after the demolition of church apparatus used to minister to the City's poor, the government of the City sought to win possession and control over the rump of the surviving larger ecclesiastical hospitals. Gaining custodianship of the hospitals involved the City in negotiations with the Crown from the late 1530s until the early 1550s. Eventually, five hospitals were meant to serve the needs of any poor person who could justify a claim to prevail upon the charity of the City. The City fought to keep the administration of these hospitals completely secular, but particularly during the resurgence of Roman Catholicism under the royal government of Mary I, critics detected a partisan, evangelical agenda in their operations. The advent of Protestantism certainly had entailed changes in the accepted methods of charitable giving, and many of the leading lights in the refounding of the hospitals perceived a godly mission in their creation and endowment. Nonetheless, however closely some identified the hospitals with the reformed faith, the houses enjoyed general support amongst the whole of society.[8]

In the nineteenth, and especially in the twentieth century, a multitude of histories of individual hospitals were written.[9] While a few of these works seem little more than historical

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[7] Claire Cross, review of Susan Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, in *EHR*, ccccxvii (October 1990), p. 965.

[8] A seminal discussion of the politics and attitudes that lay behind the refoundation of the hospitals is found in Paul Slack, "Social Policy and the Constraints of Government, 1547-58," in *The Mid-Tudor Polity, c1540-1560*, Jennifer Loach and Robert Tittler, eds. (London: 1980), pp. 94-115.

[9] The standard general reference is Rotha Mary Clay, *The Mediaeval Hospitals of England* (2nd ed., London: 1965); see also Courtney Dainton, *The Story of England's Hospitals* (London: 1961). Specific studies of individual hospitals include W.J. Loftie, *Memorials of the Savoy* (London: 1878); Eilidy M. McInnes, *St. Thomas's Hospital* (London: 1963); Norman Moore, *The History of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, 2 vols. (London: 1918); Edward G. O'Donoghue, *Bridewell Palace, Prison, Schools from the Earliest Times to the End of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth* (London: 1923); F.G. Parsons, *The History of St. Thomas's Hospital*, 3 vols. (London: 1932); E.H. Pearce, *Annals of Christ's Hospital*, (London: 1901); D'Arcy Power and H.J. Waring, *A Short History of St. Bartholomew's Hospital: 1123-1923* (London: 1923); William Trollope, *A History of the Royal Foundation of Christ's Hospital, with an Account of the Plan of Education, the Internal Economy of the Institution, and Memoirs of Eminent Blues: Preceded by a Narrative of the Rise, Progress, and Suppression of the Convent of the Grey Friars in London* (London: 1834); John Watney, *Some Accounts of the Hospital of St. Thomas of Acon in the Cheap, London, and of the Plate of the Mercers Company* (London: 1892).

curiosities themselves, many are of value.[10] Yet virtually all monographs treat a single hospital in ostensible isolation. This of course is understandable and justifiable; yet all five of the hospitals of late sixteenth-century London are understood most fully when their particular areas of competence, their own strengths and weaknesses, their own rules and rulers, are taken as a whole. After all, the hospitals were constructed as a response to oversized problems that would vex residents and City rulers for much of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This study attempts to connect the royal hospitals, both individually and as a group, with the wider history of charitable provision and the state of London. The argument of Peregerine Horden regarding the study of medieval hospitals is applicable to the analysis of their early modern successors. Hospitals can only be fully understood and appreciated if they are viewed as one part of a social continuum which included other institutions also constructed to alleviate distress. Beyond that, account must be taken of the access poor individuals might have to informal systems of health care, the trouble society took to see that the poor sick did not suffer unaided or die unattended, and other, non-institutional, entities, "...well known in outline, but impossible to quantify."[11]

The hospitals were conceived so as to manage the problems of the City professionally. They formulated their own regulations, appointed officers and staffs, and generated regularly-kept records in anticipation of audits from City officials. They existed as agencies of the City government, and are seen in this study to be among the most important instruments the metropolitan government had at its disposal in its fight to maintain stability and enlist social solidarity. The government of the London hospitals was in many ways like a microcosm of the structure of the City's government. The capital's ruling élite made the most important managerial decisions, determined the general philosophy, and oversaw the financial affairs of

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[10] See J.R. Guy, "Of the Writing of Hospital Histories There Is No End," in *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 59 (1985), pp. 415-20.

[11] Peregrine Horden, "A Discipline of Relevance: The Historiography of the Later Medieval Hospital," in *Social History of Medicine: The Journal of the Society for the Social History of Medicine*, 1, no. 3 (December 1988), pp. 371-372.

each house. Each hospital also offered employment to Londoners of lesser social status; these people worked most closely among the sick, filling jobs such as hospital matrons, porters, sisters, watchmen, and innumerable other positions. The sick of St. Thomas's, St. Bartholomew's, and Christ's were also attended by physicians and surgeons paid to treat them. Hospital employees kept watch over the recovery of patients, and also supervised their behaviour while they remained under institutional care. The employees of each hospital were in turn supervised by the governors of the houses, and the government of each house was subject to the edicts and review of the City's government. Underpinning this whole arrangement was the crucial support of the populace, manifested through a series of compulsory financial contributions to the hospitals, but more importantly through monetary aid freely given in donations and bequests, and with moral backing, as when the attitudes and policies of the regime of Mary I appeared to jeopardise their security.

This dissertation primarily concerns itself with the history of three of the five London hospitals: St. Bartholomew's, St. Thomas's, and Christ's. A case-study of each hospital is presented; the dates span the times of their refoundation or creation until the enactment of the poor law legislation of 1572.

The inevitable starting-points in a study of these institutions are the records their officers began keeping from the middle of the sixteenth century onwards. Part of the change in the hospitals in the period after the Reformation was an attempt to carry out the business of the institutions in orderly, professional ways. Hence, governors kept records which gave accounts of the business undertaken at each of the regular meetings. St. Bartholomew's, St. Thomas's, and Christ's all have records of the minutes of the governors' meetings, as well as accounts of the treasurers. In addition to dealing with the individual workings of each hospital, these accounts also witness the inter-relations among the different hospitals--dealings which were generally cordial and cooperative, but on occasion could turn testy and obstructive. While the hospitals' records concentrate chiefly on everyday problems of funding and staffing, as well as

issues of patient care and admissions policies, they also afford larger glimpses of the difficulties with which the City was trying to deal. These included, but were not limited to: the isolation of the sick, placing limitations on public begging, and the return of non-native poor to their places of origin. Complementing these records of the individual hospitals are the journals of the Aldermanic and Common Courts. These City records show how the hospitals formed an integral part of the larger urban response to poverty, overcrowding, and risks of pandemic diseases arising from the spread of infections.

The records of the City government, in addition to sermons and tracts of the period and a multitude of shorter, miscellaneous contemporary writings, reveal the limitations of the hospitals in the second half of the sixteenth century. Individually and collectively, they were too small, and too unevenly and thinly financed, to meet comprehensively the ever-growing needs of the poor.[12] Yet despite these shortcomings, and in the face of realisations that the hospitals were in an embryonic stage of development in comparison with continental models, they were evidently a source of pride amongst the citizenry. This was by no means a negligible accomplishment, however. The changes the City underwent during the sixteenth century were profound in nature and in dimension. And as the Corporation's government was being called upon to provide solutions to more and greater problems, in the long run it profited from maintaining institutions which sparked the approval and support of large segments of the populace even as they merited the thanks of the City's weakest members.

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[12] Margaret Pelling and Charles Webster, "Medical Practitioners," in *Health, Medicine, and Mortality in the Sixteenth Century*, Charles Webster, ed. (Cambridge: 1979), pp. 180-181.

CHAPTER I

THE MEDIEVAL HOSPITALS OF LONDON

When, in the early 1540s, the polemicist Henry Brinkelow issued his famous charge that the "masters of your [King Henry VIII's] hospitals be so fat that the poor be kept lean and bare enough," the state of the earliest years in the medieval hospitals' existence was commonly evoked with no small amount of nostalgia.[1] The idea that, in Bishop Edmund Bonner's words, "charity is waxen so cold" certainly did not originate with the English Reformation; nostalgic sentiments recalling a more generous, compassionate past have flourished from time immemorial.[2] The remark of the Bishop of London must furthermore be taken in proper context: it was the lamentation of a man at odds with the myriad theological and social changes carried out by Henry VIII and Edward VI and their agents, and frustrated by the impieties and injustices he perceived those changes bringing with them.[3]

It was, nonetheless, not only conservative churchmen who felt estranged from the outcome of the Reformation. The attacks on the ancient privileges of the church initially promised many things to those sympathetic to the reformed faith. For some, the destruction of the monasteries and chantries primarily signalled an opportunity for personal aggrandisement. But for visionaries like Brinkelow, there was hope that the worst ravages of poverty in the country might be eliminated when the excesses of papistry were curbed. When the wealth of the old church was not circulated to check poverty, reformers despaired: when the godly were denied the means to fight hunger and illness, or when they avoided the challenge altogether, it seemed

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[1] Henry Brinkelow, *The Complaint of Roderyck Mors, sometimes a gray friar, unto the Parliament House of England his natural country: for the redress of certain wicked laws, evil customs, and cruel decrees* [c. 1542], J. Meadows Cowpers, ed., *E.E.T.S.*, extra ser., xxii (London: 1874), p. 52.

[2] B.L., Salisbury MS., M/485/52, vol. 198, fol. 36^{v}.

[3] Susan E. Brigden, *London and the Reformation* (Oxford: 1989; paperback edition, 1991), pp. 447-450.

to many that, as the preacher Thomas Becon concluded, "unmercifulness reigneth among men at this time!"[4]

Reformers looked with interest to the fate of the hospitals in London and in the provinces, both those that shut down during the Reformation, and those that survived.[5] The existing hospitals were contemptuously compared with what the sixteenth-century reformers believed to have been the leaner, more responsive institutions of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries: the comparison often being grounded in the disparities between the stated aspirations of the early founders and the contemporary shortcomings of their creations.[6] What many of the critics of the hospitals seemed to be arguing for was an end to the moral dissonance which had developed between the givers and the recipients of charity.[7] The fifteenth and early sixteenth century administrators of the hospitals, social critics argued, were culpable of eroding the reciprocal relationship between society's rich and poor: the poor were no longer the *pauperes Christi*, just as the rich no longer seemed to bestow alms in the Christian spirit of restitution and justice.[8]

The medieval social compact which bound the rich and the poor rested on dual tenets. The first held that the worthy poor were the manifestation of Christ's continued presence on earth; the second that the act of bestowing alms was requisite for the salvation of the souls of the wealthy even as it was necessary to sustain the poor and ensure they remained humble and "worthy of their task as intercessors for the [souls of their] benefactors."[9] Theorists maintained that both wealth and poverty entailed obligations and burdens. The wealthy had their

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[4] Thomas Becon, "The News Out Of Heaven," in *The Early Works of Thomas Becon*, John Ayre, ed. (Cambridge: 1843), p. 40.

[5] *LPFD*, xiii, pt. 2, no. 13.

[6] See, for example, P.R.O., SP1/238, pt. 2, fol. 123; also John Abernathy Kingdon, *Richard Grafton, Citizen and Grocer of London and one-time master of the company, servant and printer to Edward, prince and king, and first treasurer-general to Christ's Hospital* (London: 1901), pp. 6-9.

[7] Miri Rubin, *Charity and Community in Medieval Cambridge* (Cambridge: 1987), pp. 10-11.

[8] Rubin, *Charity and Community*, p. 60.

[9] John Durkan, "The Care of the Poor: Pre-Reformation Hospitals," in *Essays on the Scottish Reformation, 1513-1625*, D. McRoberts, ed. (Glasgow: 1962), p. 116; Rubin, *Charity and Community*, p. 10.

surfeit of goods in order that they might provide for the poor and have some of their sins remitted as a consequence of their charity. The poor, meanwhile, were bound to seek virtue, humility, and merit in their poverty by making themselves worthy of the alms they received; they were also obliged to earn the charity they received through their prayers for the souls of their benefactors.[10]

It was this understanding which sixteenth-century social reformers saw as having been abrogated within the previous century or so, in part by the myopic and even corrupt practices of the hospital administrators. The hospitals that had been established to render "aid and comfort...[to the] poor, needy, sick, and indigent persons...[so that they might be] refreshed, maintained, and comforted, and also healed and cured of their infirmities frankly and freely" now had come to exist, it seemed, almost exclusively for the profit of a "small number of canons, priests, and monks...[rather than for the] common utility of the realm."[11] The noble intentions of the original founders and patrons of the hospitals were seen, by the beginning of the sixteenth century, to have become vitiated by the spectre of the sick poor lying neglected on streets all over the kingdom. The "good devotion [of the] ancient fathers"--in London and in all other parts of the realm--would have to be rekindled if social provisions for the poor were to be put once more on a sound, Christian basis.[12]

Reformers and critics in the 1530s and 1540s pointed with surprising frequency to the stated intentions of the founders of the early medieval hospitals, as well as to early hospital charters and constitutions, when pressed to indicate how they felt England's hospital network should be revitalised. In the early 1530s, when Henry VIII first considered how to "reform and reorder the houses" of the poor in London, he determined that almshouses and hospitals would be made to adhere once again to the original terms of their foundations.[13] Con-

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[10] Rubin, *Charity and Community*, p. 85, quoting John Bromyard, *Summa Praedicantium*.
[11] B.L., Cott. MS. Cleo., Eiv, fols. 262^{v}-263.
[12] B.L., Cott. MS. Cleo., Eiv, fols. 262^{v}-263.
[13] P.R.O., SP1/238, pt. 2, fol. 123.

temporary commentators like Robert Copland saw a clear need for stronger and better organised hospitals in the period immediately following the dissolution of the monasteries. Copland and others who focussed on London wondered why hospital administrators permitted so many people to sleep on City streets in spite of the provisions medieval benefactors had made to ensure relief for all who requested help.[14]

Scant supervision of hospital officers, employees, and patients was not an unusual situation in the century approaching the English Reformation. It was, however, but one problem facing ecclesiastical institutions in a period of profound changes.[15] Altering attitudes towards the spiritual efficacy of good works and shifting stances regarding the proper role of charitable endeavours called into question the organisation and administration of church-run hospitals. When the royal government seized the property and lands of many of these ancient foundations, it preordained that the changes in the distribution of alms to the poor and shelter and care to the sick would be made radically, and not gradually, as might otherwise have been the case.

1. Late-Medieval Hospitals

By the beginning of the fourteenth century, the number of English hospitals stood at some 700, the peak for the medieval period.[16] With this expansion came a gradual broadening in the understanding of the appropriate functions of a hospital.[17] From the time of the Norman invasion onwards, hospitals evolved from their former role as guest-houses to hostels-cum-

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[14] Robert Copland, "The Hye Way to the Spyttelhous," [c. 1545] in *The Elizabethan Underworld*, A.V. Judges, ed. (London: 1930), pp. 1-25.

[15] Rotha Mary Clay, *The Mediaeval Hospitals of England* (London: 1965), p. 217.

[16] Edward J. Kealey, *Medieval Medicus: A Social History of Anglo-Norman Medicine* (Baltimore, Maryland: 1981), p. 83.

[17] For a broad perspective of the theories underlying the mission, functions, and administration of medieval hospitals, see Miri Rubin, "Imagining Medieval Hospitals: Considerations on the Cultural Meaning of Institutional Change," in *Medicine and Charity before the Welfare State*, Jonathan Barry and Colin Jones, eds. (London and New York: 1991), pp. 14-25.

infirmaries. The term 'hospital' could, by 1300, be used to denote a place serving as a dispensary for poor relief, as a clinic and surgery for the injured, as a home for the blind, lame, elderly, orphaned, and mentally ill, or as a leprosarium; and the older meaning was retained, especially in centres of pilgrimage.[18]

The procedures for building and sustaining a medieval hospital were pre-determined in part by whether the hospital was to function as a place offering only physical ministrations, or if it were to include spiritual care as well. While English hospitals as a whole never rested "exclusively in the hands of the Church or State," the decision of early patrons and administrators on how closely a particular hospital would be affiliated with the Church was crucial in determining that hospital's future course in its overall philosophy, attitudes towards medicine and surgery, personnel, funding, and organisation.[19]

Hospitals intending to offer spiritual care as an integral part of their treatment were referred to by canonists as *locus religiosus*. Hospitals with religious associations might negotiate for ecclesiastical privileges such as rights to bury and accept endowments as inalienable, as well as exemptions from tithes and lay extractions.[20] They frequently possessed some sort of chapel where masses might be offered and confessions heard, and hence were compelled to seek an episcopal licence.[21] Hospital chapels could be constructed only with assurances from hospital officials that they would not impinge on the prerogatives and functions of the normal parochial system. Although some hospital chapels may *de facto* have acted in lieu of a parish church for the inhabitants of the hospital precinct, only St. Bartholomew's the Less in West Smithfield and St. Thomas's in Southwark were fully confirmed with the

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[18] Edward J. Kealey, *Medieval Medicus*, pp. 1-2, 15, 37-39, 66, 82-83; Vern L. Bullough, "A Note on Medical Care in Medieval English Hospitals," in *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 35 (1961), pp. 75-76; Clay, *Mediaeval Hospitals*, p. 3; E.A. Hammond, "Physicians in Medieval English Religious Houses," in *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 32 (1958), pp. 106-107.

[19] Clay, *Mediaeval Hospitals*, p. 194.

[20] Rubin, *Charity and Community*, p. 104; Clay, *Mediaeval Hospitals*, p. 199.

[21] Brian Tierney, *Medieval Poor Law: A Sketch of Canonical Theory and its Application in England* (Berkeley, California: 1959), p. 87.

status of an Anglican parish, and then only after the Refoundation of 1547.[22] The existence of hospital chapels prompted even greater episcopal involvement.[23] Overall supervision of hospitals with ties to religious foundations would be provided by either the diocesan or suffragan bishop or the prior of the monastic order running the hospital, whereas more minute corrections--for errant staff members as well as patients--would be applied at the weekly chapter meetings.[24]

With the initial burst of hospital-building in the first half of the twelfth century, the percentage of hospitals founded with no formal connection with religious communities (58%) slightly exceeded those foundations immediately subordinated to religious communities (42%).[25] By the 1530s, however, most hospitals in England were functioning at least ostensibly under the church's aegis. The reasons for this are manifold. Hospitals under church control generally had surer recourse to the wealth of the diocese in times of financial difficulties, and their association with the power and prestige of the church made them seem more respectable and even durable to prospective donors.[26] Links with the church could also prove invaluable when hospitals made pleas for greater community contributions: preachers, and notably the mendicants, were assiduous in exhorting the laity to support works given over to the glory of God, and many times they exhibited no reticence in telling their listeners specifically which good works ought to be supported.[27] Furthermore, some hospitals that were founded as secular institutions nonetheless consciously emulated features peculiar to houses under monastic rule.[28] As time went on, and the original endowments became dissipated or

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[22] Nellie J. M. Kerling, "Administration," in *The Royal Hospital of Saint Bartholomew: 1123-1973*, Victor Cornelius Medvei and John L. Thornton, eds. (London: 1974), p. 21; Nellie J. M. Kerling, "The Parish of St. Bartholomew the Less," in *The Royal Hospital of Saint Bartholomew: 1123-1973*, Victor Cornelius Medvei and John L. Thornton, eds. (London: 1974), p. 36; Geoffrey Yeo, *Images of Bart's: An Illustrated History of St. Bartholomew's Hospital in the City of London* (London: 1992), pp. 19-20; C.L.R.O., Misc. MS. 61.8, fols. 1-6.

[23] Rubin, *Charity and Community*, pp. 101-103.

[24] Clay, *Mediaeval Hospitals*, pp. 126, 137.

[25] Kealey, *Medieval Medicus*, pp. 94-95.

[26] Tierney, *Medieval Poor Law*, p. 67.

[27] Kealey, *Medieval Medicus*, pp. 96-97.

[28] Rubin, *Charity and Community*, pp. 154-156; Carole Rawcliffe, "Hospitals of Later Medieval London," in *Medical History*, 28 (1984), p. 5.

badly straitened, houses like these were quietly subsumed into priories or brought under the control of the local bishop.

The discipline, order, and methods of accountability the ecclesiastical hierarchy imposed (at least initially) both on the administrators and the patients of hospitals were attractive concepts to benefactors fearful that their largesse would be frittered away by feckless recipients. The desire to instil regularity and uniformity into the life of patients inspired many hospital benefactors and administrators to pattern their hospitals--whatever their formal affiliations--after the cadences of life in a religious community. This meant patients were segregated by sex upon entering the hospital environs, and were thereafter usually made to don plain grey or russet cloth tunics. They were compelled further to follow regimented diets and measures designed to promote personal cleanliness and modesty, observe periods of silent meditation, as well as appear in chapel at specified times for the same rounds of prayer which a monk would be obliged to follow.

These were effective therapeutic rules as well as disciplinary devices. Patients were no longer isolated individuals, but a part of a larger community, and they consequently became participants in their own maintenance and recovery.[29] Patients who were physically capable might also be expected to join in light agricultural and construction work, as well as in housekeeping chores. In some houses, the heartier patients were even required to minister to fellow-patients.[30] The restrictions imposed on patients were designed in part to keep them properly submissive, in part to make them realize their role as lowly, penitent sinners. In addition, inmates entered into a community where in theory, if not consistently in practice, the brethren and sisters would shine forth as living examples of persons with no worldly possessions conducting their lives with purpose and selfless, godly dignity.[31]

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[29] Kealey, *Medieval Medicus*, pp. 97-98, 105.
[30] Kealey, *Medieval Medicus*, p. 96; Clay, *Mediaeval Hospitals*, pp. 156-157.
[31] Tierney, *Medieval Poor Law*, pp. 60-61, 87.

Most English medieval hospitals never completely eschewed their ancient obligation to provide some form of hospitality to all those who prevailed upon them. During ages of frequent pilgrimages and occasional crusades, the provision of hospitality nourished the soldiers of Christ even as it won friends and supporters for fledgling hospitals.[32] This practice was an integral part of their monastic heritage; thus, the Benedictine rule insisted that strangers, be they rich or poor, always find welcome within house gates.[33] But the more onerous and even controversial aspect of this tradition was the giving of shelter and aid to the poor who might congregate at the hospital gates. Particularly in the larger cities through which the transient poor might pass, this was recognized as an important component of urban relief.[34] The limited help hospitals were able to give to the unemployed and the underemployed (the *pauperisables*, who lived at subsistence-level) was often the only source of support the poor could call upon during difficult stretches. Nonetheless, the extent to which a hospital ought to dispense alms, food, and shelter without reservation to all callers would be an open question for most of the later medieval and early modern period.

By the middle of the fourteenth century, there was a discernible effort underway to refine the definition of what type of people by right ought to be labelled as 'worthy' poor. A prolonged period of economic, epidemical, and social problems in the fourteenth century exacerbated the suspicion focused on the recipients of charity. Unemployed, healthy labourers in particular felt the censure of society. The Statute of Labourers of 1349 characterized them as little better than criminals: they confounded social harmony and upset the economic equilibrium in their "ease and their selfish desires" by refusing to work for anything less than exorbitant wages.[35] The suspicion the poor came under was reflected in the gradual tightening

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[32] Elizabeth Speakman, "Medieval Hospitals," in *Dublin Review*, 133 (1903), p. 283.

[33] Felicity M. Heal, *Hospitality in Early Modern England* (Oxford: 1990), pp. 228-229.

[34] Rawcliffe, "Hospitals of Later Medieval London," p. 2.

[35] *SR*, i, pp. 307-309, 23 Edward III; *Sources of English Constitutional History: A Selection of Documents from A.D. 600 to the Interregnum*, 2 vols., Carl Stephenson and Frederick George Marcham, eds. and trans. (New York: 1972), i, pp. 225-226.

over the next three centuries of the guidelines by which charity was dispensed. The fear was that religious houses, and particularly the hospitals--especially in their most basic function of providing casual aid and temporary shelter to the poor--, were now actually encouraging the indolent and the malingerers more than they were aiding the 'worthy' poor, sick, and underemployed.[36]

The debate about what methods (if any) ought to be used to distinguish between the righteousness of the claims of one supplicant from another for the aid of the hospitals had, at least before the fourteenth century, a cogent argument of St. John Chrysostom to be guided by: "In hospitality there ought not to be discrimination between people, but we must act hospitably without difference to any one however we can." This statement probably signified little more than that hospitality ought to be rendered freely and unstintingly, but later canonists inferred that Chrysostom meant that hospitality must be offered indiscriminately, with no regard to the merits or situation of the claimant.[37]

Gradually, as urban hospitals of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries became hard-pressed to meet mounting charitable demands, theorists and administrators tried to fashion basic requirements recipients had to meet to merit aid. Some hospitals, like St. Thomas's in Canterbury, made it a policy to entertain "'poor pilgrims in good health...only for one night...that greater regard shall be had for the sick than for the well pilgrims.'"[38] In particular, hospital administrators had to exercise caution that their institutions did not encourage malingerers and vagabonds when they offered food and shelter internally, or when they provided alms at their gates.[39]

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[36] Rubin, *Charity and Community*, pp. 32-33. See also Tierney, *Medieval Poor Law*, pp. 44-67.

[37] Rubin, *Charity and Community*, pp. 68-69.

[38] Clay, *Mediaeval Hospitals*, p. 7.

[39] Tierney, *Medieval Poor Law*, p. 66; Wilbur K. Jordan, *Philanthropy in England, 1480-1660: A Study of the Changing Pattern of English Social Aspirations* (New York: 1959), pp. 59-60; William J. Ashley, *An Introduction to English Economic History and Theory*, 2 vols. (4th ed., London: 1925), ii, pp. 317, 330-331, 338-340.

Although concern about the wisdom of dispensing casual alms endured up to and beyond the Reformation, hospitality had, by the fifteenth century, become largely an ancillary function for most English hospitals.[40] New founders, patrons, and civic and ecclesiastic sponsors were increasingly inclined to assist hospitals that concentrated on ameliorating specific problems. Certain hospitals were therefore designed to cope specifically with problems like leprosy or mental dysfunctions, as well as with more general illnesses. Hospitals also emerged (or were re-organised) to offer protection and care for pregnant women and the 'feeble and destitute.'

From the eleventh until the middle of the fourteenth century, leper hospitals were the most active of all hospital foundations.[41] By the beginning of the fifteenth century, the incidence of leprosy had declined dramatically, and control of several of the remaining London leper houses passed to the larger metropolitan hospitals, such as St. Thomas's.[42] By that time, homes for the "feeble and destitute," varyingly termed 'almshouses,' 'bedehouses,' or 'Maisons Dieu,' superseded other types of hospitals then being founded. These institutions were often of secular foundation, and under the control of local trustees, craft guilds, city companies, or municipal authorities.[43] Despite the absence of formal connection with the church, many such houses were given over to prayer by their inmates for the founders and civic patrons. It was no doubt the almshouses' intimate links with the civic polity that prompted some reformers, both in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, to urge the Commons to sell some ecclesiastical lands, and use the subsequent profits to build new almshouses.[44]

As the monastic hospitals were held to be increasingly inefficient, bloated, and corrupt, smaller, city-supervised almshouses were an appealing alternative. Their expansion in

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[40] David Knowles and R. Neville Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses* (New York: 1953), pp. 113-116.

[41] Rubin, *Charity and Community*, pp. 113-114.

[42] *The Victoria History of the Counties of England: A History of London* (London: 1909), i, p. 542; Owen Manning and William Bray, *History and Antiquities of the County of Surrey*, 3 vols. (London: 1804-1814), iii, p. 634. There is no extant evidence which supports the assertion that St. Bartholomew's controlled any of the leper houses in the pre-Reformation period. No association between the leper-houses and St. Bartholomew's was noted in the deeds of foundation of 1546/7, suggesting that St. Bartholomew's did not control them before that time.

[43] Silvia Thrupp, *The Merchant Class of Medieval London, 1300-1500* (Chicago: 1948), pp. 201-203.

[44] Clay, *Mediaeval Hospitals of England*, pp. 15-18; 29.

fifteenth-century London mirrored a developing sense of corporate responsibility, which was also manifesting itself in systematic improvements in London's water system, as well as in the first forays into pieces of legislation dealing with public health and sanitation.[45] A particularly appealing characteristic of the service almshouses provided was that, although they might offer shelter to transient poor, they primarily concentrated on protecting poor from within their vicinity. Almshouses were seen to temper their beneficence with "pronounced disciplinary measures," and because they could easily be integrated into the developing system of parish- or civic-coordinated poor relief, they began to rival traditional hospitals in their ability to attract sponsors.[46] Because almshouses could be more easily monitored by local parishes than could most hospitals, patrons assumed that abuses and incipient corruption could be halted before they became very serious. It was presumed that within the parish network, the personal shortcomings of both the needy members and the those in charge of the almshouses would be known intimately by the local cleric.[47] Furthermore, hospitals were more costly to establish and maintain than almshouses, and after the fifteenth century, only London and a few of the larger cities (such as Bristol and Norwich) could continue to improve and expand their hospital services.[48]

Whatever their specific functions, most medieval hospitals were intended to offer more than spiritual solace.[49] From the twelfth century on, few hospitals did not make at least some perfunctory efforts to moderate the exercise and diet of their inmates, as well as maintaining a salubrious and structured environment for them. True healing could come only with appropriate doses of medical care and moral admonitions.[50]

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[45] Rawcliffe, "Hospitals in Later Medieval London," p. 6.

[46] Rubin, *Charity and Community*, pp. 127, 147.

[47] Tierney, *Medieval Poor Law*, pp. 67-68.

[48] John Hadwin, "The Problem of Poverty in Early Modern England," in *Aspects of Poverty in Early Modern Europe*, Thomas Riis, ed. (Brussels: 1981), p. 229; see also Wilbur K. Jordan, *The Charities of London, 1480-1660: The Aspirations and the Achievements of the Urban Society* (New York: 1960), pp. 242-243.

[49] Kealey, *Medieval Medicus*, p. 83.

[50] Rubin, *Charity and Community*, pp. 152-3.

Treating the sick and the poor was to be done without seeking any remuneration: still, by the fourteenth century, many hospitals came to need and expect some offering--however minimal--to be made by patients towards their own maintenance. Sometimes this meant that patients who had items such as sheets and blankets, and even, in the case of lepers, pieces of furniture, would provide them for their own use, and leave them to the hospital when their stay ended.[51] Other hospitals began to levy outright charges to patients, the amount depending both on the patient's ability to pay and on the hospital's current financial situation. Patrons might also use hospitals as retirement homes for aging retainers. The danger of this practice was evident when the Master of St. Leonard's Hospital at York refused Richard II's directive to admit a man; the master complained that his hospital had been "founded for the bed-ridden and not for the able-bodied." Displays of independence and bravery such as this were rare, however, and commentators in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries complained that masters and patrons alike forgot that hospitals ought uniformly to exist as *Domus libera Dei*, exclusively for Christ's poor.[52]

Another scheme, which ultimately led to a weakened sense of the hospital as a "concerned and caring community," was the decision of some hospitals to stop offering meals to poor wayfarers; instead, a dole in the form of cash or food coupons, which would be honoured by local vendors, was inaugurated.[53] Ostensibly, this measure should have halted the inundation many hospitals routinely faced from transient beggars whose clamour for immediate attention distracted the staff from helping those in greater need. What the dole did was give critics of the hospitals apparent reason to charge that hospitals were gathering grounds for the slothful. The dole also presented opportunities for chicanery, on the part of the staff, the vendors, and of course, the recipients.

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[51] Sir Norman Moore, *The History of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, 2 vols. (London: 1918), i, pp. 346-347.
[52] Clay, *Mediaeval Hospitals*, pp. 213-214.
[53] Rawcliffe, "Hospitals of Later Medieval London," p. 13.

The government at Westminster first addressed the problem of mounting abuses within the hospital system in the Statute for the Reformation of the Hospitals of 1414. It was the only piece of medieval legislation that approached a comprehensive critique of the shortcomings of the organisation and procedures of hospitals. Published by the University of Oxford under Henry V, the act hinted at Lollard sentiments. It stemmed from the criticisms voiced in the Commons in 1410 that the excess wealth of the monasteries should be seized and used by the crown to erect new hospitals.[54] The Statute of 1414 opened with a litany of the evils emanating from hospitals "for the most part decayed, and the goods and profits of the same, by divers persons, spiritual and temporal, withdrawn and spent to the use of others." These irregularities were, it asserted, the outstanding reason that so many people were dying on the streets, "for lack of aid, livelihood, and succour to the displeasure of God and the peril of the souls of those who squander and misappropriate the goods provided for these unfortunates by others."[55]

Other proposals considered by the Commons at this time included constructing one hundred almshouses which would be overseen by

> ...two true seculars.... And also with provision that every township should keep all poor people of their own dwellers, which could not labour for their living, with condition that if more fell in a town than the town could maintain, then the said almshouses [were] to relieve such townships.[56]

These aspects of reform and renewal of the hospital infrastructure were not acted upon.[57] However, many suggestions put forward in the debates and legislative initiatives of the second decade of the fifteenth century directly presaged some of the more imaginative (and radical) propositions of the sixteenth century reformers.[58]

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[54] *SR*, ii, p. 175, 2 Henry V, ch. i; Clay, *Mediaeval Hospitals*, p. 228.

[55] *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, 6 vols. (London: 1776-1777), iv, pp. 19-20, 80-81.

[56] Robert Fabyan, *Fabyan's Chronicle newly printed with the chronicle, acts, and deeds done in the time of...Henry VII....*, Henry Ellis, ed. (London: 1811), p. 578; Clay, *Mediaeval Hospitals*, p. 229.

[57] Wilbur K. Jordan, *Philanthropy in England*, pp. 114-115.

[58] Clay, *Mediaeval Hospitals*, p. 229.

One flagrant abuse which this statute sought to eliminate was misconduct on the part of hospital wardens. Stories of personal excesses and acts of incompetence on the part of hospital administrators convinced Parliament that wardens had to be held accountable for their behaviour, and that they should be permitted to serve only "during their good behaviour."[59] As a first step towards reform of the entire hospital system, hospitals which had fallen into utter desuetude were to be shut down; whatever resources they held would be either distributed among hospitals or applied to the building of more responsive institutions. Likewise, hospitals in the orbit of foreign priories became liable to suppression by the Alien Priories Act of 1414, their goods and property reverting to the crown. In London, this occasioned the closure of St. Giles without Cripplegate, and threatened the survival of St. Mary Rouncevall near Charing Cross, and St. Anthony's in Broad Street Ward.[60]

The provisions for review by the Commons of the appointment of hospital wardenships, and the ability of the Commons to observe the behaviour of wardens did not markedly improve the situation, however; determining the probity of the wardens remained in large part the burden of the more prominent patrons of the hospitals. It was frequently, in fact, the failure of patrons to keep careful watch over the efficiency and honesty of administrators that hastened, throughout the fifteenth century, the decline in hospital services and reputation.[61]

That decline touched even the oldest and richest hospitals, such as St. Leonard's in York. In 1468, the earl of Warwick persuaded the citizens that their yearly, customary offerings of grain to the hospital were "not expended on the poor people, but the Master of the Hospital waxed rich with such alms, and his priests waxed fat, and the poor people lay lean without succour or comfort." Such was the antipathy against the rulers of the house that when their proctors went abroad to collect alms, they were "sore beaten, wounded, and very evil

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[59] *Rotuli Parliamentorum*, iv, pp. 80-81.

[60] John Stow, *The Survey of London* [1603], Henry B. Wheatley, ed. (London: 1987), pp. 439-440; *VCH: London*, i, p. 583; *CPR, 1467-1477*, p. 115.

[61] Courtney Dainton, *The Story of England's Hospitals* (London: 1961), p. 18.

treated."[62] The story of misdeeds at St. Leonard's was a relatively common one in the half-century before the Dissolution, and tales and more formal reports which cast aspersions on the rulers of monasteries and hospitals lingered in the minds of the public at large, and would erode the chances of survival for many hospitals in London and throughout the country.

In order to round out the general picture drawn of medieval hospitals, two case studies of London institutions are presented next. Details of the earliest days of St. Bartholomew's Hospital are fuller than those of most of the other medieval foundations in London. St. Bartholomew's provides a good example of the terms by which a medieval hospital might be created, organised, and operated. St. Bartholomew's shared similarities with most medieval hospitals. While its primary mission was listed as the care of the sick poor, it offered a variety of services at different times: these included education, care of newborns and orphans, and the giving of alms and overnight shelter. Its founder, Rahere, built the hospital early in the twelfth century, allegedly to redeem a pledge made to God; until the Reformation, it was run by a religious order. Over the four hundred years after its foundation, it grew to become an important centre for poor relief in the metropolitan area. This chapter deals with the foundation and developments of the hospital before 1500; after 1500, signs of institutional decay became more pronounced at St. Bartholomew's, although they never matched in incidence or severity the problems of other hospitals in early sixteenth century London.

The Hospital of the Savoy is the second study offered. It was built at the very beginning of the early-modern period, but its founding patron, Henry VII was as eager as Rahere had been to assure himself of divine protection. Similarities between founders ended there. Henry VII was not self-effacing, and the Savoy was commissioned as a stunning example of Tudor generosity and paternalism. While officials at Westminster Abbey had powers of supervision

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[62] Edward Hall, *Chronicle Containing the History of England During the Reign of Henry IV and the Succeeding Monarchs to the end of the Reign of Henry VIII, in which are Particularly Described the Manners and Customs of those Periods*, Henry Ellis, ed. (London: 1809; reprint New York: 1965), p. 272.

over the house, the Savoy was not as closely bound to the control of the church as earlier medieval hospitals had been. The Savoy was notable for offering its inhabitants regular medical care; the magnitude of its endowments again made it atypical of most medieval foundations. Perhaps because of its relatively recent date of foundation, and the ample means made over to its administration, charges of abuse and decline did not surface until well after the closure and confiscation of church holdings under Henry VIII and Edward VI.

2. The Foundation and Early History of St. Bartholomew's Hospital

The accounts of the foundation of the Hospital of St. Bartholomew's in West Smithfield are, perhaps inevitably, enveloped in hoary legend. Rahere, the hospital's eventual founder, was in the sixteenth century saluted as a "pleasant-witted gentleman" who, notwithstanding his "low lineage" and his lack of "cunning [in] liberal science," became an *habitué* of the court of King Henry I. He held a prebend at St. Paul's Cathedral in London, and according to later legends spun about him, may also have served as a royal jester or musician.[63]

Around 1120, Rahere, apparently motivated by ennui or disillusionment with the worldly circles in which he moved, undertook a pilgrimage to Rome.[64] There he fell deathly ill. Convinced that his "grievous sickness" was God's punishment for his earlier sins, Rahere averred that "if health God him would grant, he might letfully return to his country...[to open] a hospital in recreation of poor men, and to them so there gathered, necessaries minister after his power." Whilst recuperating, he was visited in a dream by "a certain man...[who had] the majesty of a king, of great beauty, and imperial authority" who announced himself to be

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[63] Stow, *Survey*, pp. 335-336; Kerling, "Administration," p. 19; Richard Grafton, *A Chronicle at Large, and Meere History of the Affairs of England, and the Kings of the Same, Deduced from the Creation of the World, unto the First Habitation of this Island: and so by the Continuance unto the First Year of the Reign of Our Most Dear and Sovereign Lady, Queen Elizabeth* [1569], Henry Ellis, ed., 6 vols. (London: 1809), i, p. 180; *The Book of the Foundation of St. Bartholomew's Church in London, the Church belonging to the Priory of the same in West Smithfield*, Sir Norman Moore, ed., *E.E.T.S.*, original series, clxiii (London: 1923), pp. 1-3.

[64] *Book of the Foundation*, p. 3.

"Bartholomew, the Apostle of Jesus Christ." St. Bartholomew informed Rahere that his plan had met with the approval of God and His celestial court; Rahere was instructed that a church as well as a hospital should be constructed in Smithfield, a suburb of London.[65]

The choice of St. Bartholomew as the messenger of God's will for the care of the sick poor would no doubt have had special meaning to Rahere and his contemporaries; the apostle whom Christ called guileless was venerated as an intercessor for the ill. Some legends much after the time of Rahere suggest that he may have had his vision on the Isola Tiberina, on which was built the Church of S. Bartolomeo de Insula, a tenth century edifice built over the ruins of the Temple of Aesculapius.[66] Ancient legend held that Aesculapius, the god of medicine, assumed the shape of a serpent and had hidden on the island upon his arrival in Rome in 293 B.C. In the Christian era, the *Fatebenefratelli*, the Brothers of St. John of God, operated a hospital there.[67] St. Bartholomew's Hospital in London officially would be dedicated to celebrate the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, but it seems certain that from the beginnings of its history, the hospital regarded its spiritual patron to be St. Bartholomew.[68] The house was conceived as a "flower of hospitality." It would ease the "tribulation of wretches and [provide for] the necessities of the poor people."[69]

The location granted by Henry I to Rahere to build his "two works of pity" was within the king's market in West Smithfield, situated on Royal demesne immediately northwest of the city walls of London.[70] To the hospital's west was Pie Corner, and to the east were the walls of the Priory, Briton Street, and Duck Lane; the hospital stood roughly equi-distant from

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[65] *Book of the Foundation*, pp. 3-5.

[66] Henry V. Bender, *The Civilization of Ancient Rome: An Archaeological Perspective--Beginnings to Augustus* (Lanham, Maryland: 1985), pp. 52-53, 61; Dieter Jetter, *Das Europaische Hospital: Von der Spätantike bis 1800* (Cologne, Germany: 1986), pp. 23-25.

[67] Roloff Beny and Peter Gunn, *The Churches of Rome* (New York: 1981), p. 265.

[68] *The Cartulary of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, Founded 1123: A Calendar*, Nellie J.M. Kerling, ed. (London: 1973), p. 1, Appendix II, p. 175; Moore, *History of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, i, p. 48.

[69] *Book of the Foundation*, p. 2.

[70] *Book of the Foundation*, p. 9.

Aldersgate and Newgate.[71] By the sixteenth century, West Smithfield would be "compassed about with buildings," including "many large houses...[and] a number of tenements are there erected for such as will give great rents [at the time of the fair]."[72] Smithfield, or 'smooth-field,' was a flat, marshy plain, characterised in the twelfth century as a "marshy dung and fenny with water almost everywhere abounding," and in subsequent centuries as a "laystow of all dung and filth, and the place where felons and other transgressors of the Kings's laws were put to execution."[73] As early as the Roman occupation of Britain, Smithfield had served as a burial ground, and the hospital continued to use part of its precincts as a cemetery for its staff and patients.[74]

The choice of this miasmic plot of land as the venue for a hospital presumably reflects the intentions of Henry I and the leaders of London to keep the outcast poor and sick in the suburbs and removed from the city proper; this policy was consistent with the reasoning of urban-planners of many other medieval cities.[75] From the hospital's consecration in March 1123, however, there would be intermittent tensions and conflicts with its neighbours: Smithfield throughout the medieval period would serve alternately as a jousting-arena, a horse-mart, and a fair-ground that would sometimes spark unruliness and bring undesirable characters within the hospital precincts.[76]

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[71] George Walter Thornbury and Edward Walford, *Old and New London, A Narrative of Its History, Its People, and Its Places* [3 fold. plans and maps] (London: n.d.) [no pagination], map 1; Stow, *Survey*, p. 272.

[72] Stow, *Survey*, pp. 337-338.

[73] 'Smethe' is 'smooth' in Old English. Kerling, "Administration," p. 20; Grafton, *Chronicle*, i, p. 180; Stow, *Survey*, pp. 335-336; *Book of the Foundation*, p. 12.

[74] S.B.H., HA1/1, fols. 124^{r}, 126^{v}; Moore, *History of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, i, p. 3; W.J. Loftie, *A History of London* (London: 1884), i, p. 116 [note 1], suggests that a hospital pre-dating St. Bartholomew's may have existed in Smithfield, and that the Priory was "founded to receive a fraternity formed for the charitable purpose of carrying it on."

[75] Gideon Sjoberg, *The Pre-Industrial City, Past and Present* (New York: 1960), pp. 97-98. Newgate Prison was also built outside the City walls, near St. Bartholomew's Hospital.

[76] Some sixteenth- and seventeenth-century sources erroneously cite the hospital's date of foundation as 1102. See Grafton, *Chronicle*, i, p. 180, and C.L.R.O., L49.3 MS.6 [no pagination]; Nellie J.M. Kerling, "The Oldest Hospital in England," *St. Bartholomew's Hospital Journal*, 68 (London: 1964), p. 391; Kerling, "Administration," p. 20; William Fitzstephen, *Description of London*, in John Stow, *The Survey of London*, Henry B. Wheatley, ed. (London: 1987), p. 504; *Cartulary*, p. 10, and nos. 3-5, p. 41.

Suburbs were areas where outcasts tended to congregate. Areas like Smithfield and Southwark that over the centuries absorbed some of the overflow of London's population also became home to certain industries, such as limeburning and dyeing, which were by experience either too noxious or dangerous to function within a walled city.[77] Renigade industries also found natural breeding grounds in surburban settings. Brothels were established in the Smithfield area. Their existence occasionally imposed on the hospital the responsibility of caring for unwed mothers and their children; generally these women and their newborns would remain in the hospital until the mother was churched and the child weaned.[78] The tradition of caring for unwed mothers and their infants would continue at St. Bartholomew's at least until the fifteenth century; this stood in sharp contrast to the practices of some other hospitals, like St. John's in Cambridge, where both the chronically ill and pregnant women were routinely denied admittance.[79] A problem less serious, but longstanding nonetheless, was confrontations between merchants selling their wares in Smithfield and officials of the hospital over booth spaces and vending rights in Smithfield.[80]

As Rahere founded the hospital, he also established St. Bartholomew the Great Church for the Austin Canons, or Augustinians, of which he served as the first prior. His labours in constructing the priory and the hospital were prodigious. The official history of the creation of the house, composed sometime in the final quarter of the twelfth century, insists that Rahere worked secretly, feigning "outward...the cheer of an idiot." He drew upon the "fellowship of children and servants" to help with the actual building, and in his sermons he exhorted both

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[77] Jeremy Boulton, *Neighbourhood and Society: A London Suburb in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge: 1987), p. 63.

[78] Carole Rawcliffe, "The Hospitals of Later Medieval London," *Medical History*, 28 (January 1984), p. 2.

[79] *The Historical Collections of a Citizen of London in the Fifteenth Century*, James Gairdner, ed., Camden Soc. New Series, xvii (London: 1876), pp. viii-ix; Martha Carlin, "Medieval English Hospitals," in *The Hospital in History*, Lindsay Granshaw and Roy Porter, eds. (London: 1989), p. 33; Miri Rubin, "Development and Change in English Hospitals: 1100-1500," in *The Hospital in History*, Lindsay Granshaw and Roy Porter, eds. (London: 1989), p. 49.

[80] Nellie J.M. Kerling, "The Foundation of St. Bartholomew's Hospital in West Smithfield, London," *The Guildhall Miscellany*, 4, no. 3 (1972), pp. 139-140.

the clergy and the laity to "charity and almsdeeds."[81] The priory, also located in Smithfield, would in its early years exert considerable control over the administration of the hospital. By a series of three charters, Henry I confirmed the foundations of the priory and the hospital, and extended protection and privileges to both.[82]

No information survives regarding the size of the staff until 1316. The episcopal register of London then records that the hospital was to have a maximum of seven brothers and four sisters.[83] The Augustinian order was well-suited to be connected with a hospital for the poor; it traditionally emphasized the need for social involvement on the part of its members, and lay brothers and professed sisters were relatively unencumbered with religious observances in order that they might concentrate on domestic and charitable tasks.[84]

There is ample evidence that relations between the priory and the hospital were strained from their earliest days. The intention of both Henry I and Rahere appears to have been that the prior should exercise absolute control over both priory and hospital, but this arrangement seems to have worked well only during Rahere's life. Links between the priory and the hospital were not completely severed until the sixteenth century, and until then the hospital as a subsidiary entity owed certain duties to the priory: for instance, only the prior had control over who was admitted to the hospital society and order, and by the agreement of 1373, newly elected masters of the hospital were first presented to the prior (to whom they swore obedience) before they were brought before the Bishop of London.[85]

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[81] *Book of the Foundation*, pp. xi, 13.

[82] Kerling, "Foundation of St. Bartholomew's Hospital," p. 141; *CPR, 1416-1422*, pp. 239-242; E.A. Webb, *The Records of St. Bartholomew's Priory and of the Church and Parish of St. Bartholomew the Great, West Smithfield*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1921), i, pp. 60-64.

[83] G.L., MS 9531/1, fol. 39^{v}. I owe this reference to Geoffrey Yeo, Archivist of the Royal College of Physicians. Sir Norman Moore incorrectly gives these numbers for the staff in the twelfth century, for which there are no data. Moore, *History of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, i, p. 48.

[84] Rawcliffe, "The Hospitals of Later Medieval London," pp. 5-6; Rubin, *Charity and Community*, pp. 154-156; W.S.C. Copeman, *Doctors and Disease in Tudor Times* (London: 1960), p. 49.

[85] William Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, 6 vols. (London: 1846), vi, pt. 2, pp. 626-627. A settlement reached on 31 October 1420 gave the hospital virtual autonomy from the priory; see *Cartulary* [no. 53], p. 19, and Webb, *Records of St. Bartholomew's Priory*, i, pp. 79-92.

But by the end of the twelfth century, the hospital had begun to win many rights of its own, independent of the prior's direct control. The hospital had its own charter, seal, and separate administration. It was the master of the hospital who determined who would be admitted for care and relief within the hospital; the masters of the hospital also shouldered most of the responsibility for the administration of the hospital and the discipline of the staff and inmates. Eventually, the hospital was also granted the rights to maintain a chapel--with its own alms-box--and appoint a chaplain.[86]

An important component in the hospital's relative autonomy from the priory was its competence to administer its own property. Grants of land or revenues from the properties of citizens to the hospital were recorded steadily after *circa* 1170: it appears that citizens wished to ascertain that their bequests would be used specifically for the needs of the hospital, and not appropriated by the priory.[87] In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the hospital won additional financial privileges. On 27 November 1281, Edward I exempted St. Bartholomew's from the Statute of Mortmain of 1279, thereby allowing the institution to hold property; this privilege was re-affirmed in 1437.[88] In 1340, the first of several chantries was established within the hospital, accumulating valuable messuages and shops that supplemented hospital revenues in return for perpetual masses for the souls of the benefactor and his family.[89] Under Edward II, St. Bartholomew's Hospital was assured by law that "none of the officers or ministers of this City should do or execute any arrest within the province of the said hospital."[90] And on 14 March 1353, Edward III exonerated St. Bartholomew's Hospital from the imposts

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[86] Moore, *History of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, i, p. 24; *Cartulary*, pp. 7, 35 [no. 236], 42 [no. 314], 110 [no. 1123], and Appendix I, pp. 153 [no.22] and 154 [no. 27]; Kerling, "The Foundation of St. Bartholomew's Hospital," p. 145; C.L.R.O., Misc. MS. 61.8, fols. 1-6.

[87] Kerling, "The Foundation of St. Bartholomew's Hospital," p. 143.

[88] *CPR, 1436-41*, p. 48; Carlin, "Medieval English Hospitals," p. 33.

[89] Moore, *History of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, i, pp. 223; Rubin, *Charity and Community*, pp. 190-191; a later (1460) chantry was established using the revenues of the manor of Ducketts in Tottenham and Harringay, Middlesex, bequeathed to the hospital by John Sturgeon: B.L., Harl. MS. 433, fol. 296; *Valor Ecclesiasticus temp. Henry VIII, Auctoritate Regia Institutus*, 6 vols. (London, 1810), i, p. 388; *VCH: London*, i, p. 523.

[90] C.L.R.O., Rep. x, fol. 216^{r} (19 July, 33 Henry VIII): This law was recalled by the City in 1542, when Alice Crammer, living on St. Bartholomew's premises, was arrested; she was subsequently ordered released.

of tenths and fifteenths, acknowledging that the regular revenues of the hospital were insufficient to care for all the sick, poor wayfarers, pregnant women, and dependent children who demanded help from it.[91]

The mission of St. Bartholomew's Hospital from its inception was to care for the poor and sick from London and all parts of the realm.[92] The staff there would endeavour to heal the sick, give shelter to those at its gates who sought overnight relief, house pilgrims, rear and educate orphaned or deserted children, and give comfort to the elderly poor. Those who worked for the hospital were admonished to work for the glory of God, and those who were treated there were likewise urged to use their time well by praying for their own betterment and for the sake of the souls of the founders and benefactors of the hospital.[93]

Miraculous cures attributed to the founder were deemed indications of divine favour. The *Liber Fundacionis*, for instance, records miraculous cures ascribed to Rahere, including the straightening of a deformed man, the restoration of speech to a dumb child, and rest given to an insomniac.[94] These were seen as signs of God's pleasure in the mission of the hospital. The absence of trained medical personnel is perhaps not unexpected: evidence suggests they only infrequently attended upon hospitals for the poor.[95] The most generally learned and skilful healers of the time, physicians and surgeons, could command higher fees for their services in such places as the court and in private houses of the wealthy: physicians, that is, who had avoided the skepticism of members of the educated classes like Margaret Paston, who in the 1460s urgently warned her husband for "God's sake beware what medicines ye take of any

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[91] Moore, *History of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, i, pp. 499-501, 573-574, 578-579.

[92] *Book of the Foundation*, pp. 39-43; *Cartulary*, p. 9.

[93] Rawcliffe, "The Hospitals of Later Medieval London," p. 11.

[94] *Book of the Foundation*, pp. 18-19, 27, 28.

[95] Rawcliffe, "Hospitals of Later Medieval London," p. 10; Robert S. Gottfried, *Doctors and Medicine in Medieval England: 1340-1530* (Princeton, New Jersey: 1986), pp. 17-19; Carlin, "English Medieval Hospitals," pp. 29-30.

physicians in London."[96] Moreover, the medications they might prescribe would probably be beyond the hospital's means to supply.[97]

St. Bartholomew's did not, however, function without any professional medical assistance whatsoever. As one of the larger institutions caring for the capital's poor, it seems to have made occasional use of the services of physicians and surgeons. Surgeons were called upon to perform medical procedures that the brothers and sisters could not, either for lack of skill or owing to the prohibitions imposed by holy orders. Through the benefaction of John Don, mercer, in 1479, St. Bartholomew's shared the services of surgeon Thomas Thorneton with Elsing Spital, St. Thomas' Hospital in Southwark, and the prisons of Newgate and Ludgate.[98] No doubt, the attributes of the medieval surgeons were similar to those described by William Clowes, visiting surgeon to Christ's Hospital and barber-surgeon to St. Bartholomew's in the late sixteenth century: needed were "a lion's heart, a lady's hand, and a hawk's eye."[99]

At least one medieval medical expert, John Mirfield, lived in the monastery of St. Bartholomew's, and within the cloisters there wrote two tracts on health care and professional obligations. The *Breviarium Bartholomei*, written prior to 1387, dealt with topics such as medicine, pharmacology, surgery, and regimens of health. Surely the suggestions he made in this work were grounded as much in observations he made at the hospital as in private study. A later work of Mirfield's was the *Florarium Bartholomei*, which among other things chastened physicians about being greedy in demanding recompense for their labours. Again, the *Florarium Bartholomei* must have had some bearing on Mirfield's association with St.

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[96] *Paston Letters and Papers of the Fifteenth Century: Part I*, Norman Davis, ed. (Oxford: 1971), p. 291; Charles Webster, "Medicine as Social History: Changing Ideas on Doctors and Patients in the Age of Shakespeare," in *A Celebration of Medical History*, L.G. Stevenson, ed. (Baltimore, Maryland: 1982), p. 119 and note 68.

[97] Rawcliffe, "Hospitals of Later Medieval London," p. 7.

[98] Rawcliffe, "Hospitals of Later Medieval London," p. 8 (citing PCC Logge 2); Carlin, "Medieval English Hospital," pp. 30-31.

[99] William Clowes, *Selected Writings of William Clowes*, Frederick N.L. Poynter, ed. (London: 1953), pp. 35-37; Antonia McLean, *Humanism and the Rise of Science in Tudor England* (New York: 1972), p. 203.

Bartholomew's, where work--both professional and unskilled--for the poor appeared more likely to bring rewards in the next life than in this world.[100]

Medieval and early-modern surgeons and staff alike would have needed to develop a common defence mechanism: hardened olfactory senses. Descriptions of busy, urban hospitals throughout medieval and renaissance Europe were on occasion horrifying in their accounts of the stench and unhygienic conditions in which patients convalesced. However assiduously normal procedures for fumigation were pursued, they were usually inadequate in combating the omnipresent filth: unwashed patients sleeping on soggy mattresses infested with bugs, dirty floors, and noxious smells emanating from blubber and oil lamps, kitchens, open lavatories, and night chases left unemptied for long periods.[101] These conditions were not universal, however, and in general London benefactors and episcopal visitors before the Reformation were vigilant in seeing that the ill received adequate attention, shelter, and diet during their hospital stay.[102]

The obligations of the Hospital of St. Bartholomew's in the Middle Ages were manifold. In recognition of its record of fulfilling the medieval tradition of providing lodging to all "poor pilgrims, soldiers, and others of all nations," St. Bartholomew's won a pardon from Edward IV in 1464 for having accepted unauthorised grants.[103] Indeed, by the end of the fifteenth century, St. Bartholomew's Hospital and St. Anthony's were particularly distinguished in the quality and diversity of care they offered London's poor.[104] Education was also a function of the hospital: by the fifteenth century, the hospital employed a Latin master, and wills of the period demonstrate the support of the London citizenry for the free instruction of poor boys in

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[100] Moore, *History of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, i, pp. 608-611; Rubin, *Charity and Community*, p. 94; John Henderson, "The Hospitals of Late-Medieval and Renaissance Florence: A Preliminary Survey," in *The Hospital in History*, Lindsay Granshaw and Roy Porter, eds. (London: 1989), p. 81.

[101] John D. Thompson and G. Goldin, *The Hospital: A Social and Architectural History* (New Haven, Connecticut: 1975), p. 35.

[102] Carlin, "Medieval English Hospitals," pp. 26-27, 31.

[103] *CPR: 1461-1467*, p. 323; Rawcliffe, "The Hospitals of Later Medieval London," p. 2; *VCH: London*, i, p. 522.

[104] Rawcliffe, "The Hospitals of Later Medieval London," p. 2.

grammar and singing.[105] A tradition of lively scholarly disputations was maintained by the prior of St. Bartholomew's, and of the masters of St. Thomas Acon's Hospital and St. Anthony's Hospital until the time of the Dissolution.[106]

The hospital at times assumed responsibility for raising children imprisoned with their parents in the "most ugly and loathsome" Newgate prison.[107] Hospital beadles were charged with searching the prison for newborns and small children, who would be cared for and taught by the sisters and brethren at the hospital.[108] St. Bartholomew's also maintained a night shelter that offered lodging and food to travelers and the poor who came to its portals.[109]

In its efforts to care for the elderly, the hospital was sometimes able to arrange mutually beneficial deals with prospective patients; in return for a pledge to provide care for the elderly in their last years, the hospital would receive the patient's house or property. The hospital would provide care for the patient in his or her home as long as possible. When the patient's health failed, he would then be removed to the hospital for more intensive care. Corrodians were individuals who purchased the rights to live in the hospital; those so inclined might even share in the community life of the monastery.[110]

It would certainly seem that throughout the medieval period, St. Bartholomew's had made a number of concessions in its primary goal of caring for the sick poor: because of heavy expenses, the hospital accepted corrodians and tuition-paying students, procedures common among hospitals of the period, but nonetheless practices which of necessity must have diverted

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[105] *Cartulary*, pp. 9, 105 [no. 1059].

[106] Stow, *Survey*, p. 68.

[107] Rawcliffe, "Hospitals of Later Medieval London," p. 8; Grafton, *Chronicle*, i, pp. 499-500.

[108] Nellie J. M. Kerling, "Note on Newgate Prison," *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society*, 22, pt. 1 (1968), pp. 21-22.

[109] *Cartulary* [no. 1243], p. 120; Moore, *History of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, i, p. 240-241. In 1216, Alexander de Norfolk granted property to the hospital, and directed that revenues from it should be used for covers for the poor who used the Great Ward for a night-shelter. Geoffrey Yeo, *Ward Names at Bart's* (London: 1990), p. 1.

[110] *Cartulary*, no. 726, p. 76; Moore, *History of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, i, p. 210; Rubin, *Charity and Community*, pp. 171-172.

the attention of some of the brothers and sisters from nursing.[111] Those who held corrodies would have helped St. Bartholomew's financially by paying an entrance fee and pledging to leave goods and property to the hospital; equally important, corrodians were bound to work within the community-at-large (presumably making use of their old contacts) to arouse support and collect monies for the benevolent works of the hospital. There is not, however, much evidence as to how much good-will the hospital actually acquired through the offices of its corrodians. In fact, no documents survive which record corrodians residing at St. Bartholomew's Hospital just before the Dissolution; no mention is made of them in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, and in general the problem of pensioners dissipating monastic resources was seldom a reality after the early fifteenth century.[112]

By the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Hospital of St. Bartholomew's held considerable resources: in rents and properties, the hospital's estate generated annual revenues greater than all other London hospitals excepting the Hospital of the Savoy and the Hospital of St. Mary's without Bishopsgate.[113] This wealth was the product of generally careful management of the fruits of more than four centuries of benefactions to St. Bartholomew's Hospital; like some of the other larger hospitals, St. Bartholomew's had become a substantial holder of urban properties by the end of the medieval period.[114]

The giving of alms and public and private demonstrations of generosity toward charitable institutions were acts regarded as essential in maintaining social cohesion; in the medieval as in the early-modern period, these deeds manifested Christian and civic obligations that bound the rich and the poor. In the early-modern period, moreover, the administration of poor relief

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[111] A Corrody was originally a grant of food or other provisions made by a monastery; by the sixteenth century, it had become "to all intents...a purchasable annuity." Geoffrey R. Elton, *The Tudor Constitution: Documents and Commentary* (2nd edition, Cambridge: 1982), p. 385 (note 81).

[112] Dom David Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England*, 3 vols. (Cambridge: 1979), iii, pp. 266-267.

[113] *Valor Ecclesiasticus* i, pp. 358-359, 388-389, and 412-414. Furthermore, the gross revenues of the Savoy at times barely exceeded its expenses. See B.L., Lawnsdowne MS. 20, no. 15; *VCH: London*, i, p. 547; and Moore, *History of the St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, ii, p. 125.

[114] Rubin, *Charity and Community*, p. 29.

became steadily more bureaucratised, and the process of giving and receiving aid underscored the bonds of "patronage and deference" which upheld social discipline.[115]

By the time the *Cartulary* was being compiled in the middle of the fifteenth century, St. Bartholomew's Hospital had amassed properties in approximately sixty London parishes. Most of its City properties were concentrated in the nearby parishes of St. Botolph's without Aldersgate and St. Sepulchre without Newgate.[116] Donations to the hospital, which given the evidence in the hospital's *Cartulary* appear to have peaked in the fourteenth century, ranged from small bequests to those sizable enough to be remembered by City leaders trying to re-organise the London hospitals in the mid-sixteenth century. The largess of Richard Whittington, thrice Lord Mayor of London, who built more than half of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, was particularly conspicuous.[117]

The *Cartulary* also records property holdings beyond London: farm lands in Essex and Middlesex were important sources of revenue for the hospital, and the hospital had smaller holdings scattered beyond the home counties.[118] Because of various arrangements the hospital had made with tenants on its farm lands in Essex, part of the rents due were received in kind; thus, St. Bartholomew's was able to avoid the practice, common in London in the late medieval period, of substituting meals with a dole in the form of tokens redeemable with private vendors for food.[119] Patients cured at St. Bartholomew's were often dismissed with a new pair of shoes, and possibly new garments, made at the tannery of the Priory.[120]

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[115] Ian W. Archer, "Governors and Governed in Late Sixteenth-Century London, *c.*1560 - 1603: Studies in the Achievement of Stability" (Unpublished D.Phil. Dissertation, Oxford: 1988), pp. 4-5.

[116] See, for example, W.A.M., MS. 13508 and MS. 16005.

[117] *Cartulary*, p. 171 [appendix i, no. 250]; Stow, *Survey of London*, p. 99; Grafton, *Chronicle*, i, pp. 499-500; *DNB*, xxi, pp. 153-157; *Historical Collections of a Citizen of London*, pp. viii-ix; Carlin, "Medieval English Hospitals," p. 33; Steven Rappaport, *Worlds Within Worlds: Structures of Life in Sixteenth-Century London* (Cambridge: 1989), pp. 367-368.

[118] *Cartulary*, *passim*.

[119] Rawcliffe, "Hospitals of Later Medieval London," p. 13.

[120] Kerling, "Administration," p. 22; *Cartulary*, p. 12.

3. The Hospital of the Savoy in London: A Late-Medieval Foundation

The Hospital of the Savoy, begun in 1505, was intended to be the crowning achievement in the works of charity and piety initiated by Henry VII in the final years of his life.[121] Two palaces had stood on the south side of the Strand since the reign of Henry III.[122] The hospital created by Henry VII lay within the parish of St. Clement Danes, and was dedicated to Blessed Jesus, the Virgin Mary, and St. John the Baptist.[123] The hospital edifice was newly constructed by Henry VII, and showed the extent to which the king took a personal interest in the project, noting instructions for various details of its construction in his will. The personal tastes and predilections of the first two Tudors were apparent in the images chosen for veneration: Henry VI, from whom Henry VII traced his lineage and purported dynastic continuity, was among those represented, no doubt in anticipation of his canonisation.[124] The Savoy also showed the influence of Italian hospital design, which the king had surveyed when studying similar institutions abroad.[125]

The size and organisation of the Savoy was inspired in part by northern Italian models. For much of the later Middle Ages, northern Italian cities incontestably set the standards of institutional and professional medical organisation that most large metropolitan areas north of the Alps could only hope to duplicate.[126] Particularly in Florence, hospitals built or reorganised after the middle of the fourteenth century tended to be large-scale, and were

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[121] *The History of the King's Works: 1485-1660*, H.M. Colvin, gen. ed. (London: 1960), iii, pt. 1, pp. 187-196. Other charitable endowments at the end of Henry VII's life included the building of an almshouse in Westminster, making provisions for three chantry monks at Westminster Abbey, and the building of two hospitals in York and Coventry, neither of which materalised. In addition to smaller works, the king left money for the saying of ten thousand masses for his soul's rest.

[122] Stow, *Survey*, pp. 393, 396; Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, vi, p. 726; M.J. Power, "East and West in Early-Modern London," in *Wealth and Power in Tudor England: Essays Presented to S.T. Bindoff*, E.W. Ives, R.J. Knecht, J.J. Scarisbrick, eds. (London: 1978), p. 169.

[123] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/E14, fol. 125; *VCH: London*, i, p. 546.

[124] *History of the King's Works*, iii, pt. 1, p. 198; Sidney Anglo, *Images of Tudor Kingship* (London: 1992), p. 72.

[125] Jordan, *Charities of London*, p. 137; see also Chapter IV, pp. 133-137, below.

[126] Katharine Park, *Doctors and Medicine in Early Renaissance Florence* (Princeton: 1985), p. 7.

designed to specialise in the cure of the sick poor.[127] Henry VII sought and received an account of the ordinances of Santa Maria Nuova from the governors of Florence.[128]

Although the Savoy was a smaller foundation than St. Maria Nuova and some of the other north Italian hospitals, it offered bedspace for one hundred men, and after St. Leonard's Hospital in York, it was the second wealthiest medieval foundation in England.[129] Henry VII began the hospital with a grant of 10,000 marks, of which 500 marks were to be retained in trust by the master and four perpetual chaplains for moments of "urgent necessity of the hospital."[130] By the time of its completion in 1517, the Savoy was the largest building situated along the Thames, and its chapel, which faced north rather than east, was regarded with particular interest by visitors to London.[131] The first master, William Hogill, was named in 1517.[132] The Abbot of Westminster Abbey was appointed visitor *ex officio*, and records kept by his clerks indicate that work on the hospital buildings continued at least until early 1520.[133] The Savoy differed from most other London hospitals in that its buildings were constructed specifically for the purpose of providing nursing care to its inmates. A 'designed' hospital like the Savoy stood in contrast to older institutions, which typically used monastic or other types of buildings constructed with no thought that they might one day be converted for use as infirmaries.[134]

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[127] Henderson, "Hospitals of Late-Medieval and Renaissance Florence," pp. 82-83.

[128] Bodl. Lib., Bodl. MS. 488, *passim*, and B.L., Additional MS. 40077. These manuscripts are collated and translated in Katherine Park and John Henderson, "The First Hospital Among Christians: The Ospedale di Santa Maria Nuova in Early Sixteenth-Century Florence," in *Medical History*, 35 (1991), pp. 175-188.

[129] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/E14, fol. 123; Hall, *Chronicle*, p. 272; Carlin, "Medieval English Hospitals," pp. 31, 34.

[130] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/E14, fol. 126; W.A.M., MSS. 32408, 32409, 32410, 32411, 32412, 32413; Jordan, *Charities of London*, p. 137.

[131] Rosemary Weinstein, "Early Tudor London," in *Henry VIII: A European Court in England*, David Starkey, ed. (New York: 1991), p. 19.

[132] B.L., Cott. MS. Cleo., Cv, fol. 55.

[133] W.A.M., MS. 63509. The ties between the dean of Westminster and the Savoy continued after the Marian refoundation. See, for example, B.L., Lansdowne MS. 8, fol. 219^{r}.

[134] Thompson, *Hospital Social and Architectural History*, p. xxvii.

In imitation of the Italian models, the Savoy was a cross wards hospital, shaped after a Roman rather than Greek cross, and was the only one of its kind in England.[135] The cruciform plan, which came to dominate Northern Italian hospital design, reminded residents and visitors alike of the sufferings of Christ on the cross, and emblematically of the suffering all mortals are called upon to endure. The design also allowed patients to view the altar, situated at the transept, from their beds; likewise, patients could be easily supervised by the nursing staff. Male and female patients were segregated in the wards. Air would circulate more freely within cross wards, and the inevitable odours of a hospital would not linger as long as they might in traditional rectangular halls.[136]

By January 1524, thirty-one articles had been formulated as ordinances for the Savoy. These articles demonstrate that fifteen years after the death of Henry VII, strict controls were applied to the organisation and administration of the hospital.[137] In addition to the master, four chaplains served as either as the vice master, sexton, confessor or curate, and hospitaller who received the poor. Other officers included two priests to assist in service of the poor and a matron assisted by twelve women.[138]

The master was drawn from the ranks of the chaplains, and was bound in obedience to the abbot or prior of St. Peter's, who would see that he continually resided at the hospital, observed its statutes, and preserved its lands, goods, rentals, and properties. Late-medieval ecclesiastical irregularities like pluralisms and non-residency were prohibited by statute, although the first master held several posts in tandem, apparently without fear of reprisals; the mastership of the Savoy was not a sinecure, and the incumbent was expected to be present and engaged in the everyday workings of the hospital.[139] The master was instructed to make rounds amongst the sick and impotent three or four times a week; and, "as [his] heart may

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[135] Thompson, *Hospital Social and Architectural History*, p. 35.
[136] Thompson, *Hospital Social and Architectural History*, pp. 30-31, 37, 75.
[137] B.L., Cott. MS. Cleo., Cv, fols. 4^{v}-54^{v}; see also G.L.R.O., H1/ST/E14, fols. 112-128.
[138] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/E14, fols. 112-113.
[139] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/E14, fols. 113-116; *LPFD*, iv, pt. 2, no. 4073; *VCH: London*, i, p. 547.

move him," he should offer them comfort and consolation. Furthermore, two or three times a week, he was to stand at the great gate of the house as the poor were admitted, to appraise how the officers received them. In addition to supervising all hospital officers and servants, the master was to ensure personally that proper hospitality was granted to wayfarers, that the sick and diseased were properly treated, and that those who died within the hospital were given a decent burial.[140] Dispensing food and lodging to honest travelers had been a central facet of medieval hospital; by the early sixteenth century, however, it was a rather antiquated notion given the plethora of inns and hostels in urban settings.

Admission of patients was normally presided over by the hospitaller, his servants, the vice-matron, and two porters, all of whom stood at the hospital gate one hour before sunset, admitting "most gladly, willingly, and piteously such as their consciences shall endure" among the poor "that shall ask for God's sake." Distinctions were made, however, in the order in which applicants were taken in. No women were admitted. The first to be received were the sick and diseased, with no one being denied entrance unless they were afflicted with leprosy. Next in line were the blind, lame, and weak. Finally, if space remained, paupers, mendicants, and "those who ask a night's lodging for God's sake" entered.[141]

Once they crossed the portals of the Savoy, guidelines regulated the behaviour of the poor. Dicing and card play were forbidden for officers and inmates alike, and both blasphemy and the wearing of weapons within the hospital were prohibited.[142] The sexton greeted them at the chapel door, and commanded them to enter, kneel, and say one Pater Noster and one Ave Maria for the repose of the soul of Henry VII. Afterwards, the matron doused them with "balms and furnesses replenished with warm water for the making clean and purging of them with all necessaries."[143] The coverlets of all the featherbeds were embossed with white and

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[140] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/E14, fols. 116-117.
[141] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/E14, fol. 124.
[142] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/E14, fol. 122.
[143] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/E14, fol. 124.

red roses and a portcullis "being the king's arms." Blue uniforms embroidered with Tudor roses worn by the staff presented further visual reminders that the care newcomers were receiving had sprung from the Christian generosity of Henry VII.[144]

The sick and feeble were segregated from the other inmates.[145] All patients were to rise between five and seven in the morning in the summer, and between seven and eight in the winter. A light would be kept burning all night in the dorter, and patients would be warmed by a fire in the chimney of the dorter in the morning. While the stay of ordinary inmates was not to exceed one night, patients who were ill might receive ministrations from the hospital's physician and surgeon as often as twice a day, for as long as they required them.[146] From the evidence found in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, the Savoy was the only hospital of it time to make payments to apothecaries for medicines.[147]

Despite the substantial size of the hospital's property holdings and cash reserves, expenses were a heavy burden. At times, the master of the Savoy had to use some of the emergency funds set aside by the provisions designed by Henry VII to cover its food bills.[148] Two years before its dissolution in 1553, the revenues of the hospital were found by government inspectors to have fallen short of its expenditures by more than £200.[149] The Savoy, which had been built by Henry VII "in the time of papistry chiefly for pilgrims, wayfaring men, and for maimed and bruised soldiers that they might have meat, drink, and lodging for a time" had descended to "nothing else but a nursery of all villany" by the early 1550s. By that time, critics charged that rogues, prostitutes, thieves, and idlers used it as an inn, while "the revenues and profits of the rents [went] wholly to the use of the masters who were priests and officers of the house."[150]

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[144] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/E14, fol. 123; B.L., Cott. MS. Cleo., Cv, fol. 27.
[145] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/E14, fol. 123.
[146] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/E14, fols. 124-125.
[147] *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, i, p. 359; Carlin, "Medieval English Hospitals," p. 31.
[148] B.L., Lansdowne MS. 20, no. 15.
[149] B.L., Lansdowne MS. 20, no. 14.
[150] Howes, "A Familiar and Friendly Discourse," pp. 52-56.

After its closure under Edward VI, much of the properties and rentals of the Savoy were made over for the use of St. Thomas's Hospital and Bridewell.[151] For some time thereafter, the fate of the Savoy was suspended, and contemporary references to it during Edward's and part of Mary's reign suggest that it was alternately used as a place of detention (for the duke of Somerset) and as a burial ground for notable personages.[152]

Under Mary I, interest in the Savoy was revived, and refoundation occurred in 1556, although the worth of its landed endowments were considerably diminished.[153] The queen attempted to regenerate the hospital by restoring its endowments to the level established by her grandfather.[154] Her personal generosity toward the Savoy was but one part of a larger strategy to assist the material rehabilitation of the old church, and along with it, restore traditional organs of poor relief like the Savoy.[155]

The hospital remained outside the ambit of the new system of post-Reformation hospitals in London, and apparently suffered as a result of official neglect during the Elizabethan period. Although no indications of malfeasance on the part of the hospital administrators surfaced in the visitation of 1551, much fault was found twenty years later with its master Thomas Thurland.[156] The charges against Thurland underscored the obvious point that instances of larceny and administrative abuses were not by any means limited to the pre-Reformation period. The misdemeanors of Thurland might have been those leveled against the

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[151] Charles Wriothesley, *A Chronicle of England during the Reigns of the Tudors, 1485-1559*, 2 vols., W.D. Hamilton, ed. (Camden Soc., second series, xi and xx, 1875-1877), ii, p. 83; *The Chronicle of Queen Jane and Two Years of Queen Mary, and Especially of the Rebellion of Sir Thomas Wyatt, Written by a Resident in the Tower of London*, J.G. Nichols, ed. (Camden Soc., old series, xlviii, London: 1850), pp. 101-102; Inner Temple Library, MS. Petyt 47, fol. 416.

[152] *Grey Friars' Chronicle of London*, J.G. Nichols, ed. (Camden Soc., series no. liii, London: 1852), p. 66; Henry Machyn, *The Diary of Henry Machyn, Citizen and Merchant Taylor of London, 1550-1563*, J.G. Nichols, ed. (Camden Soc., series no. xlii, London: 1848), pp. 27, 110, 121.

[153] *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic: 1547-1590*, 2 vols., Robert Lemon, ed. (London: 1856-1872; reprint 1967), p. 85; G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A24/1, fol. 105^{v}; W.A.M., MS. 32425.

[154] P.R.O., SP11/9/8; B.L., Harleian MS. 6949; W.A.M., MS. 32425 [n.p.]; David M. Loades, *The Reign of Mary Tudor: Politics, Government, and Religion in England, 1553-1558* (London: 1979), pp. 355, 450.

[155] Loades, *The Reign of Mary Tudor*, pp. 352-355; David M. Loades, *Mary Tudor: A Life* (Oxford: 1992), p. 331.

[156] B.L., Lansdowne MS. 20, no. 15; *VCH: London*, i, p. 547.

master of a decayed hospital of the 1520s or 1530s.[157] Around 1571, Thurland was accused of not keeping residence as hospital statutes stipulated, of maintaining kinsfolk at the expense of the house, of spending too much time bowling and keeping company with Elizabeth Woller, a "suspect woman of living" who held a privy key to the great gate, and of alienating hospital lands to his own benefit and flouting hospital ordinances in general. Not surprisingly, the poor suffered for all of this, as did the integrity of the house, for Thurland denied them adequate bedding provisions, and permitted the Cook, slatternly and *enceinte*, to withhold from them "fire in winter and...drink in great necessity whereby the sisters have been driven to give them water instead of drink."[158]

The guiding principles of the Hospital of the Savoy neatly span the late-medieval and early-modern period. To the extent that its creator intended the hospital to be regarded as a personal, monumental good work conceived to pave his path to heaven, and to the degree that it dispensed alms and offered shelter ostensibly with little regard for the 'worthiness' of it supplicants, it was anchored in the traditions of medieval hospitals. The ordinances developed early in its history were, however, forward-looking. They aimed at insulating the Savoy from the administrative neglect and abuses which had weakened older houses. The articles of 1524, with their tightly articulated observations concerning how the Savoy ought to function, foreshadowed attempts by the governors of the Edwardian hospitals of London to compose universal rules of governance.

The precautions the founder and early governors of the Savoy imposed initially helped the hospital avoid the institutional sclerosis common among other hospitals, and which had brought the whole system of late-medieval hospitals into disrepute by the eve of the Dissolution. The internal decline that took place in both the Edwardian and Elizabethan periods was

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[157] W.A.M., MS. 32426, fols. 1^{r}-2^{v}; MS. 32433.
[158] W.A.M., MS. 32427, fols. 1^{r}-2^{v}.

accompanied by varying degrees of royal and civic displays of indifference and hostility. Attention and interest had largely shifted to City hospitals reformed and renewed by the countless crucibles of the 1530s and 1540s, and while the landed wealth of the Savoy was of interest to urban reformers, its role in urban and suburban poor relief became increasingly marginalised, especially after the passing of the Marian regime.

St. Bartholomew's history, on the other hand, was rooted in its medieval origins. Like other ancient hospitals, its mission in aiding the sick poor was a manifestation of Christian and corporate charity. Over the course of four hundred years, it assumed an important place among the facilities used to cope with the indigent and sick persons of London. Immediately before and during the Reformation, though, the crown and the City had begun to cast about for new ideas to deal with the multiplying needs of the poor of London, and St. Bartholomew's would in time be changed so that it could emerge at the centre of the City's new outlook and strategies for the relief of the needy.

CHAPTER II

THE HOSPITALS OF LONDON IN THE DECADES BEFORE THE REFORMATION

Dom David Knowles alluded to the years between 1450 and 1535 as comprising an epoch when the "rhythms of society" fluctuated with particular intensity. He argued that, while it is not entirely accurate to presume that churchmen and their institutions had commenced an irreversible degeneration into "moral and pecuniary bankruptcy..., [i]t would be a truer view to see the world changing around them while they, for their part, were unable either to accompany that change or to adapt themselves to the demands and necessities of a different world."[1] Institutional decay at the end of the fifteenth century was pronounced in some provincial towns and in monastic properties that had been neglected or dissolved; and instances of corruption and ineptitude on the part of those who ran the hospitals and monasteries were rife and called out for swift rectification.[2]

The instances of gross administrative improprieties or examples of the hospitals failing to alleviate privation and misery within their locales did not, however, necessarily indicate that the 'system' of hospitals was in its death-throes.[3] In Westminster, for instance, the abrupt changes brought on by the appropriations of Church properties may actually have impeded a progression under way from the beginning of the sixteenth century. Communal organisations like guilds steadily acquired resources which allowed the town to begin a process of centralising and streamlining its approach to the health and welfare of its poor citizens in the face

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[1] Knowles, *Religious Orders in England*, iii, p. 7.

[2] Paul Slack, "Social Policy and the Constraints of Government, 1547-58," in *The Mid-Tudor Polity, c1540-1560*, Jennifer Loach and Robert Tittler, eds. (London: 1980), p. 95; Charles Phythian-Adams, "Urban Decay in Late Medieval England," in *Towns in Societies*, P. Abrams and E.A. Wrigley, eds. (Cambridge: 1978), pp. 168, 179-183.

[3] Barry G. Gale, "The Dissolution and the Revolution in London Hospital Facilities," *Medical History*, 11 (1967), pp. 92-93. See also J.A.F. Thompson, "Piety and Charity in Late-Medieval London," in *JEH*, 16 (1965), p. 186-187.

of various economic challenges.[4] Such a premise cannot fully be applied to London, however. Although guilds and confraternities played an increasingly important role in the City's system of poor relief, London was probably further from naturally developing a communal response to the pressures of an expanding population than were its suburbs or other provincial towns in the years immediately before the Dissolution.

St. Bartholomew's Hospital was, like most other institutions with ecclesiastical ties, hit hard by the changes of the Reformation. Like most of the other hospitals of London, critics were able to point to weak spots in its organisation and to flaws in the characters of those who served there. Nonetheless, the dramatic changes brought about by the seizure of church properties precipitated a reevaluation and overhaul of both the public and private means of dispensing poor relief and providing basic health-care for the indigent. The geographic location of St. Bartholomew's, its long history, and the property interests of the institution, all prompted the leaders of the Corporation in the late 1530s to place the hospital in Smithfield at the core of their plans when they began their long drive to convince the king that control of the mechanisms of the City's poor relief properly belong in their hands.

1. St. Bartholomew's Hospital and Criticisms of the Monastic System: 1500 - 1536

It is difficult to assess the relative strengths and weaknesses of St. Bartholomew's Hospital in the decades approaching the Reformation. As with any large institution in existence over a long span of time, there were internal scandals and disputes. Rumours of improprieties between the hospital master and one of the sisters in 1375 brought about the peculiar situation of the hospital being ruled for eleven years by Richard de Sutton, a publicly-acknowledged fornicator and ultimately an excommunicant.[5]

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[4] Gervase Rosser, "The Essence of Medieval Urban Communities: The Vill of Westminster, 1200-1540," in *TRHS*, 34 (1984), p. 93.

[5] *VCH: London*, i, p. 522.

Inferences that the sisters were inadequately provided for would seem to be partially certified by testators like Thomas Gevendale (also called Thomas Hewek), who in August 1455 left money to the sisters and poor patients "to increase their provisions."[6] This gift may also have been in recognition of the heavy load of work carried by the sisters: the bulk of physical work of the hospital fell on them, as the brothers mainly ministered to the sick, supervised the running of the hospital, and observed the canonical rules.[7] This had not always been the case. Care of patients was a responsibility apparently borne jointly by the brothers and sisters according to the episcopal records of 1316; however, the valuation roll of St. Bartholomew's suggests that by 1546, this was exclusively the work of the sisters.[8] Altercations between the priors and the masters over such issues as food allowances, water supplies, and the extent of the priors' jurisdiction over the affairs of the hospital surely also tarnished the hospital's reputation.[9]

Tensions also occasionally arose between the hospital and the City government. This was the case when, in the late fifteenth century, because of the "unkind and unloving disposition of the prior of St. Bartholomew's and the Master of the Hospital towards this City," the wardens of the Drapers and Tailors companies were ordered "from henceforth [to avoid] tak[ing] any booth or standing place within the time of Bartholomew Fair of the said prior or within his said precinct, but to take their standing of the Chamberlain upon the common ground of the City."[10]

Perhaps to allay some of these tensions, or perhaps to improve the position of the hospital vis-à-vis the City and the Crown, the brethren of St. Bartholomew's, at the beginning of

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[6] *Cartulary* [nos. 1105-1106], p. 109; Rawcliffe, "The Hospitals of Later Medieval London," p. 14; *VCH: London*, i, p. 521.

[7] Carlin, "Medieval English Hospitals," p. 32.

[8] G.L., MS. 9531/1, fol. 39^{v}; S.B.H., HC3, mem. 14. I thank Mr. Geoffrey Yeo for pointing out these references to me.

[9] *VCH: London*, i, p. 522; *Parl. Papers, 1837*, xxxii, pt. 6, p. 1; *The Calendar of the Letter Book of the City of London: Letter Book L, temp. Edward IV - Henry VII*, Reginald K. Sharpe, ed. (London: 1912), pp. 4, 8; Stow, *Survey*, p. 35.

[10] C.L.R.O., Rep. i, fol. 38.

the sixteenth century, took steps to gain important patronage.[11] In 1530, for instance, the hospital acceded to the will of the Diocese of London and the Crown by accepting into perpetual custody one Thomas Cornwall, remanded for breaking an earlier sentence upon conviction of heresy.[12] In keeping with the common practices in ecclesiastical preferments in this period, the brethren of St. Bartholomew's Hospital twice sought the direction of Cardinal Wolsey in selecting a master. In 1516, Wolsey nominated one of the brethren, Richard Smith, to fill the mastership of the hospital.[13] Again in 1524, Wolsey was empowered to nominate a master.[14] This time he nominated the Benedictine prior of Daventry, Alexander Collins, granting him a dispensation to change to the Augustinian order.[15]

Upon the death of Collins on 15 January 1528, a delegation of the brethren petitioned Cuthbert Tunstall, the bishop of London, to nominate the new master.[16] In selecting the offices of the bishop of London over those of Wolsey, the brethren risked disappointing the king. Henry VIII had anticipated that Wolsey's patronage of the hospital would continue, and he wished to have a share in it: according to a letter from Thomas Henneage to his former master, Cardinal Wolsey, "the king would be glad if you brought the appointment [of the mastership] into your own hands, that he and you may put [one Master Wilson, a candidate whom the king favoured] or some other good man in."[17] In the end, the election did represent the preferences of Wolsey and the king over those of Tunstall.[18] The choice in 1528 had again been compromitted to Tunstall.[19] The mastership fell to Edward Staples, the bishop of Meath, Ireland, who held the hospital *in commendam*.[20] The election of Staples was reported as pleas-

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[11] *VCH: London*, i, p. 523.
[12] Walter Besant, *History and Survey of London*, 8 vols. (London: 1904), ii, p. 258.
[13] G.L., MS. 9531/9, fols. 80-86.
[14] G.L., MS. 9531/10, fols. 80-86.
[15] Moore, *History of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, ii, pp. 120-121.
[16] G.L., MS. 9531/10, fols. 87-101. Edward Staple was selected to be master.
[17] *LPFD*, iv, pt. 2, no. 4335.
[18] Peter Gwyn, *The King's Cardinal: The Rise and Fall of Thomas Wolsey* (London, 1990), p. 307.
[19] G.L., MS. 9531/10, fols. 87-101.
[20] *LPFD*, v, no. 1370 (13); *VCH: London*, i, p. 524.

ing to the king, and in keeping with Wolsey's directives; Tunstall appears merely to have validated their selection.[21]

The choice of the next master, the final one before the Reformation, was probably also acceptable to Henry VIII: John Brereton, LL.D., had been a chaplain to the king, and was commissioned by the king and by a papal dispensation to accept the mastership of St. Bartholomew's should it be offered to him.[22] After Edward Staples resigned the mastership in July 1532, Brereton was granted the office on 26 September 1532.[23]

John Brereton's documents of appointment as master of St. Bartholomew's Hospital provide much of the extant evidence that the hospital was in a state of decline on the eve of the Reformation. Since Brereton held a number of benefices, Pope Clement VII suggested that he might be able to relieve the hospital of some of its debts. The pontiff also noted that Brereton would assume the stewardship of dilapidated hospital buildings and of properties the revenues of which had declined.[24] The size of the staff over which Brereton presided is also in some doubt. The papal bull authorizing Brereton's appointment states that the hospital had eight brethren, but Brereton's subscription to the Act of Supremacy in June 1534 is counter-signed by only three brethren. The hospital may well have been short-staffed, further evidence of eroding standards of care, or, the other brothers may simply have refused to sign, although it seems probable that had this been the case, some note would have been made of their obduracy.[25]

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[21] *LPFD*, iv, pt. 2, no. 4489, p. 1963; Gwyn, *The King's Cardinal*, p. 307.

[22] G.L., MS. 9531/11, fol. 91. Apparently Brereton was widely expected to be named to the post, as papal and royal approval of him was extended some three weeks before the brethren met in convocation in mid-September 1532. *VCH: London*, i, p. 523.

[23] G.L., MS. 9531/11, fols. 91-92; Moore, *History of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, ii, pp. 122-124.

[24] G.L., MS. 9531/11, fol. 91; *VCH: London*, i, p. 523.

[25] G.L., MS. 9531/11, fols. 91-92; *LPFD*, vii, no. 921 (4) [22 June 1534]; *VCH: London*, i, p. 523; Kerling, "Administration," p. 23. In the same vein, the bill of surrender of St. Thomas Acon Hospital, submitted to the king on 20 October 1538, was signed by only one of its seven brethren, as well as the master, Laurence Gopfeler. See Sir John Watney, *Some Accounts of the Hospital of St. Thomas of Acon in the Cheap, London, and of the Plate of the Mercers' Company* (London: 1892), pp. 118-119.

No doubt both the hospital and the priory, like most religious foundations in the early 1530s, faced general questions about the dedication and probity of their staffs. It is hardly surprising that, after more than four-hundred years' in existence, St. Bartholomew's showed some incipient signs of institutional decay; moreover, as with most monastic institutions at the end of the Middle Ages, the hospital was experiencing the corrosive effects of the "gradual relaxation of the prescriptions of the Rule" and the diminution of discipline which flowed from it.[26]

The fact remains, however, that evidence of significant corruption in the administration of St. Bartholomew's Hospital is sparse, and instances of moral turpitude or malfeasance on the part of the hospital staff are often anecdotal in nature. Evidence of disorder and corruption was certainly not lacking in some of St. Bartholomew's neighbouring hospitals: St. Thomas's Hospital in Southwark, with a lazy, corrupt, and promiscuous master, was notoriously labelled "the bawdy hospital" by a monastic visitor in 1535.[27] For St. Bartholomew's, there is no compelling evidence of pervasive slackness on the part of the staff, or of corruption on the part of its sixteenth-century masters. Only a few stories give clues to possible discord within the hospital: it is impossible to assess their reliability. But such were the passions of the age of the Reformation that critics of the monastic system at times neglected to seek or demand much documentation or corroborating testimony in detailing the assorted scandals and defects of the monks and the institutions they staffed.[28]

Perhaps even apocryphal tales masked "that substratum of truth which made [them] dangerous."[29] As had long been the case, the good name of individual monastic houses to a certain extent rose and fell according to the qualities and quiddities of their rulers.[30] The reputation of the hospital, for example, could not have been enhanced by the embarrassing,

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[26] Knowles, *Religious Orders in England*, iii, p. 463.

[27] *LPFD*, xi, no. 168.

[28] Clifford S.L. Davies, *Peace, Print, and Protestantism: 1450 - 1558* (London: 1984), pp. 139-140.

[29] This had certainly been the case with Simon Fish's *Supplication of Beggars*: see A.G. Dickens, *The English Reformation* (London: 1978), p. 101.

[30] John A.F. Thomson, *The Early Tudor Church and Society* (Harlow, Essex: 1993), p. 209.

albeit humourous, story long in circulation about its titular head, Prior William Bolton.[31] Around 1524, Bolton, the penultimate head of the priory, was supposedly convinced "through books and prognostications...that by waters and floods many people should perish." Bolton, taking heroic efforts to avoid becoming a victim in the great deluge, hastily proceeded to have a house built for himself atop Harrow Hill, stocked with enough rations and fortifications to hold him over for two months. Only after the astronomers admitted "that in their computations, they had mistaken and miscounted in their number by an hundred years" would Bolton come down from his retreat and resume his duties as prior.[32] The sneers of the reformers against venal and stupid priests ultimately reflected just as badly against the institutions they administered as they did against the individuals.

Tracts that excoriated the "pestilent mischief [wrought by the] strong, puissant, and counterfeit, holy and idle beggars and vagabonds," *i.e.*, priests and monks, were legion in the late 1520s and throughout the 1530s, but Simon Fish's "The Supplication of Beggars" [*c.* 1526] is worthy of attention for several reasons.[33] Fish's shrill pamphlet garnered the attentions of Sir Thomas More, Lady Anne Boleyn, and eventually Henry VIII, who granted Fish an interview lasting three or four hours and a signet ring to protect Fish from any inquisition by More.[34] Fish equated the avarice of priests and monks with the oppression and growing numbers of the poor; more specifically, he charged that the clerics who administered hospitals throughout the realm were swindlers who used the fruits of citizens' alms and royal generosity to fatten themselves. "But what remedy to relieve us, your poor, sick, lame, and sore beadsmen? to make many hospitals for the relief of the poor people? Nay, truly. The more the worse: for ever the fat of the whole foundation hangeth on the priests' beards."[35]

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[31] Bolton ruled as prior from 27 August 1505 until his death on 5 April 1532: *LPFD*, Addenda, i, pt. 1 (1509-1537), p. 265 [no. 776 and note therein].

[32] Grafton, *Chronicle*, ii, pp. 358-359. *N.B.*: John Stow denied this story.

[33] John Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, 8 vols., S.R. Cattley and G. Townsend, eds. (London: 1837-41), iv, p. 659.

[34] Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, iv, pp. 657-658. See also Erik W. Ives, *Anne Boleyn* (Oxford: 1986), p. 163, note 39.

[35] Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, iv, p. 664

Fish's "Supplication" was intended as a clarion-call to the king, his court, and all subjects who were aware that the "poor daily beadsmen, the wretched hideous monsters, on whom scarcely for horror any eye dare look, the foul unhappy sort of lepers, and other sore people, needy, impotent, blind, lame, and sick, that live only by alms...[are] daily so sore increased [in number]." If it were the king's wish to construct a "sure hospital that never shall fail," it could be fulfilled only by sending those "sturdy loobies abroad in the world," to seek work and wives. The sight of the erstwhile monks, priests, and hospital-keepers "get[ting] their living with their labour in the sweat of their faces, according to the commandment of God in the first of Genesis [would] give other idle people, by their example, occasion to labour."[36]

Fish's "Supplication" was hardly the first prodding of the king to ponder the plight of his meanest subjects. There had been many such admonitions, of which Thomas More's maxim "A king has no dignity when he exercises authority over beggars, only when he rules over prosperous and happy subjects" was decidedly one of the more gentle and conventional.[37] Perhaps the king's deepening marital crisis inclined him to pay more heed to the "Supplication" than he otherwise might have. John Foxe related that Henry VIII took particular note of Fish's pungent message; to his footman, Edmund Mollis, the king, after having had the "Supplication" read aloud to him, remarked rather portentously: "If a man should pull down an old stone wall, and begin at the lower part, the upper part thereof might chance to fall on his head."[38]

However, large urban hospitals like St. Bartholomew's were not without their defenders in the mid-1530s. Robert Copland's "The Highway to the Spital-House" [*c.* 1535-36] presented an extended conversation, in verse, between himself and the porter of what purported to be a sizable London hospital. As Simon Fish had done in the previous decade, Copland marveled at the "...mighty beggars and vagabonds,/ and truants that walk over the lands,/

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[36] Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, iv, p. 664.
[37] Thomas More, *Utopia*, Robert Martin Adams, ed. and trans. (New York: 1975), p. 27.
[38] Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, iv, pp. 657-658.

...loitering and wandering from place to place." But coming to the gateway of the hospital, he was delighted to find such a refuge for the sick and the poor:

> "For I have seen at sundry hospitals
> That many have lain dead without the walls,
> And for lack of succour have died wretchedly.
> Unto your foundation I think contrary;
> Much people resort here and have lodging."[39]

It is regrettable that neither here nor in any of the hospital's surviving records of the period immediately preceding the Reformation are any figures offered which would throw light on the number of patients St. Bartholomew's routinely cared for.[40] Nonetheless, the types of people the porter enumerates as seeking and finding care and shelter at the hospital suggest the breadth of the problem of poverty in early modern London, and the role institutions like St. Bartholomew's played in ameliorating it:

> Forsooth, they that be at such mischief
> That for their living can do no labour,
> And have no friends to do them succour,
> As old people, sick and impotent,
> Poor women in childbed, have here easement,
> Weak men sore wounded by great violence,
> And sore men eaten with pox and pestilence,
> And honest folk fallen in great poverty
> By mischance or other infirmity,
> Wayfaring men and maimed soldiers
> Have their relief in this poor house of ours;
> And all other which we seem good and plain
> Have here lodging for a night or twain,
> Bedrid folk and such as cannot crave,
> In these places most relief they have,
> And if they hap within our place to die,
> Then are they buried well and honestly;
> But not every unsick stubborn knave,
> For then we should over many have.[41]

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[39] Copland, "Highway to the Spittal-House," p. 4.

[40] Rawcliffe, "The Hospitals of Later Medieval London," pp. 1-21; Ian W. Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability: Social Relations in Elizabethan London* (Cambridge: 1991), p. 154.

[41] Copland, "Highway to the Spittal-House," p. 5.

It seems reasonable to conclude that the multiplicity of good works performed at St. Bartholomew's Hospital immediately prior to the Reformation did not go unnoticed by leading citizens during that period of great social and economic stress. As the attacks on the monasteries commenced, what so impressed Copland must also have struck the governors of London: these institutions, however imperfectly run, were worth salvaging for the valuable social services they rendered.

2. Ideas of Poor Relief and Hospital Reform in London: 1530 - 1536

Richard Grafton, grocer, printing entrepreneur, member of Parliament for the City, and an important advocate of social legislation in the later years of Henry VIII and throughout the reign of Edward VI, challenged critics who charged that the closure of the religious foundations after 1536 had "much diminished...the service of God."[42] Some thirty years after the beginning of the Reformation, Grafton wrote that there had been

> ...no houses suppressed where God was well served, but [only those] where most vice, mischief, and abomination of lying was used.... And as for the hospitality for the relief of the poor peoples, when ye be not ashamed to affirm that they have been a great relief of the poor people, when a great many of the most part hath not past four or five religious persons in them, and divers, one which spent the substance of the goods of their houses in [the] nourishing of vice, and abominable living.[43]

By the time Grafton was writing his *Chronicle*, legends of the perniciousness of those who once had inhabited the religious houses, and the damage they were able to visit on the harmony and prosperity of the country, had assumed almost mythic proportions. Tales of fat, lazy, drunken, oversexed priests who misused the resources of their religious houses to enrich themselves at the expense of the poor formed, in the decades immediately following the Reformation, the core of the demonology of Protestantism. Judging from the writings of

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[42] Grafton, *Chronicle*, ii, p. 458; Archer, *Pursuit of Stability*, p. 122.
[43] Grafton, *Chronicle*, ii, p. 458.

many mid-sixteenth century Protestant controversialists, the Catholic religious and the institutions they organised and ran had generic flaws which varied little from one Protestant country to another.[44]

Grafton's arguments against the institutions and precepts of the old faith were consistent with those of most reformers: churchmen were the confederates of the "great errant thieves of this realm."[45] Their rectories, hospitals, and abbeys "did but maintain the poor which they made. For, some vagrants, accounting the abbey-alms their own inheritance, served therein an apprenticeship, and afterwards wrought journey-work to no other trade than begging."[46] With the connivance of the Bishop of Rome, religious had for long encouraged citizens in "ribaldry and carnal vice...to the great slander of the realm and to the damage, deceit, and impoverishment of the King's good loving subjects." Certain types of priests, particularly the pardoners sent out by hospital masters to exact "great and innumerable sums of money" from Englishmen, would from 1536 be identified and punished as vagrants.[47] So diffuse was the greed of the clergy, argued Simon Fish, that the poor "complaineth [of] their woeful misery unto [the king, and that they have grown so numerous that]...all the alms of all the well-disposed people of this your realm is not half enough to sustain them."[48]

Reformers conceded, however, that widening poverty and idleness were outcomes of "ill polic[ies]" as well as of monastic excesses and mendacity.[49] Certain historic 'liberties' enjoyed by the hospitals and monastic centres of London placed them to some extent beyond the bounds of civic jurisdiction. For instance, religious houses were not subject to mayoral

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[44] H.C. Erik Midelfort, "Protestant Monastery? A Reformation Hospital in Hesse," in *Reformation Principle and Practice: Essays in Honour of Arthur Geoffrey Dickens*, Peter Newman Brooks, ed. (London: 1980), p. 74.

[45] Paul L. Hughes and James F. Larkin, eds. *Tudor Royal Proclamations*, [hereafter *TRP*], 3 vols. (New Haven, Conn.: 1969), i, no. 161.

[46] Charles James Ribton-Turner, *The History of Vagrants and Vagrancy* (London: 1887), p. 85; Thomas Fuller, *Church History of Britain from the Birth of Jesus Christ until the year 1648* [1655], 6 vols., J.S. Brewer, ed. (Oxford: 1845), v, pp. 123-124.

[47] *TRP*, i, no. 161.

[48] Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, iv, p. 661.

[49] Thomas Starkey, *A Dialogue between Reginald Pole and Thomas Lupset*, Kathleen M. Burton, ed. (London: 1948), p. 90.

precepts nor to acts of the Common Council.[50] A gradual yet steady withdrawal of the support of Londoners is detectable in the case of the monasteries of London and Middlesex in the sixty or so years before the Dissolution: between 1480 and 1540, there were but seven small benefactions to St. Bartholomew's Hospital, totalling £10.[51]

The monasteries in and around the capital were collectively the foremost in the realm in wealth and prestige, with an estimated net annual worth of £11,533 18s 6d, and capital worth of approximately £230,678; but of this, only £195 8s (1.69% of the yearly total) was spent on the distribution of alms. To some London donors inclined to relieve the sick and needy, this represented "an almost complete abnegation of the social and moral responsibilities with which these foundations had once regarded themselves as charged."[52] Thus the desire to remove the instruments of relief of the poor from the hands of corrupt, or at best negligent, clerics was coupled with attempts to broaden the scope of municipal government by trying in the two decades after 1535 to eliminate those traditional ecclesiastical immunities which had diminished the powers of the mayor and the Corporation within the City.[53]

An early scheme proposing reform of the hospitals of London was submitted to the king in late July, 1533.[54] Entitled "The Act Concerning the Hospitals," the document was addressed "to the king our sovereign lord and to the lords spiritual and to the well disposed and discreet commons at this parliament assembled" purportedly from the "poor, blind, lame, sore, miserable, sick, and impotent people of this land." The act cited the increase in the numbers of the sick poor, begging in London's "churches and churchyards, in disturbance of prayers and divine services" and other public places. Because hospitals often failed to accom-

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[50] Rappaport, *Worlds Within Worlds*, pp. 34-35, 174-175; Frank Freeman Foster, *The Politics of Stability: A Portrait of the Rulers of Elizabethan London* (London: 1977), pp. 184-187.

[51] Jordan, *Charities of London*, p. 188.

[52] Jordan, *Charities of London*, pp. 279-80; John Pound, *Poverty and Vagrancy in Tudor England* (London: 1971), pp. 16-24; A.L. Beier, *The Problem of the Poor in Tudor and Early Stuart England* (London: 1983), p. 19; Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, pp. 73, 245; Thompson, "Piety and Charity," pp. 189-190.

[53] Rappaport, *Worlds Within Worlds*, pp. 34-35; Foster, *Politics of Stability*, pp. 184-187; Elton, *The Tudor Constitution*, p. 327.

[54] *LPFD*, addenda, i, pt. 1, no. 864.

modate them, many of the impotent poor died on the streets due to cold, hunger, and lack of treatment. The squalor in which they suffered and died was at once pitiable and unseemly in a Christian city, and it also threatened the stability of the capital and heightened the risk of infections, "which lately have abounded in this land of England." Poor folk were turned away from hospitals because the wardens and masters there wrongfully demanded fees for the admission of almsmen. If the masters of these hospitals would not themselves undertake reforms by the following Michaelmas, then the petitioners urged the king or the heirs of the original founders to take possession of those houses themselves, and institute the necessary reforms.[55]

No immediate action was taken on this act, though it may have given impetus to the device of Henry VIII detailing his intentions to construct a new hospital in London.[56] This hospital would be for sixty-six "poor indigent sick and sore people." They would be offered "persuasion, help, health, and comfort." Each patient would be entitled to 2*d per diem* of meat and drink. The master of the hospital would be an alderman, the warden or undermaster would be from the Common Council: their yearly salaries would be, respectively, £20 and £10. Eight women would be paid 14*d* a week to minister to the poor. The hospital would also employ a physician to visit the sick at least twice daily, a surgeon, and an apothecary; unlike many hospitals founded earlier, this institution would place as much emphasis on the relief of the body as on the refreshment of the soul.[57] The apothecary would be allotted £20 *per annum* to pay for the necessary drugs, gums, aromates, salves, and other necessities. A porter would be stationed at the hospital gate to regulate the flow of traffic entering and leaving the house, and a chaplain would bring "sacraments and sacramentals to the poor sick people and...[would] bury [the dead]."[58] The yearly cost of feeding the poor would be £200 15*s*.

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[55] P.R.O., SP1/9/238, pt.2, fols. 120-124.

[56] *LPFD*, addenda, i, pt. 1, no. 864.

[57] *LPFD*, addenda, i, pt. 1, no. 864; P.R.O., E.135 8/48, fols. 1^{r}-2^{r}; Clay, *Mediaeval Hospitals*, pp. xvii-xviii.

[58] *LPFD*, addenda, i, pt. 1, no. 864; P.R.O., E.135 8/48, fols. 2^{v}-3^{v}.

The anticipated annual cost of running this institution would be £452 13*s* 8*d*, including all emoluments, expenses, and funds needed to maintain the hospital's properties and buildings.[59]

To provide the money and lands needed for this project, Henry VIII announced his intention of utilizing the possessions of the Augustinian priory of Christchurch, also known varyingly as Holy Trinity, Aldgate, and Creechurch.[60] Christchurch monastery had been surrendered to the king in 1532, probably because of substantial debts accumulated through years of maladministration.[61] The canons placed the monastery personally in the hands of the king, presumably in the hope that they could avert the complete closure of Christchurch. Its religious wished the king would re-organise the house, and through his patronage place it on firmer ground; houses like Christchurch which lay desuetude or were foundering from neglect and incompetent management had been closed under previous visitations set up by Wolsey.[62] Many of the houses closed prior to 1536 were used to fund "quasi-spiritual" projects like Wolsey's projected colleges in Ipswich and Oxford.[63]

Henry VIII assumed control over the priory, but obviously had new uses in mind for it. The value of the London lands of Christchurch, as well as its properties in the suburbs and two parsonages, amounted to £496 9*s* 6-1/2*d* According to the royal plan, this sum would be applied towards the construction and maintenance of the new hospital, and the difference between this figure and the annual estimated costs, £43 15*s* 10-1/2*d*, would be used either for the "augmentation of the hospital or otherwise at the King's pleasure."[64]

This scheme appears to have been abandoned soon after it was proposed. Christchurch was suppressed, its clerics dispersed, and the king and his agents, Thomas Cromwell and Sir Thomas Audley, Lord Chancellor, seized the lands and buildings. In doing this, the king had

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[59] P.R.O., E.135, 8/48, fols. 2^{v}-3^{r}.
[60] P.R.O., E.135, 8/48, fol. 3^{v}; Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, ii, p. 16 [note c].
[61] Knowles, *Religious Orders in England*, iii, pp. 200-201.
[62] Knowles, *Religious Orders in England*, iii, pp. 200-201.
[63] Elton, *The Tudor Constitution*, p. 378; Gwyn, *The King's Cardinal*, pp. 579-580; Hall, *Chronicle*, p. 694.
[64] P.R.O., E.135, 8/48, fols. 3^{v}-4^{r}.

sought no papal consent, nor had he convened the 'inquest of office,' generally obligatory in cases where properties escheated or fell to the king. Under such proceedings, the City conceivably might have challenged the Crown's rights to appropriate Christchurch's City properties.[65]

In some respects, the king's proposals regarding this hospital were in keeping with the tenets on which most other late-medieval and early-modern hospitals were conceptualised and run. Hospitals founded after the fourteenth century tended not to be church-administered: generally, they functioned either as chantries or fraternity- or guild-administered, secular institutions.[66] Later medieval hospitals were generally constructed on a smaller scale than early medieval hospitals, and their aim was limited to short-term alleviation of the strains poverty imposed on the community.[67]

A hospital with the capacity to care for sixty-six poor sick persons, and provided with resources comparable to those of London's larger hospitals, would doubtless have been heartily welcomed by city governors increasingly worried about the spread of poverty and its attendant disorder. Was it not, as the Augustinian canon of Butley Priory in Suffolk bemoaned, an era of "divers sudden mortal fevers, [when] the charity of many people [had grown] cold?"[68] Hospitals given over to exclusive care for non-leprous sick poor had never been numerous: according to a survey of the 1,103 medieval hospitals throughout England and Wales, 112 admitted non-leprous sick poor with other types of inmates. Moreover, by 1535, the number

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[65] Such an inquest, held by a City jury, might have challenged Henry VIII's claim that he acted as the house's founder; also a possible source of contention was whether members of communities such as the Austin canons could "legally and unreservedly make away with all their rights in perpetuity." Knowles, *Religious Orders in England*, iii, p. 201.

[66] The Kent Chantry Deeds collected for the 1536 Chantry Act show that 15 out of 115 chantries were in hospitals at the eve of the Reformation; there were chantries in 15 out of 32 hospitals: Rubin, *Charity and Community*, pp. 190-191; see also *Kent Chantries*, Arthur Hussey, ed., Kent Archaeological Society Records Branch Kent Records, 12 (1935).

[67] Rubin, *Charity and Community*, pp. 292-293; Rubin, "Development and Change in English Hospitals," pp. 52-53; Clay, *Mediaeval Hospitals*, pp. 116-118.

[68] *The Register or Chronicle of Butley Priory*, A.G. Dickens, ed. (London: 1954), p. 67.

of hospitals admitting this category of inmates had shrunk to thirty-nine, either through attrition or shifting priorities.[69]

With the need for additional provisions for London's poor increasing markedly by the 1530s, such a hospital would have filled a significant gap. The question must have persisted, however, as to who would ultimately control this hospital, the Crown or the City government. Possibly the king foresaw that the use of Christchurch's London holdings would probably have entailed greater participation in the control of the proposed hospital by the members of the Corporation than he was willing to countenance. Alternatively, it is conceivable that Henry VIII held out the possibility of the creation of a new hospital more or less under municipal control and using the lands and income of Christchurch in order that he could avoid censure when he acted unilaterally, and contrary to precedents, in disbanding the priory.

The plan may well have been slightly ahead of its time; in proposing to place an alderman and common councillor at the head of a royal, ostensibly secular, foundation, the abortive scheme of 1533 presaged the "significant collaborations" between sixteenth-century governmental and London municipal interests that would become more commonplace by mid-century.[70] In any case, the revenues of Christchurch, Aldgate, eventually went chiefly to Sir Thomas Audley, and the new hospital for the poor of London never materialized.[71]

The 1533 Act Concerning the Hospitals and the draft of the royal proposal to build a hospital in London both signify an awareness shared by the king and the leaders of London that the variety of hospitals--small and large, poor and prosperous, ecclesiastical and secular,

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[69] There were roughly four categories of medieval hospitals: leper houses, almshouses (the most numerous), hospices and guest-houses attached to monasteries, and hospitals that offered medical care: Knowles and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses*, pp. 313-410; Carlin, "Medieval English Hospitals," pp. 22-25, 35-36.

[70] Valerie Pearl, "Social Policy in Early Modern London," in *History and Imagination: Essays in Honour of H.R. Trevor-Roper*, Hugh Lloyd-Jones, Blair Worden, and Valerie Pearl, eds. (London: 1979), pp. 117-119.

[71] John Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials, Relating Chiefly to Religion, and the Reformation of it, and the Emergencies of the Church of England under King Henry VIII, King Edward VI, and Queen Mary I, with Large Appendices, Containing Original Papers, Records, et cetera*, 3 vols. (London: 1721), i, pt. 1, pp. 408-409; Knowles, *The Religious Orders in England*, iii, pp. 200-201; E. Jeffries Davis, "The Beginning of the Dissolution: Christchurch, Aldgate, 1532," in *TRHS*, 4th ser., 8, pp. 55-58.

night-shelters and medical centres, etc.--already existing in London on the eve of the Dissolution was not able to cope completely with the City's growing problems of deprivation and the risks of contagion. The failure of any significant reform to emerge from the petition or the king's scheme probably indicated to those concerned with the fate of the hospitals that the best hopes for regenerating systems of poor relief within London lay in improving and reconstituting the more substantial hospitals, of which St. Bartholomew's was certainly one.

The proposals floated to establish a new centre of poor relief in London were not the only pieces of ambitious social planning devised in the early 1530s. In an effort to organise the distribution of alms, London parish churches in 1533 instituted regular collections.[72] A more visionary idea concerning social legislation was the draft of the poor law composed around 1535 by William Marshall.[73] Marshall was presumably inspired in part by his awareness of the relief ordinances of Ypres, Flanders, which he would translate around 1535 as the "Form and Manner of Subvention or Helping for Poor People."[74] This treatise reminded the powerful and prosperous members of society that, in an age when "Christian charity is so cold and holiness and devotion so sore decayed" they were bound by a social obligation to help the poor. It also recalled for the privileged of London a reality that was probably unpalatable and increasingly ominous: "poor men no doubt are members of the City as well as the rich." Using imagery so familiar to social and religious reformers of the period, Marshall wrote of the body-politic of the Commonwealth he envisioned:

> For like as by the reason that the parts of man's body are naturally knitted and joined together each to the other, therefore if one of them be grieved the other also feeleth grief: even so we that are members of Christ's mystical body joined by faith and charity ought willingly and mercifully to offer help to such as have need."[75]

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[72] C.L.R.O., Rep. viii, fol. 274^{v}; Paul Slack, *Poverty and Policy in Tudor and Stuart England* (London: 1988), p. 118.

[73] Slack, *Poverty and Policy*, pp. 116-118.

[74] *Some Early Tracts on Poor Relief*, F.R. Salter, ed. (London: 1926), pp. 37-38; Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, p. 289.

[75] William Marshall, "The Form and Manner of Subvention or Helping for Poor People," [*c.* 1535], in F.R. Salter, ed., *Some Early Tracts on Poor Relief* (London: 1926), p. 43; Helen C. White, *Social Criticism in Popular Religious Literature of the Sixteenth Century* (New York: 1944), pp. 256-257.

Marshall's theories regarding reform of the poor laws, and the actual proposals they stimulated in the mid-1530s, were prescient in their recognition that, particularly in urban areas, systematic and massive state action was needed to regulate and monitor begging, abate the spread of vagrancy, provide work for the sturdy, organise parishes to deal locally with poor relief, and establish a general levy to subsidize relief measures. Marshall's poor law draft may well have been the basis of the poor law legislation sponsored by Cromwell and the king, and submitted to Parliament in 1536.[76] In its first phase, the poor law legislation of 1536 called for the restriction of public begging and initiation of public works projects.[77] Those sturdy poor who participated in the works schemes would be remunerated and would receive medical attention. The legislation also attacked directly the problem of casual almsgiving by insisting that doles be replaced by alms distributed to the impotent poor by parish churches. Parishes would have regular, supervised collections for the poor.[78]

The act, however, was undercut in Parliament when amendments were attached to it permitting hospitals, monasteries, and the nobility to continue distributing alms indiscriminately; furthermore, parishes were prohibited from making donations to the poor chest compulsory.[79] The Act of 1536 eventually lapsed in Parliament. Like the proposals for the new hospital in London, neither the poor law draft of 1535 nor the Act of 1536 was ever put into effect, even though they had aroused the active interest of Cromwell.[80] But it did foreshadow some of the bolder, so-called 'Commonwealth', examples of urban legislation still

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[76] Slack, *Poverty and Policy*, pp. 118-119.

[77] Geoffrey R. Elton, *Reform and Renewal: Thomas Cromwell and the Common Weal* (Cambridge: 1973), p. 53.

[78] *SR*, iii, pp. 558-562, 27 Henry VIII, c.25; Elton, *Reform and Renewal*, pp. 122-123. This would make the London system of Sunday and Holy Day parish collections operative throughout the realm: see C.L.R.O., Rep. viii, fol. 274^{v}; Slack, *Poverty and Policy*, p. 118; Marjorie K. McIntosh, "Local Responses to the Poor in Late Medieval and Tudor England," in *Continuity and Change*, 3 (1988), pp. 228-229.

[79] Slack, *Poverty and Policy*, pp. 118-119.

[80] Cromwell, with his predilection for the use of parliamentary statutes, in turn involved parliament for the first time in formulating national, long-term policies towards poor-relief. Parliamentary authority thus intruded in matters like almsgiving, public doles, and works projects for the sturdy poor: policies traditionally determined on the local level, either by the Church or individual conscience. See Slack, *Poverty and Policy*, p. 117.

to come in the late 1540s: legislation which earned its advocates risky reputations as social radicals for their ardour in pleading the cause of the poor.[81] In some ways the discarded poor relief legislation of 1535/6 anticipated the Elizabethan Poor Laws of 1572. The earlier legislation moved towards official recognition that the longstanding binary distinction rigidly classifying the poor into deserving or undeserving categories had become inadequate. In provincial towns like Salisbury and Norwich, and eventually in London after the mid-century, distinctions were eventually modified to recognize that many of the poor were trapped in cycles of poverty neither of their making nor to their liking.[82]

3. Attacks on the Hospitals of London: 1535 - 1540

By 1535, St. Bartholomew's was the third largest of the London hospitals in terms of lands, endowments, and revenues.[83] The *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, a vast survey prepared early in 1535 of all ecclesiastical revenues for the assessments of first fruits and tenths, which by the terms of legislation of 1534 were to be granted to the Crown, cited St. Mary without Bishopsgate and the Hospital of Blessed Jesus of the Savoy as having greater net worth than St. Bartholomew's.[84] In fact, the largest hospital in the country was St. Leonard's in York, which at the time of its closure in December 1539 contained a grammar school and was served by twelve brothers and four sisters.[85]

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[81] Henry Brinkelow, *Lamentation of a Christian against the City of London*, J. Meadows Cowpers, ed., *E.E.T.S.*, extra ser., xxii (London: 1874), pp. 80, 91; Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, pp. 317-318; Geoffrey R. Elton, "An Early Tudor Poor Law," in *EHR*, 2nd ser., 6 (1953-54), pp. 58-63; W.R.D. Jones, *The Tudor Commonwealth: 1529-1559* (London: 1970), p. 131; Susan E. Brigden, "Popular Disturbance and the Fall of Cromwell and the Reformers: 1539-1540," in *HJ*, 24 (1981), pp. 270-272; Archer, *Pursuit of Stability*, p. 168.

[82] See Margaret Pelling, "Healing the Sick Poor: Social Policy and Disability in Norwich, 1550-1640," in *Medical History*, 29 (1985), p. 116; Paul Slack, "Poverty and Politics in Salisbury, 1597-1666," in *Crisis and Order in English Towns: 1500-1700*, Peter Clark and Paul Slack, eds. (London: 1972), pp. 164-203.

[83] It was approximately the same size as St. Katherine's by the Tower, with a reported net income of £315 14*s* 2*d*: *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, i, p. 386.

[84] Elton, *The Tudor Constitution*, p. 379; *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, i, pp. 358-359, 401-402: the annual revenue of the Savoy was £567 16*s* 3-3/4*d*, and St. Mary's was £504 12*s* 11-1/2*d* (net); Bodl. Lib., Tanner MS. 256, fols. 93^{r}-94^{v}; Moore, *History of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, ii, p. 125; Carlin, "Medieval English Hospitals," p. 34.

[85] Hall, *Chronicle*, p. 272; *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, v, p. 18; *LPFD*, xiv, pt. 2, no. 623.

The *Valor* recorded St. Bartholomew's as having gross revenues of £371 13*s* 2*d per annum*: this was comprised of London farms and rents annually worth £272 4*s* 6*d*, the rentals from at least seven properties in Middlesex that yielded £30 11*s*, seven properties in Essex worth £32, in addition to other, individual, farm holdings in Wakering (presumably a reference to Little Wakering in Essex, where the hospital had property before and after the Reformation), Buckinghamshire, Northamptonshire, Somerset, Oxfordshire, and Hertfordshire.[86] From this, the hospital's net or clear revenues were listed at £305 6*s* 5*d*, after deductions amounting to £66 6*s* 9*d* were allowed for annual fees, pensions, and annuities.[87]

St. Bartholomew's assessment for the payment of the tenth to the Crown was £30 10*s* 7*d ob'q*.[88] The revenues of the Priory of St. Bartholomew's were listed in the *Valor* at £773 1*d ob'q* gross and £693 10*q* clear *per annum*. The holdings of the Priory in lands were in London and Middlesex, Essex, Suffolk, Hertfordshire, and Buckinghamshire. Its assessment for payment of the tenth was rated at £69 7*d*.[89]

The survival of St. Bartholomew's Hospital clearly was imperiled by the first phase of attacks on church properties, which lasted from 1536 to 1540. The Act of 1536, which characterised as rampant the "manifest sin, vicious, carnal, and abominable living" in the priories, abbeys, and religious establishments with a clear yearly value of less than £200, would by definition have left both St. Bartholomew's Priory and Hospital untouched. Indeed, the Act of

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[86] *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, i, p. 388; Bodl. Lib., Tanner MS. 256, lists the London properties as worth £292 4*s* 6*d*, the Middlesex properties worth £30 11*s*, those in Essex worth £32, a farm in Wakering worth £6 6*s* 8*d*, and single holdings in the counties of Buckinghamshire, Northamptonshire, Somerset, Oxfordshire, and Hertfordshire worth, respectively, 12*s*, £6 6*s* 8*d*, 66*s* 8*d*, 10*s*, 6*s* 8*d*: the sum total of this is £371 13*s* 2*d*, which is in agreement with the sum of the gross revenues listed in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*.

[87] *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, i, pp. 388-389; Bodl. Lib., Tanner MS. 256, fols. 91^{r}-91^{v}.

[88] *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, i, pp. 388-389.

[89] *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, i, pp. 407-408; The Priory itself had been rebuilt in 1410: Stow, *Survey*, p. 336; The *Valor Ecclesiasticus* generally undervalued the worth of ecclesiastical institutions, often by as much as fifteen percent; it was usually more precise in its information about larger foundations: Alan Kreider, *English Chantries: The Road to Dissolution* (Cambridge: Massachusetts: 1979), p. 9.

1536 took pains to praise the larger houses, the "great and honourable monasteries of religion in this realm," seeming thus to assure their continued existence.[90]

Among the smaller hospitals in London and its environs dissolved by this act were the Elsing Spital, also known as St. Mary Within Cripplegate, and St. James' Hospital, Westminster. Elsing Spital was traditionally noted for its "sustentation of one hundred blind men"; no apparent provisions were made for the future relief of its patients upon its closure.[91] Elsing Spital, however, was in 1536 the only house suppressed within the City walls.[92] For those hospitals and lazar houses that remained open, Thomas Barnwell was appointed visitor, on 27 March 1536.[93]

The following three years, though, witnessed many of the larger monastic foundations throughout England tendering their petitions of surrender to the Crown.[94] Some of the greater houses were harassed into surrendering by the acute pressures applied by a new visitation established by Thomas Cromwell late in 1537; other places fell prey to the officially-sanctioned lootings of 1538 and 1539, or were dissolved after the suppression of the friars.[95] The 1539 Act for the Dissolution of the Abbeys retrospectively vested in the Crown the estates and revenues of the monasteries, colleges, hospitals, convents, friaries, etc., that had surrendered or been abolished since the previous Act of 1536.[96] The intention of the statute was to see hospitals reconstituted so that their "premises [would be] used and exercised to more godly and virtuous uses."[97] In practice, however, hospitals generally avoided destruction only

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[90] *SR*, iii, pp. 575-578, 27 Henry VIII, ch. 28; around 67 of the 304 houses affected by this act obtained temporary (until *circa* 1539) reprieves: see Dickens, *The English Reformation*, p. 143.

[91] *LPFD*, x, nos. 775 (1-4), 1238; *VCH: London*, i, p. 537; the clear worth of St. Mary within Cripplegate, or Elsing Spittal, was £193 15*s* 1-1/2*d*: *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, i, p. 389; Stow, *Survey*, p. 263-264.

[92] *LPFD*, x, nos. 1087 (10), 1238; *LPFD*, xii, pt. 2, nos. 796 (14), 1311 (25), 1338; Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, p. 245.

[93] C.L.R.O., Rep. ix, fol. 117^{v}.

[94] Elton, *The Tudor Constitution*, p. 382; St. Bartholomew's and St. Mary Spital were counted among a list of larger monasteries prepared sometime around February of 1538: *LPFD*, xiii, pt. 1, no. 254.

[95] Knowles, *Religious Orders of England*, iii, pp. 351-357.

[96] *SR*, iii, pp. 733-739, 31 Henry VIII, ch. 13.

[97] *SR*, iii, pp. 733-739, 31 Henry VIII, ch. 13.

by attracting powerful local champions, often municipal authorities who intervened on behalf of those hospitals that historically functioned as regional almshouses.[98]

By March of 1540, jurisdiction of twenty-three sizable monastic houses in London was in the hands of the king.[99] According to John Colyn, mercer, there were around this time ninety-five parishes within the City gates, and eight outside the gates but within the franchise. There were also eighteen monasteries, colleges, hospitals, friaries, etc., within the City gates (including the Grey Friars), eight outside but included in the franchise (including St. Bartholomew's Priory and Hospital, Elsing Hospital, and St. Mary of Bethlem Hospital), and nine in the suburbs.[100]

Closure of the four houses of friars (Crossed, Austin, Black, and Grey) occurred on 12 November 1538.[101] The last prior of St. Bartholomew's, Robert Fuller, surrendered the priory to the king on 25 October, 1539.[102] The hospital, not considered an integral part of the priory, remained open, though apparently reduced in capacity, as the bulk of its lands was expropriated with the priory's: Stow represented the value of the hospital, after the suppression, as £35 5*s* 7*d p.a.*.[103] No figures are available as to how many patients were affected by the reduction of the annual revenues of St. Bartholomew's; its services must have been lessened, owing to both the loss of its properties and the dispersal of the staff of the priory.[104]

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[98] Jordan, *Philanthropy in England*, p. 259; E.M. Leonard, *The Early History of English Poor Relief* (Cambridge: 1900), pp. 208-209; Clay, *Mediaeval Hospitals*, pp. 227-243.

[99] Rappaport, *Worlds Within Worlds*, pp. 34-35.

[100] B.L., Harleian MS. 2252 [The Commonplace Book of John Colyn, Mercer], fol. 11^{r-v}; see also Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, p. 9, and Rappaport, *Worlds Within Worlds*, p. 177.

[101] *LPFD*, xiii, pt. 2, nos. 648, 806, 807, 808, 809; Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, i, pp. 87-88; *Grey Friars' Chronicle*, p. 42; Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, p. 293.

[102] Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, vi, pt. 1, p. 291.

[103] Stow, *Survey*, pp. 334-335; Norman Moore states that the patients that remained at St. Bartholomew's after *c.* 1538 were "supported by casual alms of the charitable," but does not state his source: Moore, *History of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, ii, pp. 125-127.

[104] W.S.C. Copeman, *Doctors and Disease in Tudor Times* (London: 1960), p. 49. Copeman argues there were five "nurses" on the staff in 1544. It would seem he extrapolates here the later reference from the Valuation Roll of 1546, which mentions one matron and four sisters. S.B.H., HC3, mem. 14. No original source at St. Bartholomew's uses the term "nurse" before the mid-seventeenth century. I thank Mr. Geoffrey Yeo for elucidating this point for me.

Evidence about the activities within the precincts of the hospital between 1538 and 1547 is notably sparse; one of the few, not very illuminating, references in the City registers appears during 1542, when the Aldermanic Council recalled the fourteenth-century prohibition against officers of the City making arrests within hospital property, and ordered the release of Alice Crammer, who lived on the grounds of the hospital.[105] Time-honoured exemptions from certain aspects of ecclesiastical and secular jurisdiction apparently continued to be observed for those hospitals, like St. Bartholomew's and St. Katherine's by the Tower, which survived the Dissolution.[106] The indications are that St. Bartholomew's Hospital continued to function, albeit in straightened circumstances. London clearly felt the loss of the full services of St. Bartholomew's, and the closure or suspension of services of the Hospital of the Savoy, St. Thomas' Southwark, St. Mary without Bishopsgate, St. Thomas Acon, and St. Katherine's by the Tower: the Savoy, St. Mary's, St. Thomas's, and the former Elsing Spital had had a combined capacity of approximately 420 beds.[107]

The total effect of the dissolution of the religious houses was dramatic. London was the place most immediately altered by the closures, and more generally by the theological, ideological, and political battles that for the next generation at least would ensue between adherents of the new faith and the old.[108] At least since the beginnings of Lollardy, and more recently with the writings of Robert Copland, Simon Fish, and Henry Brinkelow, there was the perception that the church's property was properly the patrimony of the poor, and that it long had been plundered by rapacious churchmen: that the "masters of [the king's] hospitals be so fat that the poor be kept lean and bare enough."[109] For many reformers like Cromwell, sur-

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[105] C.L.R.O., Rep. x, fol. 216^{r}; see also note 22, p. 48, above.

[106] Christopher J. Kitching, "The Decline of Hospitality in the Royal Hospital of St. Katherine by the Tower, 1660-1668," in *Guildhall Studies in London History*, i, no. 1 (October 1973), p. 7.

[107] Rawcliffe, "Hospitals of Later Medieval London," pp. 1-21; Archer, *Pursuit of Stability*, p. 154; D'Arcy Power, "Some Episodes in the History of St. Bartholomew's," in *Sir D'Arcy Power: Selected Writings, 1877-1930* (London: 1931; reprint, New York: 1970), p. 56.

[108] Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, p. 293.

[109] Brinkelow, *The Complaint of Roderyck Mors*, p. 52; Rubin, *Charity and Community*, pp. 63-64.

feits of wealth found in monasteries, chantries, and shrines were an affront to the sufferings of the poor.[110]

With the Dissolution eventually came a new, more critical evaluation of the social services the medieval church had provided. Monasteries and hospitals had long provided itinerant poor with casual alms: St. Thomas's and St. Bartholomew's both operated a night shelter, and several of the London hospitals offered doles, for instance. But in the 1530s, commentators were prompted to question the wisdom of dispensing so-called 'indiscriminate' alms; did the availability of free food and shelter not act as a magnet, drawing all of England's feckless poor to the metropolis? The duke of Norfolk, himself hardly a committed reformer, seemed to think monastic houses were dangerously alluring to indigent men and women: "the alms that they have in religious houses is the great occasion thereof...for [the poor] not doing their duties."[111]

The reformers expected--or, more precisely, hoped--that once the commons learned of the "papists' enormities..., the great ruffling...[of the public]" would dissipate, and all would perceive that "more common wealth would grow from [the religious houses'] suppression."[112] The question remains, however, how often condemnations of monastic and hospital alms expressed godly disgust of papistic indolence, and how often they arose from expedience. Clearly some of the reformers, Cromwell and Norfolk included, anticipated a share in the spoils of the secularisation of the monastic possessions; self-aggrandisement may to some extent have shaded their views on the part monasteries and hospitals played in drawing masses of the poverty stricken to London.[113]

Londoners on the eve of the Reformation evinced no great antipathy towards the City's religious houses. In the early- and mid-1520s, nearly half of the London testators registering

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[110] John G., *...The Mirror or Looking-Glass of Life*, [1532?], *RSTC* 11499, sig. Iiii; Elton, *Reform and Renewal*, pp. 53-54.

[111] *Yorkshire Monasteries: Suppression Papers*, J.M. Clay, ed. (Yorkshire Archaeological Society Records Series, xlviii, 1912), p. 48; Pound, *Poverty and Vagrancy*, p. 92 [document 4]; White, *Social Criticism*, p. 94.

[112] *LPFD*, xiv, pt. 1, no. 295 [John Marshall to Cromwell, 15 February 1539].

[113] See, for example, *LPFD*, xiii, pt. 2, no. 671, and Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, p. 292.

their wills in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury left money to priories and hospitals, though by the end of the decade the figure had dropped closer to one-third.[114] Likewise, there is no evidence of marked doubt on the part of the pre-Reformation testators that their benefactions would be properly distributed by religious houses. Benefactors continued to assume that religious were competent to distinguish the merits and needs of the recipients of alms. Testators presumed that the institutions receiving their bequests would be diligent in the observation of the behaviour of their inmates; it is difficult to conclude that the sizable number of pre-Reformation testators who made provisions for the relief of the poor--often through church organisations--were gullible in estimating the capabilities and good offices of the monastic houses.[115] The poor also mourned the passing of the monastic tradition. According to the chronicler Charles Wriothesley, it was a "pity the great lamentations that the poor people made for them [monks], for there was great hospitality kept among them, and, as it was reported, ten thousand persons had lost their living by the putting down of them, which was great pity."[116]

Two broadly divergent views developed concerning the monks, nuns, priests, and friars, and the organisations they served. Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, recalled for King Edward VI that those living in the religious houses had failed in their chief duty to God:

> ...to labour for the necessity of the poor, to spare from their own bellies to the poor; and therefore was their fare ordained and prepared. And because they abused these thing [the outward symbols of their offices], and set them in a higher place than they ought to do (not taking monition thereby, the better to serve God, but esteeming perfection to consist in them), they were dissolved; their houses and garments were taken away."[117]

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[114] Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, p. 73.

[115] Archer, *Pursuit of Stability*, p. 168; Thompson, "Piety and Charity," pp. 182-183; Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, pp. 41, 481.

[116] Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, i, p. 43.

[117] Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, [Stephen Gardiner to King Edward VI, 29 June 1548], vi, p. 91. Bishop Gardiner, it must be said, trimmed his sails to the wind: he certainly would not have delivered such a peroration to Queen Mary I. Actually, his foes would allege that he was "variable,... inconstant, and contrary to himself," and prone to perjury. Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, vi, 255-57.

Others, however, like the antiquarian John Stow in the generation after the Dissolution, would cherish memories of the sanctity of the religious houses.[118] Many were there who would bemoan the decay in the nation's hospitality which attended the demise of the monasteries: "...the poor impotent creatures [had] some relief of [the] scraps [of the monasteries], where as now they have nothing. Then had they hospitals, and alms-houses to be lodged in, but now they lie and starve in the streets. Then was their number great, but now much greater."[119] Still others would look on in sorrow when London's ancient houses of contemplation and spiritual succour were razed, or transformed into private homes, public buildings, or even, in some enlightened cases, into havens for the poor.[120]

4. Initial Attempts of the City to Take Possession of Monastic Properties

The Dissolution presented the City's elite with the immediate necessity of providing for the poor displaced or further impoverished by the disruption of the traditional monastic alms-distributing system. Commencing in February 1538, under the leadership of Sir Richard Gresham, mercer and Lord Mayor, 1537-38, the Aldermanic Court and the Court of the Common Council began to petition the king for the possession of the "four houses of the friars, that is to say the Augustinians, Blackfriars, Grey Friars, and White Friars, and also for the three hospitals, that is to say, St. Bartholomew's in Smithfield, St. Mary without Bishopsgate, and St. Thomas in Southwark."[121]

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[118] John Stow would recall with particular sadness the despoiling of the common library at St. Bartholomew's Hospital, which had once been the repository of the "fairest Bible that I have seen, written in large vellum by a brother of that house named John Coke, at the age of sixty-eight years, when he had been priest forty-three years...." Stow, *Survey*, pp. vi-vii, 288, 333, and *passim*.

[119] "A Supplication of the Poor Commons," [1546], from *Four Supplications*, p. 79.

[120] Pound, *Poverty and Vagrancy*, pp. 21-24; Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, p. 294.

[121] Stow, *Survey*, p. 470; C.L.R.O., Rep. x, fols. 79^{v}, 81^{v}, 82^{r}, 96^{v}; C.L.R.O., Journal xiv, 130^{r}; *LPFD*, xiii, pt. 2, no. 492; Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, i, pt. 1, p. 409.

Beginning at Lent of 1538, Gresham also ordered weekly collections for London's poor to be taken up during the sermons at Paul's Cross.[122] The Common Council noted the "inconveniences" arising from the redundancy of the four churches of the friars: crowding in parish churches, the presently-unmet need for early morning masses (4 or 5 AM at the friaries versus 6 or 7 AM at the secular churches) for those like victualers and purveyors "who cannot tarry," and courtiers, merchants, and aliens "out of all realms resorting to [London's] parish churches be so looked and gazed at" that God cannot be worshipped properly." It also predicted that in times of pestilence, the infected, who formerly went mainly to the four churches, would venture out to other parishes.[123] Gresham furthermore urged as early as 1538 that Henry VIII allow the City government to assume responsibility for the future of the old monastic hospitals.[124] In August of 1538, Gresham wrote to Cromwell, requesting him to refresh the king's memory about the hospitals for the poor in London.[125]

The Aldermanic Court organised a committee whose task was to devise a petition to the king.[126] The petition duly acknowledged the king's efforts to "redress and reform all crimes, offenses, and enormities being repugnant to [God's] doctrine or to the detriment of the common wealth and hurt of poor people being your natural subjects." The king's aldermen begged him to consider the "aid and comfort of the poor sick, blind, aged, and impotent persons, being not able to help themselves, nor having any place certain wherein they may be lodged, cherished, and refreshed 'til they be cured and helpen of their diseases and sickness."[127]

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[122] Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, i, pp. 77-78; Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, p. 293.

[123] C.L.R.O., Journal xiv, fol. 130^{r}; Kingdon, *Richard Grafton*, p. 23; Sharpe, *London and the Kingdom*, i, pp. 407-408.

[124] B.M., MS. Cleo., Eiv, fol. 222; *LPFD*, xiii, pt. 2, no. 492; Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, i, pt. 1, pp. 409-410; *Parl. Papers 1837*, xxxii, pt. 6, p. 344.

[125] *LPFD*, xiii, pt. 2, no. 72 [11 August 1538]; Gresham also had written to Cromwell about the bad condition of the roof and rood of St. Mary's Spittal; he expressed the hope that "it was the will of God that the house should be converted to some better use." See *LPFD*, xiii, pt. 2, no. 13; also Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, p. 293.

[126] The committee consisted of Lord Mayor William Forman, Ralph Warren, Richard Gresham, John Gresham, Michael Dormer, and Ralph Allen: C.L.R.O., Rep. x, fols. 81^{v} and 82^{r}.

[127] C.L.R.O., Journal xiv, fol. 129^{r-v}; B.L., Cotton MS. Cleo., Eiv, fols. 262^{v}-263^{r} appears to be a rough draft of the above.

The king was reminded of the existence of St. Bartholomew's, St. Mary's, St. Thomas's, and New Abbey at Tower Hill, "founded of good devotion by ancient fathers, and endowed with great possessions and rents, only for the relief, comfort, and aid of the poor and indigent people not being able to help themselves, and not to the maintenance of priests, canons, and monks, carnally living as they have done of late, nothing regarding the miserable people lying in the streets, offending every clean person passing by the way with their filthy and nasty savours." Where once a few religious people lived solely for "their own singular profit, lucre, and commodity," a far greater number of poor persons would now be "refreshed, maintained, comforted, found, healed and cured of their infirmities frankly and freely, by physicians, surgeons, and apothecaries." These professionals would be provided with stipends and wages "only to attend for that intent and purpose, so that all impotent persons not able to labour shall be relieved by reason of the said hospitals and abbey, and all sturdy beggars not willing to labour shall be punished, so that with God's grace, few or no persons shall be seen abroad to beg or ask alms."[128]

For this purpose, the mayor and the brethren of the City required from the king authority for the "order, rule, disposition, and governance of all the said hospitals and abbey, with those rents and revenues appertaining to the same...."[129] This petition prompted no response from the king.

Approximately two years later, on 1 August 1540, the Common Council noted that the size of the four houses of the friars made them ideal refuges for the sick during outbreaks of the plague. The Council expressed its willingness to purchase the houses for 300 marks sterling, "if they can be gotten no cheaper." They would be "paid and levied by and of the Citizens and Inhabitants of this City as a fifteenth *per annum*."[130] Yet again, though, no acknowledgement of this proposal was forthcoming from the king.

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[128] C.L.R.O., Journal xiv, fol. 129^{r-v}.
[129] C.L.R.O., Journal xiv, fol. 129^{r}.
[130] C.L.R.O., Journal xiv, fol. 216^{v}.

Only in 1544 was the matter examined by the king, when a "reconstruction" of the hospital was suggested.[131] The king proposed to grant the site and buildings of the late hospital to hospital officials of his own choosing. The Charter enshrined proposals for a master and four chaplains.[132] Apparently the stipulations made for the reorganisation of the hospital were not fully satisfactory for the leaders of the City. The reconstruction of 1544 never clearly defined what role, if any, the City would play in the administration and supervision of the hospital.[133] Also, City reformers leery of clerical control over institutions would have mistrusted those put in charge of the hospital. Furthermore, the king's provision of property for the hospital was inadequate to sustain its operation; what would be needed and worked for over the next two years would be a reversion of all the former lands and estates of the pre-Reformation hospital to the new foundation.

In the king's last address to Parliament, in 1545, he observed with regret that "charity between man and man is so refrigerate": sentiments with which many of his London subjects might have agreed.[134] The un-Christian spirit that prevailed was in part attributable to the rancorous debates over religious doctrine. Partly, the "lack of love" must also have been due to the perception of the host of inequities surrounding the expropriation of the monastic lands; as Robert Barnes had noted at his execution in 1540, the king had received "into his own hands all the goods and substances of the abbeys." Like Barnes, many anticipated that they would be applied towards the "comfort of [the king's] poor subjects, who surely have great need [of the goods]."[135] Reformers and social commentators would be frustrated by the harsh reality of poor lying on the streets of London in greater numbers than ever before: after all, was not the reformation of society to follow on the heels of the reformation of religion?[136]

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[131] William Turges, STB, the king's chaplain, was nominated to be the first master: *LPFD*, xix, pt. 1, no. 812 (80). The Charter of 1544 is discussed more fully *infra* in Chapter V, pp. 146-148.

[132] S.B.H., HC1/2000.

[133] The terms of the king's orders for the reconstruction of St. Bartholomew's Hospital are mentioned neither in the Journals of the Court of the Common Council nor in the Aldermanic Repertories.

[134] For the full text of the speech, see Hall, *Chronicle*, pp. 864-866.

[135] Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, v, pp. 434-436; Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, pp. 317-318, 378.

[136] Jones, *The Tudor Commonwealth*, p. 39; Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, p. 458.

Those City fathers who were sensitive to the plight of the poor and concerned about the potential for civic disorder were eager to gain control over institutions which might alleviate suffering and deal with the problems caused by the itinerant poor. They would, however, have to wait until the twilight of the old king's reign, in January of 1547, before St. Bartholomew's Hospital, that most important component in their computations for social engineering, would finally come under the control of the City.[137]

[137] This narrative is continued in Chapter V, below.

CHAPTER III

CHARITY AND THE MID-TUDOR COMMONWEALTH

The hospitals of sixteenth-century London, as Professor W. K. Jordan demonstrated in his monumental study of philanthropy in early-modern London, owed their existence in large part to the efforts of the mercantile class of the mid-Tudor period.[1] The creation, survival, and expansion of the system of hospitals in London from the end of Henry VIII's reign to the middle of Elizabeth I's remain the outstanding monument to the industry, ingenuity, and foresight of the men who used pragmatism as well as idealism, principle, and religious inspiration to meet the social problems of the metropolis. Civic pride, financial wherewithal, and political clout converged to inspire and assist the merchants of London in the creation of a city-wide system of poor relief and health care that exceeded anything which had previously existed in England: one that could withstand comparisons with contemporary systems on the continent.[2] In addition, the intellectual currents of the 1540s and 1550s, and impulses towards acts of benevolence which reified the fresh understanding of the will of God as preached by the reforming theologians, also shaped the motivations that lay behind the foundations.

The ambitious initiatives taken to halt the growth of poverty in London reflected many beliefs. It was widely assumed that poverty nurtured discontent, and, if allowed to fester, might eventually lead to social disruption. In the aftermath of the Reformation, men of business would probably have been frustrated by the absence of secular, institutional agencies "through which their benefactions could be rendered socially useful."[3] Densely populated, unhygienic slums were recognised as breeding-grounds for diseases that could spread to other

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[1] Jordan, *Charities of London*, p. 64; Jordan, *Philanthropy in England*, pp. 263, 348-349.
[2] Slack, *Poverty and Policy*, p. 120.
[3] Jordan, *Philanthropy in England*, pp. 272-273.

parts of the city and beyond.[4] There was also a perception that the poor were flooding into London at a more prodigious rate than ever before, and that the old agencies and mechanisms--like parish churches, monasteries, or arranged doles--for dealing with mobile poor no longer had the capacity to cope with the numbers of those in need. Harder to evaluate, but no doubt a real consideration, was the power of the message of the reformed faith: in that message, society and true religion were linked inextricably in the creation of a Christian commonwealth in England.

The ideals of a commonwealth had their origins in the writings of a school of intellectuals who anticipated an orderly, almost static, society that cherished erudition, reason, and homogeneity. Writers and preachers later added fervour to this rather cold utopia. By drawing attention to the needs of the poor, usually in earthy, forthright language, they pricked the consciences of their audiences.[5] While their methods varied, their focus was ultimately the same: kindness to the poor was the work of God, and an orderly society could not be assured without tending to God's work.[6] God remembered even a cup of water given to his poorest creature, yet always he commanded modesty on the part of the giver. In *Matthew* 6:2, Christians were reminded that alms were not to be announced with the fanfare of trumpets, but should instead be rendered in secret. These messages were not lost on the men who were generally sympathetic to the teachings and social commentaries of the reformers, and who rose to be the ruling elite of London in the middle decades of the century.

In a hierarchical society like that of Tudor England, attitudes were inevitably shaped by the words and deeds of the sovereign and those who surrounded him or her. The break with

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[4] C.L.R.O., Journal xi, fol. 319^{r}, Journal xiv, fol. 130^{r}; C.L.R.O., Rep. ix, 190^{v}; Paul Slack, "Metropolitan Government in Crisis: The Response to the Plague," in *The Making of the Metropolis: London 1500 - 1700*, A.L. Beier and Roger Finlay, eds. (London: 1986), pp. 65-66; David Palliser, *The Age of Elizabeth: England under the Later Tudors, 1547-1603* (London: 1985), p. 215; McLean, *Humanism and the Rise of Science*, p. 208; Pound, *Poverty and Vagrancy*, pp. 13-15.

[5] J.W. Blench, *Preaching in England in the late Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries: A Study of English Sermons, 1450 - c.1600* (Oxford: 1964), pp. 246, 263.

[6] C.L.R.O., Journal xvi, fol. 256^{v}.

Rome and the concomitant dispersal of monastic and chantry possessions presented a unique opportunity to place considerable resources at the disposal of the projects of social reformers. When this did not happen, or failed to occur as fully as the reformers might have wished, disappointments abounded. The crown, which had been the focal-point of hope in the early days of the Reformation, became, according to social commentators in the last years of Henry VIII's reign and throughout Somerset's regency, the country's chief purveyor of greed. As the preacher Thomas Lever lamented, the rich in England had fattened themselves on the wealth God intended to be put to the relief of the poor.[7] A consistent theme of visionaries like Lever was the bitter realization that the misuse of the wealth of the old church persisted even after Roman ways had been spurned; it was a sad reproach to a godly society that "poverty was never so abundant, and charity never so scant."[8]

In the opinion of several near-contemporary recorders of the foundation of the Edwardian hospitals, redress for the poor of London came most fully only at the instant when the king, by all accounts a very earnest adolescent, was presented with evidence of the sufferings of the poor of his capital and the greed that obstructed their relief. Then, in cooperation with the leaders of the City and the bishop of London, Nicholas Ridley, Edward VI made provisions for the establishment of the three charitable institutions.[9] Poignantly, though, this act, which seemed to signal the flowering of the long-awaited commonwealth, came at the end of Edward VI's brief life.

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[7] Thomas Lever, *A Sermon Preached the Third Sunday in Lent before the King's Majesty, STC*, 15547 (London: 1550), sig. Ciii.

[8] "The Defense of John Hales, Against Certain Slanders and False Reports Made of Him," in *A Discourse of the Common Weal of this Realm of England* [1549], Elizabeth Lamond, ed. (Cambridge: 1893), p. lxvi.

[9] Raphael Holinshed, *Chronicles*, 6 vols., Henry Ellis, ed. (London: 1807-1808), iii, pp. 1060-1061; John Howes, "A Familiar and Friendly Discourse Dialogue Wise Setting Forth the First Order and Manner of the Erections of the Hospitals: Christ's, Bridewell, and St. Thomas the Apostle," [*c.* 1582], William Lampriere, ed. (London: 1904), pp. 17-18.

1. The Building of a Christian Commonwealth in England: c.1535-1550

By longstanding tradition, the beginning of the reign of a king or queen is a period redolent with hope and promise: hope that any inequities or failings of the old regime will be repudiated by the new, and promise that the new monarch will temper justice with mercy, "rightly, impartially, and wisely, in compassion and in truth."[10] A monarch endued with mercy and compassion defended the concerns of his meanest subjects as assiduously as he watched over the prerogatives of his mightiest; indeed, by the sixteenth century, a salient part of the coronation pledge included swearing to "justify the innocent and relieve the poor" as well as to procure peace, extirpate heresy, and repress violence.[11] These traditional expectations were especially heightened upon the accession of King Edward VI in January of 1547. The changes in religion and society wrought during Henry VIII's reign had been nothing short of massive and profound, but by the end of his life, the legacy of his life's work appeared to excite little but varying degrees of displeasure from social commentators.[12]

Henry VIII "always consulted a great number of false prophets which, as Ahab's prophets did, prophesied unto you lies; wringing and wresting the Scriptures to establish your highness in all such things as they perceived you bent unto." The king and the others "in detestable error" who hoarded the former church resources now unlocked by the crown were reminded that, eventually, they would all "on that dreadful day...stand before the judgment seat of God in no more reputation than one of those miserable creatures which do now daily die in the streets for lack of their due portion...which they trusted to have received when they saw your highness turn out the other sturdy beggars." The abuses the king "suffereth freely to

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[10] "Coronation Oath of Edward II," [1308], in *Sources of English Constitutional History: A Selection of Documents from A.D. 600 to the Interregnum*, Carl Stephenson and Frederick George Marcham, eds., 2 vols. (New York: 1972), i, p. 192.

[11] John Strype, *Memorials of the Most Reverend Father in God, Thomas Cranmer, Sometime Lord Archbishop of Canterbury*, 2 vols. (Oxford: 1840), ii, pp. 205-207.

[12] Julian Cornwall, *Wealth and Society in Sixteenth Century England* (London: 1988), p. 188; Jones, *The Tudor Commonwealth*, p. 112.

reign" were signs of his personal negligence; for the sake of his poorest citizens, the king must be vigorous and independent, not assuming that "all is good that is concluded in your High Court of Parliament."[13]

It was the ardent hope of the reformers that the next king would need no similar promptings to be mindful of his earthly reputation and his immortal soul; with the good examples of the godly men who surrounded him, and frequent exposure to the messages of men like Cranmer, Latimer, Becon, Ridley, and Hooper, Edward would become a second Josiah, and his court a new Jerusalem.[14] This newly-enthroned paragon and the godly men who surrounded him would surely be eager to hear the pitiful pleas of the poor and "purge and cleanse the Church of all abuses and enormities, and bind the wounds of the commonwealth."[15]

The ideal of the Christian, "well-fashioned commonwealth," as it evolved in England roughly from the fall of Cardinal Wolsey to the accession of Queen Mary I, consistently drew upon imagery of the human body: "[the] public weal is a body living, compact or made of the sundry estates and degrees of men, which is disposed by the orders of equity and governed by the rule and moderation of reason."[16] The commonwealth of England was comprised of constituent members: peasants, gentry, nobility, clergy, and king were all "members of one body, and ought to minister one to another mercifully: and remember that whatsoever we have, it is given us by God."[17] Just as a body could not flourish if one of its organs suffered, so then the body-politic thrived only as fully as all its individual parts functioned well and in harmony

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[13] *A Supplication of the Poor Commons* [1546] in *English Historical Documents: 1485-1558*, 6 vols., C.H. Williams, ed. (Oxford: 1967), v, pp. 284-285, 290.

[14] John N. King, *English Reformation Literature: The Tudor Origins of the Protestant Tradition* (Princeton, N.J.: 1982), pp. 172-173.

[15] William Turner, *A New Dialogue, Wherein is Contained the Examination of the Mass, and of That Kind of Priesthood, Which is Ordained to Say Mass...*, *STC*, 24361.5 (London: 1548), sigs. A. vi^{b} - B. i.

[16] Edward VI, "Discourse on the Reform of Abuses in Church and State," in *The Chronicle of Edward VI*, Wilbur K. Jordan, ed. (New York: 1970), p. 162; Thomas Elyot, *The Book Named the Governor*, S.E. Lehmberg, ed. (New York: 1975), p. 1; see also Richard Morrison, *A Remedy for Sedition* (London: 1536).

[17] William Tyndale, "The Parable of the Wicked Mammon," in *Doctrinal Treatises and Introduction to Different Portions of the Holy Scripture*, Henry Walter, ed. (Parker Soc., Cambridge: 1848), p. 101.

with one another.[18] Typically, the king was seen as the head or the heart of the organic polity. On the king, the moral health of the commonwealth most depended:

> He must be a student; he must write God's book himself, not thinking, because he is a king, he hath license to do what he will, as these worldly flatterers are wont to say.[19]

Analogies were drawn in a somewhat facile manner between ailing human bodies and the body-politic of the commonwealth. Dr. William Turner, intellectual, physician, and attendant of the duke of Somerset and a devoted humanist, observed that like a body wracked by the effects of gluttony, England at the end of Henry VIII's reign suffered from the excesses of the king and nobles. They over-indulged in fine food, dressed and built in far too sumptuous a fashion, and appropriated the incomes of churches and hospitals, all without regard to the consequences of the cries of anguish of the weakest body members of the commonwealth.[20] At the other end of the social scale, it was generally agreed that those who wilfully would not contribute to the vitality of the commonwealth--notably those sunk in the "mother and root of all mischiefs," *i.e.*, vagabondage,--"ought clearly to be banished, as is the superfluous humour of the body, that is to say, the spittle and filth which, because it [*sic*] is for no use, is put out by the strength of nature."[21] However, for those members of society who were weak through no fault of their own, the true commonwealth promised to enshrine laws designed to safeguard them from the oppression or negligence of stronger members.

Perhaps most controversially, idealists of the commonwealth emphasized the Christian concept of the intrinsic equality of all persons before God: "The poorest plowman is in Christ

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[18] Whitney R.D. Jones, *William Turner: Tudor Naturalist, Physician, and Divine* (London: 1988), pp. 132-133; Beier, *Problem of the Poor*, pp. 17-18.

[19] Hugh Latimer, *Selected Sermons of Hugh Latimer*, Allan G. Chester, ed. (Charlottesville, Va.: 1968), p. 69; King, *English Reformation Literature*, pp. 176-177.

[20] Turner, *A New Book of Spiritual Physic for Divers Diseases of the Nobility and Gentlemen of England, STC*, 2436 (London: 1555), fols. 46-46b, 48-50, 93; Jones, *William Turner*, pp. 20-21, 133.

[21] *LPFD*, xx, pt. 1, no. 812, p. 402; Edward VI, "A Discourse on the Reform of Abuses," p. 162.

equal with the greatest prince that is," as Hugh Latimer would preach before his king.[22] This assertion was prone to misapprehension: the ideal of the Christian commonwealth could be momentarily permeated with an anomalous egalitarian strain by radicals who spoke of the eliminating any disparities in social standing or wealth. Any tendencies along those lines were summarily denounced by reformers like Sir John Cheke: "Would ye have all alike rich? That is the overthrow of labour, and the utter decay of work in this realm."[23] The emphasis on the innate, equivalent worth of all men in the eyes of Christ was primarily a reminder to the mighty of the earth that the status and privileges they enjoyed in this life would gain them nothing at the awful moment of final accounting; it was also intended to console, and undoubtedly mollify, the many on earth who knew neither wealth nor status.

Privileged listeners to sermons in both court and countryside were constantly admonished to distinguish between the fleeting glories of this world, and the eternal verities of the next.[24] Still, the construction of a commonwealth was certainly not intended to signal an end to social gradations or the privileges of wealth: "where all thing is common, there lacketh order; and where order lacketh, there all thing is odious and uncomely" was the bitter lesson learned under the revolts that would later mar the protectorate of the duke of Somerset.[25] Rather, social rank, or one's role in society, ought ideally to determine one's need, and one's financial situation:

> Let every man therefore wait on the office wherein Christ hath put him, and therein serve his brethren. If he be of low degree, let him patiently therein abide till God promote him, and exalt him higher. Let kings and head officers seek Christ in their offices, and minister peace and quietness unto the brethren; punish sin, and that with

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[22] Lewis Einstein, *Tudor Ideals* (London: 1921), p. 234; Hugh Latimer, "The Last Sermon before Edward VI", in *Sermons by Hugh Latimer, Sometime Bishop of Worcester, Martyr, 1555*, George Elwes Corrie, ed. (Parker Soc., Cambridge: 1844), p. 215.

[23] Raphael Holinshed, *Chronicles*, 2 vols. (London: 1577), ii, p. 1680; Lacey Baldwin Smith, *Tudor Prelates and Politics: 1536-1558* (Princeton, N.J.: 1953), p. 128.

[24] See Robert Crowley, "The Way to Wealth, Wherein is Plainly Taught a Most Present Remedy for Sedition," [1550], in *The Select Works of Robert Crowley, Printer, Archdeacon of Hereford, Vicar of St. Lawrence, Jewry, etc.*, Joseph Meadows Cowper, ed., *E.E.T.S.*, extra series, xxii (London: 1872), p. 78.

[25] Sir Thomas Eliot, as quoted in Jones, *The Tudor Commonwealth*, p. 57.

> mercy, even with the same sorrow and grief of the mind as they would cut off a finger or a joint, a leg or an arm, of their own body, if there were such disease in them that either they must be cut off, or else all the body must perish.[26]

All were reminded that the craft they practiced was to be put to the use of the commonwealth, and that service to poorer brethren was equivalent to a kindness rendered to Christ

> And when thou receivest money for thy labour or ware, thou receivest thy duty. For wherein thou minister to thy brethren, thy brethren are debtors, to give thee wherewith to maintain thyself and household. And let your superfluities succour the poor, of which sort shall ever be some in all towns, and cities, and villages, and that I suppose the greatest number. Remember, we are all members of one body.[27]

Real social equilibrium in the mid-Tudor commonwealth was to prove elusive, however; variables like ambition and greed, both components of the human condition, often worked against the noble vision of the commonwealth idealists.[28]

It was only the bolder, more radical of the visionaries, like the preacher Robert Crowley, who suggested that those in positions of power and high rank ought to work toward a more equitable distribution of the nation's wealth.[29] To Crowley, the powerful were set on earth to be stewards of God, and they should "know that [their] office is to distribute, and not to scrape together on heaps. God hath not set you to survey his lands, but to play the stewards in his household of this world, and to see that your poor fellow servants lacketh not their necessaries."[30]

The less provocative of the commonwealth idealists were content to deplore the missed opportunities of reapplying church, rather than personal, wealth; only a few had the temerity to claim that a new Protestant elite, which based its wealth on unconscionable acquisitions of wealth and property from the old church, had arisen to replace the Roman clergy as the chief

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[26] Tyndale, "The Parable of the Wicked Mammon," pp. 102-103.
[27] Tyndale, "The Parable of the Wicked Mammon," pp. 102-103.
[28] Cornwall, *Wealth and Society*, p. 154.
[29] Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, p. 492.
[30] Robert Crowley, *An Information and Petition against Oppressors of the Poor Commons of this Realm, Compiled [for] the Parliament* [1548], *STC*, 6086, sig. A7^{v}.

oppressors of the poor.[31] One such other was Thomas Becon, who castigated the purchasers of abbey lands as hypocrites who "abhor the names of monks, friars, canons, nuns...but their goods they greedily gripe. And yet, where the cloisters kept hospitality, [and] let out their farms at a reasonable price..., [they now do] none of all these things."[32] Perhaps understandably, the more strident criticisms of men like Crowley and Becon, with their strains of egalitarianism, would soon come to be perceived as potentially destabilising in the mid-Tudor period.[33]

One of the highest ideals of the commonwealth was the eventual realization of stability in society. In the face of seemingly innumerable social and economic fluctuations in the late 1530s and throughout the 1540s, the commonwealth represented an enticing vision of an orderly society insulated from change.[34] A collateral goal in building a commonwealth was the elimination of all things morally, materially, or humanly wasteful in society, ending with the rational ordering of "all...the resources [of society] in one great corporation."[35] Rich and poor both had important, and generally complementary, roles to play in a social compact of the commonwealth of the godly, much as they once had had in the medieval cosmos. Sir John Cheke, Edward VI's tutor, observed that "riches are a matter of God's providence; the Christian should be content with God's ordinance."[36]

Edward VI's own views on riches and poverty exhibited some infusion of the teachings of the medieval church: poverty and riches were both heavenly gifts, for God "hast made some rich to despise the worldly goods, so hast thou appointed some to be poor, that they may

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[31] Crowley, "Of Abbeys," in *The Select Works of Robert Crowley, Printer, Archdeacon of Hereford, Vicar of St. Lawrence, Jewry, etc.*, Joseph Meadows Cowper, ed., *E.E.T.S.*, extra series, xxii (London: 1872), p. 7; King, *English Protestant Literature*, pp. 350-351.

[32] Thomas Becon, "The Jewel of Joy," [1553], in *The Catechism of Thomas Becon, with other pieces written by him in the reign of King Edward VI*, John Ayre, ed. (Parker Soc., Cambridge: 1844), p. 435; Jordan, *Philanthropy in England*, p. 60.

[33] Crowley, "Of Abbeys," p. 7; King, *English Protestant Literature*, pp. 350-351.

[34] Davies, *Peace, Print, and Protestantism*, p. 273.

[35] Richard Marius, *Thomas More: A Biography* (New York: 1984), p. 380.

[36] John Cheke, *The Hurt of Sedition, How Grievous it is to a Common Wealth*, *STC*, 5109 (London: 1549), sigs. A 8^{v} - B 1; White, *Social Criticism*, p. 145; Ribton-Turner, *History of Vagrants and Vagrancy*, p. 89.

receive thy benefits at the rich man's hand."[37] The commonwealth idealists of the mid-Tudor period did insist, however, that those who enjoyed wealth and status must in duty guard against idleness and covetousness, wherein the rich "hath enough given [them] from God, and yet [are] not content therewithal...[but will] condemn and disdain the very image of God in the poor." They were held to be the twin evils of the day.[38] The poor were under the king's special protection, and to do them harm was to besmirch the king's honour; indeed, the king's reputation was grounded in his capacity to provide for the poor.[39] In More's phrase, it sullied a king's dignity to rule over a land of beggars.[40]

The suffering of the poor was meant to spur Christian charity, which to the godly meant the giving of their surplus wealth openly, wisely. At the same time, reformers were at pains to distance themselves from any Catholic position regarding a theology of works. Those of the reformed faith should practice charity without automatic expectations of heavenly reward: "in good works every Christian man ought to exercise himself all the days of his life, and yet not to think himself justified thereby, but rather to count himself an unprofitable servant."[41] And the poor in turn were expected to behave with fitting deference and receive with gratitude: the poor man ought "rather starve and die for hunger, as poor Lazar did, than to trouble a commonwealth...."[42] The poor should instead withstand their tribulations patiently, as Job had

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[37] It is not clear in what spiritual sense the poor profited from this arrangement. Edward VI, *The Writings of Edward VI* (Religious Tract Society, London: 1831), pp. 90-91; Jones, *Tudor Commonwealth*, p. 109. M.M. Knappen, *Tudor Puritanism: A Chapter in the History of Idealism* (Chicago, 1970), p. 406: Puritans often comprehended "social abuses in the language of medieval clericalism."

[38] John Hooper, "Third Sermon upon Jonas," in *The Early Writings of Bishop Hooper, D.D., Lord Bishop of Gloucester and Worcester, Martyr, 1555: Comprising the Declaration of Christ and His Office, Answer to Bishop Gardiner, Ten Commandments, Sermons on Jonas, and Funeral Sermon*, Charles Nevinson, ed. (Parker Soc., Cambridge: 1852), p. 466. The rich were reminded of St. Paul's dictum: "For covetousness is the root of all evil and of all mischief." Latimer, "Last Sermon before Edward VI," p. 213.

[39] Latimer, "First Sermon before Edward VI," p. 38; Latimer, "Sixth Sermon before Edward VI," p. 185.

[40] More, *Utopia*, p. 27.

[41] Thomas Mountain, rector of St. Michael Paternoster Royal, responding in 1553 to Stephen Gardiner's charge that Mountain's "new broached brethren" had spoken "against good works." *Narratives of the Days of the Reformation*, J.G. Nichols (Camden Soc., old series, lxxvii, London: 1859), p. 181; M.L. Bush, *The Government Policy of Protector Somerset* (Montreal: 1975), pp. 61-62; Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, pp. 476-477.

[42] Thomas Becon, "The Fortress of the Faithful," in *The Catechism of Thomas Becon, with other Pieces Written by Him in the Reign of King Edward VI*, John Ayre, ed. (Parker Soc., Cambridge: 1844), p. 601.

borne his many trials from the hands of God. For as Robert Crowley predicted, "the end shall turn thee to good,/ though thou lie in the street and die."[43]

The existence of the poor quickly became something of a preoccupation for the reformers.[44] In part this was owing to the perception that the poor were swelling in numbers and swarming into cities, especially London, and in part in the realization that it was improbable that they would uniformly suffer their lot (if it was to be starvation and deprivation) with Job-like quiescence. Public sensibility to poverty, and the social ramifications of its growth increased markedly throughout the sixteenth century, and particularly in its middle decades.[45] The ultimate, and most dreaded, outgrowth of widespread poverty was the threat of a breakdown in social order.[46] Covetousness, which "possesseth the miserable and needy sort..., [was the] other sire of sedition."[47] Civil governors gradually took to heart messages like the chastisement given the duke of Norfolk by rioting, unemployed clothworkers in East Anglia: "Since you ask who is our captain, for sooth his name is Poverty, for he and his cousin Necessity hath brought us to this doing."[48] Some two decades later, those messages would be refined by Bishop Latimer into a syllogism: "Covetousness is the root of all evil: rebellion is an evil: ergo, covetousness is the root of rebellion. And so it is indeed."[49]

Situations that exacerbated--or were attendant upon--the spread of poverty, such as enclosure of land, depopulation, conversion of arable lands into pasture, excessive rents, large-scale migrations to cities, inflation, debasement of the coinage, and the general rapaciousness

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[43] Robert Crowley, "The Beggar's Lesson," in *The Select Works of Robert Crowley, Printer, Archdeacon of Hereford, Vicar of St. Lawrence, Jewry, etc.*, Joseph Meadows Cowper, ed., *E.E.T.S.*, extra series, xxii (London: 1872), p. 58.

[44] A.L. Beier and Roger Finlay, "The Significance of the Metropolis," in *The Making of the Metropolis: London, 1500-1700*, A.L. Beier and Roger Finlay, eds. (London: 1986), pp. 18-19.

[45] Jones, *The Tudor Commonwealth*, p. 108.

[46] Rebellion was often linked with poverty. Richard Morrison made the connection in 1536 when he depicted insurgents planting the seeds of chaos in fighting for leveller-like beliefs such as "think[ing] it were a good world, if we were all rich." Richard Morrison, *The Remedy for Sedition*, *STC*, 18113.5 (London: 1536), sig. B7.

[47] Stow, *Survey of London*, pp. 490-491.

[48] Jones, *The Tudor Commonwealth*, p. 108; Hall, *Chronicle*, pp. 699-700.

[49] Latimer, "Last Sermon before Edward VI," p. 247.

of the rich, were studied and debated by social critics during the 1530s and 1540s, though seemingly to little avail: ultimately, the writings of the commonwealth men were tinged with a nostalgia for a simpler, better England that to their minds had existed sometime before 1485.[50] It was their hope that the commonwealth they sought to fashion would mirror the pastoral England of yore, where neighbour willingly cared for neighbour, where the ill were nurtured in hospitals maintained with gifts given freely in Christian compassion, and where large-scale, perplexing problems such as intractable poverty, price-inflation, urban crowding, and vagrancy simply did not exist.[51]

2. London and Its Place in the Commonwealth

Cities and their many problems were an especial point of concern for mid-Tudor social commentators. Cities, and that "sinful Sodom, this bloody Jerusalem, this unhappy City of London" in particular, were viewed as notorious for their troublesome, unruly denizens, with their newly-acquired penchant for hedonism and venality among their wealthier inhabitants.[52] Rampant poverty and social inequities were a reproach to whatever sense of community post-Reformation London neighbourhoods could claim: the spirit and solidarity that inspired parishioners of St. Katherine Creechurch to rebuild their parish church in 1530 with funds they themselves raised now seemed sharply lacking.[53] Few would have troubled to dispute John Stow's claim that London, with its size and preponderance of wealth, was "the heart of the realm;" unlike Stow, however, many Edwardian and Marian polemicists depicted that heart as blackened and corrupted.[54]

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[50] Cornwall, *Wealth and Society*, pp. 180-185. For critiques of the widening social and economic dislocation, see P.R.O., SP9/141, fols. 134-135, also cited in *Tudor Economic Documents* [hereafter *T.E.D.*], 3 vols., R.H. Tawney and Eileen Power, eds. (*University of London History Series*, no. 14, London: 1924), ii, pp. 302-305; Latimer, *Sermons*, pp. 86, 240.

[51] Cornwall, *Wealth and Society*, pp. 169-179, 180-185; Latimer, *Sermons*, pp. 91, 240.

[52] See, for example, the parallels drawn by Bishop Latimer between London and Nineveh, destroyed for its sins by God: Latimer, "Last Sermon before Edward VI," p. 245; Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, vii, pp. 726-727.

[53] C.L.R.O., Letter Book O, fol. 164^{v}.

[54] Stow *Survey*, p. 78.

In general, cities fared badly when compared with the dignity and "simple piety" of the countryside: London, in the mid-Tudor period, grappled with increased incidences of promiscuity, fornication, and marital breakdowns, problems not as commonplace elsewhere in the kingdom.[55] Many would have concurred with Sir Philip Hoby when, in 1557, he despaired of London as "a stinking city, the filthiest of the world."[56] Transient poor who littered the City streets and harassed honest citizens with their begging and thievery were the particular concern of parish vestries and the governors of the hospitals. By the latter portion of the century, officials like William Cecil understood that the areas into which they crowded were especially prone to outbreaks of virulent diseases. Their excesses constituted as well a type of moral pollution the City's religious and political leaders long fought to curtail.[57]

The illicit sexual activities of the poor, and the children who resulted from casual unions, became the special province of Christ's Hospital. Children born of unmarried mothers clearly offended notions of the sanctity of marriage, and they proved to be a heavy--and, generally, unavoidable--burden on London's social services.[58] In general, the "vice and misorder" of English cities was so pervasive that gentlemen "flieth into the country," leaving those who remained leaderless and without good examples: life in the wild forest could only be less chaotic and more civilised.[59] It was also in the capital that the disparities between the rich and poor were most apparent and most alarming: five percent of the City's inhabitants controlled more than eighty percent of its personal wealth.[60]

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[55] Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, pp. 472, 637.

[56] Conyers Read, *Mr. Secretary Cecil and Queen Elizabeth* (Philadelphia, Pa.: 1955), p. 115.

[57] P.R.O., SP1/238, pt. 2, fol. 120, *m.* 1; Howes, "A Familiar and Friendly Dialogue," p. 16; G.L., MS. 12806/1, fol. 41^{v}; Palliser, *The Age of Elizabeth*, p. 215.

[58] See, for example, G.L., MS. 12806/2, fol. 50.

[59] Starkey, *A Dialogue between Reginald Pole and Thomas Lupset*, pp. 27, 92; Robert Tittler, "The Emergence of Urban Policy, 1536-1558," in *The Mid-Tudor Polity, c1540-1560*, Jennifer Loach and Robert Tittler, eds. (London, 1980), pp. 78-79; Phythian-Adams, "Urban Decay in Late Medieval England," pp. 174-177.

[60] Susan E. Brigden, "The Early Reformation in London, 1520-1547: The Conflict in the Parishes," (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Cambridge: 1979), p. 5.

One of the bonds that did connect the rich and poor was the distribution of poor relief. As poor relief became increasingly bureaucratised, it served as a test of social discipline, demanding as it did proper loyalty and deference on the part of the recipients, and at least the semblance of charitable virtue and civic, fraternal generosity on the part of the dispensers.[61] However, London's formal poor relief mechanisms were patchy in the early and middle decades of the sixteenth century, and they did not always function smoothly, nor did their bureaucratisation approach completion until the middle years of Elizabeth's reign.

The many problems of the urban areas, and especially those of London, were a plain indication to social commentators that moral rectitude languished where greed was allowed to go unchecked, and sloth unpunished. London, with its guiles and "detestable vices and fashions," corrupted young men, who came there seeking work but became enthralled by the "naughty places [along the Bank], where they much haunt and in manner lie nightly for the accomplishment and satisfying of their vile, wretched, and filthy purposes."[62] The helpless poor were cheated from their just relief by "ruffians and vagabonds" who feigned illnesses or incapacities in order to gain alms money.[63] People who had once lived meagrely, but honestly, by "sore labour and travail" were, through the greed of others, constrained to beg, borrow, and steal to feed their families.[64]

The rich of the cities inevitably were cast as corrupt, oppressive, and rapacious, and the poor as languid and purposely ignorant of Scripture.[65] London, for example, had "in times past" been guided by men "full of pity and compassion," of whom Hugh Latimer had heard

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[61] Archer, "Governors and Governed," pp. 4-7, 83-90; Archer, *Pursuit and Stability*, p. 60; Rubin, *Charity and Community*, p. 292; Titmuss, *The Gift Relationship*, p. 198.

[62] *LPFD*, xx, pt. 1, no. 812, p. 402. Latimer would, at the end of the 1540s, claim to Edward VI that "I hear say there is now more whoredom in London than ever there was on the Bank. These be the news I have to tell you: I fear they be true Ye ought to hear of it, and redress it." Latimer, "Third Sermon Before Edward VI," in *Sermons*, p. 134.

[63] *LPFD*, xx, pt. 1, no. 812, p. 402.

[64] *Supplication of the Poor Commons*, p. 285.

[65] *Supplication of the Poor Commons*, p. 285; Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, pp. 472, 637; Smith, *Tudor Prelates and Politics*, pp. 125-126.

good report in his youth. He remembered them as regularly giving exhibition money to impecunious scholars and leaving bequests to ease the sufferings of the impoverished. At present, Latimer lamented, proud, malicious, merciless men held sway in London, and consequently, London was a second Nebo, "never so ill as it is now...[when] charity is waxen so cold."

> ...now there is no pity; for in London their brother shall die in the streets for cold, he shall lie sick at the door between stock and stock...and perish there for hunger: was there ever more unmercifulness in Nebo? I think not.[66]

For the post-Reformation commonwealth to come to fruition, impediments had to be cleared from the path of the righteous. For instance, particularly insidious remnants of papism, like images in churches, persistent conviction in the efficacy of prayers for the souls of the dead and the correlative belief in the existence of purgatory, and role of chantries would have to be destroyed to release wealth and energy that ought to be devoted to the needs of the poor.[67] It was further expected that when Sacred Scripture would be widely available for all good people to understand and contemplate, the duties of the wealthy towards the poor would be fully understood and acted upon. In the meantime, energetic preaching was meant to touch the social consciences of those listeners in a position to help the poor.[68] It was precisely the lack of knowledge of the Bible that was at the heart of London's social problems, for as Cranmer held, scriptural nescience "causeth all corrupt and perverse living; that is, it that bringeth all things out of good order."[69]

According to the interpretations of proponents of the commonwealth, the reformed church itself stood as an eternal, universal commonwealth of Christians, and its temporal

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[66] Latimer, "Sermon of the Plough, preached by Latimer, at St. Paul's, January 1548/9," in *Sermons*, pp. 64-65; Leonard, *Early History of English Poor Relief*, pp. 28-29 [note 5].

[67] Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, pp. 473, 481; David M. Palliser, "Popular Reactions to the Reformation during the Years of Uncertainty, 1530-1570," in *Church and Society in England: Henry VIII to James I*, Felicity M. Heal and Rosemary O'Day, eds. (London: 1977), p. 37.

[68] P.R.O., SP1/99, fol. 201^{v}; Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, p. 473; Smith, *Tudor Prelates and Politics: 1536-1558*, pp. 124-126.

[69] Smith, *Tudor Prelates and Politics*, pp. 124-125.

wealth was the patrimony of the poor: "the goods of the Church are called the goods of the poor" was the pointed reminder in the royal injunctions for the diocese of London at the beginning of Edward VI's reign.[70] A priority for those who wished to create a commonwealth of the godly in mid-Tudor England was the application of the wealth of the ancient church towards the growing needs of the poor.[71]

The dissolution of the monasteries, and the two ensuing attacks on the chantries, religious guilds, fraternities, and colleges, all aroused potent expectations that the plight of the poor and the strains they imposed especially upon the urban framework would be tackled by the government in Westminster.[72] Hopes were raised that recently-secularised properties would be used to support preaching, education, and to broaden the range of the mechanisms of poor relief.[73] Just as palpable, however, was the eventual sense of disappointment of the populace, and more pointedly amongst the reformers, when monastic and chantry lands were exchanged with, given away, or sold off to servants of the crown, nobility, and gentry in the decades that followed the break with Rome.[74]

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[70] William Turner, *Spiritual Physick*, fol. 87[b]; Jones, *William Turner*, p. 202; *Visitation Articles and Injunctions of the Period of the Reformation*, 3 vols., Walter Howard Frere, ed. (Alcuin Club, xiv-xvi, 1910), ii, item 14, p. 121.

[71] Jones, *The Tudor Commonwealth*, p. 102.

[72] Hopes that this would happen were long-lasting. William Turner, for instance, hoped that abbey and chantry lands that had been mis-directed under Henry VIII and Edward VI could, under Mary I, be re-ordered to relieve the poor of the realm, and also increase the wealth of the crown. William Turner, *The Hunting of the Romish Wolf*, *STC*, 24356 (Emden: 1555[?]), sig. F. ii-iv.

[73] Jones, *The Tudor Commonwealth*, pp. 39, 112.

[74] Robert Crowley, "Of Abbeys," p. 7; Cornwall, *Wealth and Society*, p. 188; Jordan, *Edward VI: The Threshold of Power* (New York: 1970), p. 198; Christopher J. Kitching, "The Disposal of Monastic and Chantry Lands," in *Church and Society in England: Henry VIII to James I*, Felicity M. Heal and Rosemary O'Day, eds. (London: 1977), p. 122.

3. The Ideals of the Commonwealth and the Use of Church Wealth: The Dissolutions under Henry VIII

Social critics in the time of Henry VIII, and historians ever since, have pointed out that when the king began to wrest from the English Church significant portions of its ancient wealth, he had engineered an opportunity without parallel to "bestow such obvious and long-lasting benefit on the nation" in the creation or re-invigoration of universities, new highways, almshouses, and hospitals.[75] Cromwell valued income from land at about £1,000,000; the church's portion of this total was perhaps as much as between 30 and 40 per cent.[76] In harnessing this wealth, it was reasoned, the crown might have furthered the cause of social justice with a powerful, well-orchestrated attack on the causes and effects of poverty.[77]

Undoubtedly, some religious, laypeople, and local officials were dissuaded from actively opposing the suppressions because they were convinced, or at least ardently wished to believe, that the wealth of the church was about to be put to better use in the building of a Christian commonwealth in England.[78] Henry Brinkelow, among others, had no difficulties in conceiving how the riches of the old religious order could be put to profitable uses for the poor: "Ways there are enough, who so lusteth to study for them."[79] Some members of parliament anticipated at least "certain abbeys" would be metamorphosed into schools and hospitals.[80]

Yet in the midst of widespread expectations that the suppression would result in noble experiments in the expansion of education and poor relief, the crown moved, by its own account, with cunning and stealth to ensure that it would retain the bulk of the takings. It set

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[75] John J. Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII* (Berkeley, Ca.: 1968), p. 511; Beier, *The Problem of the Poor*, p. 20.

[76] *LPFD*, xiii, no. 2959; Alexander Savine, *English Monasteries on the Eve of the Dissolution* (Oxford: 1909), p. 78; Cornwall, *Wealth and Society*, p. 123.

[77] Scarisbrick, *Henry VIII*, p. 511.

[78] *LPFD*, xiii, pt. 2, no. 677, p. 257.

[79] Henry Brinkelow, *The Lamentations of a Christian Against the City of London, made by Roderigo Mors*, in *The Complaint of Roderyck Mors and the Lamentation of a Christian Against the City of London, Made by Roderigo Mors*, Joseph Meadows Cowper, ed, *E.E.T.S.*, extra series, xxii (London: 1874; reprint 1987), p. 115-116; Jones, *The Tudor Commonwealth*, p. 112.

[80] *LPFD*, xiv, pt. 1, no. 988, p. 454; John J. Scarisbrick, *The Reformation and the English People* (Oxford: 1985), pp. 78-79, and note 35.

out to win over "the chief of the noble men" and the bishops by promising that their complicity would merit them a share in the profits.[81] The support of the bishops of "the new learning" was not immediately forthcoming; in fact, they and the archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer, brought down the king's wrath on their own heads by withholding their consent in Parliament "that the king should have all the monasteries suppressed to his own use." They would have had him bestow at least a part of the wealth "upon hospitals, [and] to the bringing up of youth in virtue and good learning, with other things profitable in the commonwealth."[82]

As the king would later instruct the rulers of Scotland as they contemplated similar measures, all things were perforce to be done "very close and secret," with a readiness to suborn or deceive officials in order to gain full possession.[83] It was perhaps as a result of this deceptiveness that the aspirations of the reformers regarding poor relief and education lingered, instead of being crushed immediately after the act of 1539; in the end, it was only with the passage of time that their hopes were turned into disillusionment.

As it became evident that the king would not part with the goods and lands of the dissolved monasteries, unless it was to sell or grant them to speculators or courtiers, voices of protest sounded.[84] One of the very few important members of court who had not sought to profit personally in the scramble for access to monastic lands was Thomas Cranmer; he, unlike so many of his ecclesiastical colleagues, was one of the few preachers of the Word of God who sought not to be overloaded "with worldly possessions and riches of this world, for the cares thereof do choke the Word."[85] Cranmer therefore spoke with a unique, sure moral

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[81] *LPFD*, xv, no. 136, pp. 43-46.

[82] B.L., Harleian MS. 417, fols. 90-91; *Narratives of the Days of the Reformation*, p. 224.

[83] *LPFD*, xv, no. 136, and xviii, pt. 1, no. 364. This evaluation of the crown's motives and methods in the dissolution is heavily dependent on the interpretation of J.J. Scarisbrick, *The Reformation and the English People*, p. 79.

[84] Joyce Youings, "The Church," in *The Agrarian History of England and Wales: Vol IV, 1500-1640*, 6 vols., Joan Thirsk, ed. (Cambridge: 1967), pp. 338-339.

[85] Jasper Ridley, *Thomas Cranmer* (Oxford, 1966), pp. 95-97; *Supplication of the Poor Commons*, p. 290.

authority when he reiterated to the king the profound disappointment of the reforming bishops that the wealth of the despoiled monasteries had not been bestowed so as to

> ...augment the number of learned men in the universities, to the founding also of grammar schools in every shire in England, where children, most apt to learning, should have been brought up freely, and without great cost to their friends and kinsfolk..., [and to the] founding of hospitals, where poor and impotent people should have been sufficiently provided for with physicians and surgeons which should have ministered physic and surgery freely, not only to them but also to all other poor folk within this realm.[86]

Robert Barnes, preaching at St. Mary Spital in London, before his own execution in July 1540, sought to remind the king of the comfort he could bring to his poor subjects, who "surely [had] great need...[of the wealth he] hath received into his hands [from] all the goods and substance of the abbeys."[87] Others were even more audacious in portraying the outcome of the attack on the monasteries as an actual setback for the causes of reform and social justices. Henry Brinkelow recalled that despite all the perfidies and inadequacies of monks and monasticism, they had at least been compelled to "deal alms to the poor and to keep hospitality as the writings of the gifts of such personages and lands do plainly declare."[88] The new proprietors of those lands all too often felt no such compunction: "For although the sturdy beggars [*i.e.*, monks] got all the devotion of the good charitable people from them, yet had the poor impotent creatures some relief of their scraps, whereas now they have nothing."[89] The leaders of the Pilgrimage of Grace would, not surprisingly, have concurred: for "by the suppression of so many religious houses the service of God is not well performed and the poor are unrelieved."[90]

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[86] Thomas Cranmer, "The Confutation of Unwritten Verities," in *Miscellaneous Writings and Letters of Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, Martyr, 1556*, John Edmund Cox, ed. (Parker Society, Cambridge: 1846), p. 16; John A. Kingdon, *Richard Grafton Citizen and Grocer of London* (London: 1901), pp. 7-8.

[87] *Grey Friars' Chronicle*, p. 43; Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, v, pp. 434-436; Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, pp. 317-318. St. Mary's Spital was a popular venue for sermons in the 1540s and 1550s: see Machyn, *Diary*, pp. 131-132.

[88] Brinkelow, *Complaint of Roderyck Mors*, p. 33; Leonard, *Early History of English Poor Relief*, p. 7.

[89] *Supplication of the Poor Commons*, p. 285.

[90] Quoted in David M. Palliser, *The Reformation in York, 1534-1553*, Borthwick Institute of Historical Research, Borthwick Papers, no. 40 (York: 1971), p. 9.

In many instances the poor and sick felt the loss of hospitality and relief keenly, recalling the old ways of monasticism with more warmth than the reformers might have desired.[91] Comparisons could be painful, as they reminded reformers that the problems of poverty pressed more heavily than ever before, despite the godly reforms and the efforts to disseminate the Word of God: "Then had they hospitals, and almshouses to be lodged in, but now they lie and starve in the streets. Then was their number great, now greater."[92]

Why then was the new commonwealth of the reformed failing to meet the needs of the poor? No one in the 1540s doubted that the needs of the poor were going unfulfilled, yet two very divergent estimations of the situation were emerging in the last half-decade of Henry's reign. The king, for one, was fully convinced around 1546 that

> ...charity was never so faint amongst you, and virtuous and godly living was never less used, nor God himself amongst Christians, was never less reverenced, honoured, or served.[93]

The nostrums the king offered for the relief of the commonwealth were, however, limited mainly to exhortations to "...be in charity one with another, like brother with brother, love, dread, and serve God...and be diligent in putting [the laws] into execution."[94]

The reformers recognised the need to make the king aware of the dangers posed by those who sympathised with the old religion--those who "would be glad to see the old stumps of these fruitless trees [grow] again"--, and who publicly provoked the reformed faith by preaching "how godly were the people disposed when they know nothing of the Scripture, but as they were taught by profound clerks and well-learned men! Then were there hospitals builded for the poor. Then were there colleges builded for the maintenance of learning."[95] Others,

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[91] Bridgen, *London and the Reformation*, p. 294.
[92] *Supplication of the Poor Commons*, p. 285.
[93] Hall, *Chronicle*, p. 866.
[94] Hall, *Chronicle*, p. 866.
[95] *Supplication of the Poor Commons*, pp. 280, 291.

though, were somewhat more sanguine about the state of the reformed religion and the notions of charity within the kingdom:

> They do the service of God in their churches as honourably as in times past, with all laudable ceremonies and daily masses..., and pay their tithes and offerings truly, as ever they did, as any men in Christendom; besides, preachers declare the Gospel and move the people to the glory of God to charity and other good works more than ever.... The statutes of the realm have, by a law provided to avoid idle people and vagabonds, to cherish and sustain the impotent poor, and live so that the works of charity are observed better than ever.[96]

Godly preaching was meant to illumine those things which had long been kept dark by the old faith.[97] Preachers could be useful tools--the more tractable ones, at least--in implementing government policy, as in 1536, when they were commanded to use their powers of oration to "exhort, move, stir, and provoke people to be liberal and bountifully to extend their good and charitable alms and contributions from time to time [for relief of the poor] and to keep continual work for vagabonds."[98]

After the Reformation, parishioners were the recipients of a constant stream of admonitions that "they shall please God more by the true exercising of their bodily labour, travail, or occupation, and providing for their families, than if they went about to said pilgrimages, and that it shall profit more their soul's health, if they do bestow that on the poor and needy, which they would have bestowed upon the said images or relics."[99] The godly were reminded that, in contrast to the mummery of the Roman faith, "the sacrifices that are allowed only for Christian men to be offered are these: the calves of our lips' prayers, thanks, praising of God, charitableness, and mercy and alms to the poor, our own bodies mortified, a contrite heart,

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[96] *LPFD*, xiv, pt. 1, no. 402, pp. 153-156: This account, the so-called "Declaration of Faith," is from 1539, some six to seven years before Henry's own view, cited above.

[97] *LPFD*, xi, no. 138, pp. 56-57; Jordan, *Philanthropy in England*, p. 148; Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, p. 256.

[98] *SR*, iii, pp. 558-562, 27 Henry VIII, ch. 25.

[99] *Visitation Articles and Injunctions*, ii, pp. 5-6.

and a troubled spirit."[100] Of these sacrifices, it was charity which was particularly delightful to God, especially when the deed was performed unobtrusively.[101]

In many cases, however, the differences in motivations between Catholic and Protestant almsgiving and other good deeds were slight: notwithstanding the Protestant tenet that justification came through belief in the passion, death, and resurrection of Christ alone, Protestants could still assert that "faith must declare itself by deeds of charity."[102] Good works were "an authentic and a necessary fruit of grace," visible proof of the faith that brought salvation.[103]

In a recollection of the Fortieth Psalm, Henry VIII himself was reminded by his poor commons that his salvation, and the future of the kingdom, rested on generosity to the poor: "Happy is the man that pitieth the poor; for in times of trouble the Lord shall deliver him."[104] And even 'radical' preachers like Brinkelow and Crowley would suggest that God would remember favours done to orphans, widows, and the impotent.[105]

The term 'good works' itself acquired a protean meaning among the reformed: "...all works are good which are done within the law of God, in faith, and with thanksgiving to God; and understand that thou in doing them pleasest God, whatsoever thou doest within the law of God, as when thou makest water." The reformed needed reminders, like those provided by William Tyndale, to guard against the delusive vanity Catholics felt when they reveled in thoughts of the heavenly treasures they firmly expected God to have in store for them in due proportion to the quality of the good works they had performed while on earth. The godly were expected to substitute humility for the presumptuousness of the Catholics:

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[100] William Turner, *A New Dialogue Where in is Contained the Examination of the Mass and of that kind of Priesthood, which is ordained to say mass*, *STC*, 24362 (London: 1548[?]), sigs. Fii - Fvi^{b}.

[101] B.L., Lansdowne MS. 762, fol. 9^{r}.

[102] *A Goodly Treatise of Faith, Hope, and Charity* (Southwark: 1537), lxxi, as quoted in Jordan, *Philanthropy in England*, p. 158; Beier, *Problem of the Poor*, pp. 14-15.

[103] Jordan, *Philanthropy in England*, p. 152, 157-158.

[104] *Supplication of the Poor Commons*, p. 291.

[105] Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, p. 482.

> For as touching to please God, there is no work better than another. God looketh not first on thy work as the world doth, as though the beautifulness of the work pleased him as it doth the world, or as though he had need of them. But God looketh first on thy heart, what faith thou hast to his words, how thou believest him, trustest him, and how thou lovest him for his mercy that he hath shewed thee: he looketh with what heart thou workest, and not what thou workest; how thou acceptest the degree that he hath put thee in, and not of what degree thou art, whether thou be an apostle or a shoemaker.[106]

The most Catholic of commentators could have found little to quibble with in this passage: the idea that God took more pleasure in the sincerity of the giver's intentions than in the size of his or her gift was at least as old as Christ's parable of the poor widow dispensing her mite.[107]

What concerned the more conservative theologians was the growing tendency of those who gave of the little they possessed to ignore or renounce ancient church ceremonies, traditions, and teachings.[108] Thus, in 1542, Bishop Bonner of London wanted to re-affirm the need for, and the spiritual value in, the practice of the corporal and spiritual works of mercy. Through their words and examples, Bonner intended conservative clerics to put to rest such Protestant bromides as that which held that the old Church had looked more favourably on "the making and gilding of images, building of abbeys, churches, chantries, guilds," and the giving of gifts to churches and priests than it had done on direct acts of charity to the sick and the poor.[109] Under his directives, preachers were "charitably, openly [to] declare and set forth the excellency" of virtue and good works; moreover, "no preacher shall rage or rail in his sermon, but [persuade] coldly, discreetly."[110] What conservative homilists may have lacked in

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[106] William Tyndale, "The Parable of the Wicked Mammon," in *Doctrinal Treatises*, Henry Walter, ed. (Parker Soc., Cambridge: 1848), p. 100.

[107] G.L., MS 9171/12, fol. 152^{r}; Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, p. 481; *Middle English Sermons*, W.O. Ross, ed. (London: 1940), p. 42.

[108] This was the case with Thomas Goodaby, who left 3*s* 4*d* to the chest for the poor in St. Bride's parish, but who required to be buried "without any pomp," presumably foresaking all but the most simple rites of Christian burial. Similarly, John Mayor, a scrivener, directed that 20*s* of an outstanding 40*s* loan should be given over to the poor, and that those who were aided by this bounty should not pray for his soul, but instead "be thankful unto God and to pray for the king." G.L., MS. 9172/1b, fols. 70, 153; see also P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/34, fol. 73.

[109] *Supplication of the Poor Commons*, pp. 282-283.

[110] *Visitation Articles and Injunctions*, ii, item 18, p. 89; *LPFD*, xvii, no. 282, pp. 156-157.

ardour and warmth, they apparently were expected to compensate for in the rationality of their discourse![111]

Yet even some of the most spirited of the reformers echoed Henry VIII's contention that charity itself had fallen on hard times even at the exhilarating moment of triumph for the godly. This, adherents of the new learning feared, would be viewed as a rebuke--divine, as well as human--or even a rejection of the efforts of those who were trying to create a Christian commonwealth. The paucity of acts of charity was considered especially to be a problem in London, the linchpin of the reform movement, but the place where the needs for relief were most distinct: "I think in my judgment, under heaven [there] is not so little provision made for the poor as in London, of so rich a City," was the jeremiad of Henry Brinkelow, former Grey Friar and now radical Protestant, in 1545.[112]

Again and again, though, reformers pointed out that the country's primary examples of charity must perforce emanate from the crown, and the lesson given by Henry VIII and his "covetous council" was a pernicious one: the king and his men had "spoiled the Church and the whole realm" by taking for themselves riches that "the liberality of our fathers...[had granted so that] continual alms should be exercised there, and preaching be maintained."[113]

The king's eagerness to misuse the chantry lands and revenues would soon prove a further betrayal of the cause of putting church wealth towards the aid of the poor. In his "hoary hairs," Henry had brought his kingdom to a point of "extremity [through which his] noble realm [might] utterly perish through the insatiable desire of the possessioners."[114] Reformers like Brinkelow had urged Henry to dissolve "all your vain chantries, all your proud colleges of canons, and specially your forked wolves the Bishops" in order that the superstitions,

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[111] Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, p. 397-398.

[112] Brinkelow, *Lamentation of a Christian against the City of London*, p. 91; Jones, *The Tudor Commonwealth*, p. 39. In a survey of the wills of the Commissary Court of London between 1539 and 1547 [G.L., MS 9171/11], Dr. Susan Brigden has found that only in twelve per cent of the wills proved had remembrance been made of the poor: Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, p. 481.

[113] William Turner, *The Hunting of the Romish Wolf*, sigs. D - vi-vii.

[114] *Supplication of the Commons*, pp. 285-286.

chicanery, and wastefulness of the old faith would finally be annihilated.[115] Destruction of the chantries would be powerful proof to all his subjects that, as the king contended, only Scripture was the basis of knowledge "concerning the souls of them which be departed from this life."[116]

The dissolution of the chantries was meant to mark a death-blow in the long battle against the evils of "images, relics, and miracles;" the monies lavished on these were to the reformers a mockery of the plight of the poor.[117] Furthermore, the king's re-ordering of the colleges and hospitals, which he anticipated being put in his hands "in so special a trust," would, he pledged, resound to the "glory of God and the profit of the Commonwealth."[118]

> Surely, if I, contrary to your expectations, should suffer the ministries of the church to decay, or learning (which is so great a jewel) to be diminished, or the poor and miserable people to be unrelieved, you might say that I..., were no trusty friend to you, nor charitable man to mine even Christian, neither a lover of the public wealth, nor yet one that feared God, to whom account must be rendered of all our doing. Doubt not, I pray you, but your expectations shall be served, more Godly and goodly than you will wish and desire, as hereafter you shall plainly perceive.[119]

These reassuring words were not sufficient for Parliament to allow the king full scope in attacking the chantries. In all, the Chantry Act of 1545 would have pertained to 90-96 chantry colleges, 110 religious hospitals, and 2,374 chantries and free chapels, in addition to numerous endowments for obits, lights, and other parochial services.[120] Instead, after several readings, Parliament limited the crown's purview to those chantries already broken up by secular authorities, or those institutions that suffered patent malfeasance; furthermore, the act was devised to

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[115] Brinkelow, *The Complaint of Roderyck Mors*, pp. 47.

[116] P.R.O., SP6/8, fol. 95.

[117] *Documents Illustrative of English Church History, Compiled from Original Sources*, Henry Gee and William John Hardy, eds. (London: 1896), p. 271; John G., *...The Mirror or Looking-glass of Life*, sig. Iiii; Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, p. 289.

[118] *Documents Illustrative of English Church History*, p. 271; Hall, *Chronicle*, p. 865.

[119] Hall, *Chronicle*, p. 865.

[120] These numbers, derived from listings in the *Valor Ecclesiasticus*, are probably underestimates, as most likely are computations of their net value: see Kitching, "Disposal of Lands,", p. 129, and Kreider, *English Chantries*, pp. 6-9.

lapse upon the Henry VIII's death.[121] From the king's perspective, this was a disappointment; the proceeds from the dissolution of the chantries, colleges, and hospitals were intended by him as a means by which he could underwrite his wars with France, rather than a wellspring from which to provide for the poor.[122]

The king's scheming to gain control of the resources of chantries was a consequence of the impoverishment of his government and the country in the last years of his reign.[123] The later wars against France and Scotland entailed defence spending of more than £2 million between 1540 and 1547, double the total yield of the multitude of taxes, prests, subsidies, and loans raised in that period.[124] As a consequence of the drain on its treasury, the crown had to raise money quickly, frequently with little regard for the long-term economic implications for the country. Monastic and chantry acquisitions were sometimes sold by the crown for less than a reasonable price, and the currency was debased several times.[125] England was also burdened by a harvest failure in 1545, and by outbreaks of the plague in London in 1543, and in many of the provinces between 1544 and 1546.[126]

Hard times produced unadorned contrasts: while the rich seemed to continue to prosper, the poor were predictably hard-hit by inflation and the ensuing economic dislocations, and the urban poor--wage earners and servants--who had no land of their own with which to offset the

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[121] *SR*, iii, pp. 988-993, 37 Henry VIII ch. 4. At the head of the commission which oversaw the distribution and collation of the chantry certificates to the twenty-four circuits of the realm were two men who would soon play important roles in the creation of the London hospitals: Sir Martin Bowes, Lord Mayor of London, and Sir Richard Gresham. *LPFD*, xxi, pt. 1, no. 302 (30), p. 146; *London and Middlesex Chantry Certificates, 1548*, Christopher J. Kitching, ed. (London Record Society, xvi, London: 1980), pp. ix-xii.

[122] Alexander Kreider, *English Chantries: The Road to Dissolution* (Harvard Historical Series, xcvii, Cambridge, Mass.: 1979), p. 164; Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, pp. 361-362. The real attack on the chantries, guilds, colleges, and fraternities would come in December 1547; hospitals were not covered in the Edwardian bill. See Scarisbrick, *The Reformation and the English People*, pp. 65-66.

[123] W.G. Hoskins, *The Age of Plunder: The England of Henry VIII, 1500-1547* (New York: 1976), p. 233.

[124] Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, i, pp. 147-148; *APC*, i, pp. 172-173; Rappaport, *Worlds Within Worlds*, pp. 132-135; Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, p. 356-357.

[125] Palliser, *The Age of Elizabeth*, pp. 107-108; Geoffrey R. Elton, *Reform and Reformation: England, 1509-1558* (London: 1977), pp. 315-316; *Grey Friars' Chronicle*, p. 47.

[126] *Grey Friars' Chronicle*, p. 45; Paul Slack, "Social Policy and the Constraints of Government, 1547-1558," in *The Mid-Tudor Polity, 1540-1560*, Jennifer Loach and Robert Tittler, eds. (Totowa, New Jersey: 1980), pp. 95-96; Paul Slack, *The Impact of the Plague in Tudor and Stuart England* (Oxford: 1985), p. 61.

fall in the value of the specie were especially "much grieved."[127] Prices for staples like flour and bread rose by eighty-nine percent in London between 1544 and 1551.[128] Urban dearth, a temporary decline in real wages, and privation "that tended to the hurt of the poor" were the certain consequences when the king, those who set financial policies for him, and the wealthy of London conspired to turn silver into dross, to the extent that everyone knew "it is not fine, it is counterfeit," as Bishop Latimer would later remark.[129]

The height of the financial panic came between 1549 and 1551. The poor were particularly hurt by the surges of panic buying of wares and victuals.[130] Also, as "no word [was] spoken of the small money, as pence and half-grotes, by reason whereof there was no small money to be gotten to give to the poor people."[131] The "richer sort," it was generally believed, "partly by friendship, [eventually] understanding the thing beforehand, did put that kind of money away: partly knowing the baseness of the coin, kept in store none but good gold and old silver, that would not bring any loss."[132] And others--most noticeably, London speculators--profited handsomely from the crowding of London by buying up former urban properties of monasteries (and later of chantries) and building rental properties on them, thereby stirring up, in the earl of Shrewsbury's appraisal, "an importunate heaving for houses."[133]

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[127] *T.E.D.*, ii, pp. 182-186; R.B. Outhwaite, *Inflation in Tudor and Early Stuart England* (London: 1982), pp. 18-19; Pound, *Poverty and Vagrancy*, pp. 11-13; Conrad Russell, *The Crisis of Parliaments: English History, 1509-1660* (Oxford: 1971), p. 13.

[128] Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, p. 476; Rappaport, *Worlds Within Worlds*, p. 130.

[129] Latimer, "The Fourth Sermon before Edward VI," in *Sermons*, p. 137; the first in the series of Henrician debasements of the coinage had taken place in 1526: see *T.E.D.*, ii, pp. 176-177, 179-180. The practice would continue into Edward VI's reign, directed to some extent by Sir Martin Bowes, a central figure in the refoundation of the hospitals in the 1540s: see Slack, "Social Policy and Constraints," p. 110.

[130] *T.E.D.*, ii, p. 187.

[131] *Two London Chronicles*, C.L. Kingsford, ed. (Camden Miscellany, vol. xii, 1910), p. 23.

[132] *T.E.D.*, ii, pp. 186-187; Thomas Cooper, *Cooper's Chronicle...unto the late death of Queen Marie, STC*, 15218 (London: 1560), p. 351.

[133] E. Lodge, *Illustrations of British History, Biography, and Manners, in the Reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary, Elizabeth, and James I,...*, 3 vols. (London: 1st ed., 1791) ii, p. 123; Jordan, *Charities of London*, p. 16; Palliser, *Age of Elizabeth*, pp. 214-215.

While there could be no legal objections to these manoeuvres, there were moral cries of outrage against those jackals who preyed on the poor by devouring church lands and then charging exorbitant rents, and who themselves otherwise stoked the resentments of the poor by their ostentatious styles of living.[134] The rich, in their fascination with, *inter alia*, the "diversity of exquisite dishes, dashed with spices and delicate wines..." were now held responsible for the death of traditional English hospitality: "If poor people [now] have any thing, it is those scraps that be next [to] the dogs' meat."[135] Even some of the men who had before, and would afterwards, make evident their concern for the poor and their desire to see justice done for them, did not spurn the numerous opportunities to profit personally from the dissolutions.[136] In the case of Sir Richard Gresham, sincere and earnest advocacy for the disenfranchised of London co-existed with opportunism, for he quickly acquired substantial holdings of former monastic properties in York. And Gresham was but one of many.[137]

Several concerns dominated the thinking of reformers at the close of Henry VIII's reign. One was that greed thrived, and indeed stoked the poverty so apparent especially in cities.[138] Another was a concern that the gains which had proceeded from the break with Rome might be reversed if Henry's son came to the throne while still a minor: the old king was advised to move with alacrity to weed out "such rotten and fruitless trees, lest perchance they take deeper root than that [the future Edward VI's] tender youth may be able to move...."[139] Conservative

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[134] *LPFD*, xxi, pt. 2, no. 282, pp. 133-134; Thomas Lever, *Sermons of Thomas Lever* (Amber Reprints, London: 1871), pp. 77, 128-129; Stow, *Survey*, pp. 381-382.

[135] Roger Edgeworth, *Sermons very fruitful, godly, and learned, preached and set forth by Master Roger Edgeworth, Dr. of Divinity, Canon of the Cathedral Churches of Salisbury, Wells, and Bristol, Residentiary in the Cathedral Church of Wells, and Chancellor of the same Church...* (London: 1557), fol. 203^{r}; Blench, *Preaching in England*, pp. 245-246.

[136] *LPFD*, xiii, pt. 2, no. 671, p. 255; Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, i, pp. 77-78; Stow, *Survey*, p. 288; Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, p. 293.

[137] *LPFD*, xx, pt. 1, no. 1081 (19). On the other hand, there were those like Sir John Allen, mercer and Lord Mayor, who used the wealth gained from the purchase of church lands to subsidize the poor: Allen (d. 1544) used the proceeds from rents collected from lands he had bought from the king for the poor in the City wards, prisons, hospitals, and lazar houses. Stow, *Survey*, p. 103.

[138] Blench, *Preaching in England*, p. 272.

[139] *Supplication of the Poor Commons*, p. 291.

laity and churchmen who had been strong-armed by Henry VIII into accepting royal supremacy might well stymie attempts to keep the edifice of absolutism alive under the rule of a boy-king.[140] Finally, there was mounting anxiety over lawlessness and vagrancy, especially in cities. The fear was that the intentional idleness that plagued some of the present generation, and society in general, would afflict subsequent generations to an even greater degree. Children were being raised "to spend the flower of their youth in idleness, bringing them up either to bear wallets, or else, if they be sturdy, to stuff prisons and garnish gallows trees."[141] Was this not a remonstrance to the king, perhaps a nuanced reminder of his earlier determination to spend the lucre of the old church on schemes to eradicate idleness through education and vocational training?[142] All of these worries would persist, and indeed multiply, in the early part of the next king's reign.

4. The Court of a Godly King: Edward VI and the Triumph of Protestantism

The beginning of Edward VI's reign was hailed as a time of particular hope, the dawning of a new day of godliness in England. The nine-year-old monarch was precocious, and it was anticipated that if he were surrounded by men of the reformed faith, and exposed to the moralisings of the best preachers, he would one day take up leadership of their social causes; in the end, he would grow to be a Solomon "who surpassed his father David in building the Temple."[143]

The new reign would be avowedly Protestant, a less welcoming place to temporising or conservative clergymen--"dissembling old papists" like Bishops Gardiner and Bonner--than the court of Henry VIII's last years had been.[144] In the early months of 1547, there was a return

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[140] James K. McConica, *English Humanists and Reformation Politics under Henry VIII and Edward VI* (Oxford: 1965), p. 236.

[141] *Supplication of the Poor Commons*, p. 285.

[142] *Visitation Articles*, ii, item 5, pp. 7-8.

[143] King, *English Reformation Literature*, p. 161.

[144] B.L., Harleian MS. 417, fol. 91; University of Pennsylvania, Van Pelt Library Special Collections, Dewey MS. 923.5, SE 99M, John MacLean, "The Life of Sir Thomas Seymour," [London: *c.*1850], fol. 68.

from exile of the more radical evangelicals, impatient to recast society and religion in the manner they knew God intended. Like their divine master, their mission would not be worked through peace, but with a sword: their "evangelicalism could not be tempered by prudence."[145]

The regime of Edward Seymour, duke of Somerset, which assumed responsibilities for the governance of the realm and for the king's education and moral upbringing during his minority, soon manifested an active, if at times haphazard, interest in the problems of social welfare.[146] In part it did this from inclination, and in part from necessity. Somerset's hold on power was not secure, and it would be dangerous for his regime to be perceived as vacillating when dealing with social problems. Still, he wished to be more than a military strongman; reformers and intellectuals like Ridley, Latimer, Becon, Martin Bucer, John Hales, and William Turner had close connections with the court.[147] Somerset indicated his own idealism, and perhaps his naivete, to the Imperial Ambassador when he confided that he intended to "give to the subjects a little more reasonable liberty without in any way releasing them from the restraints of proper order and obedience."[148] To an admirer like William Paget, he had "good meaning and an honest nature" that were marred by "your own lenity, your softness, your opinion to be good to the poor." His vanity caused him to forget that "society in a realm doth consist and is maintained by means of religion and law."[149]

Somerset's regime raised unrealistically lofty expectations that the Commonwealth would at last be grounded in social and economic justice, and when poverty and injustice did not disappear or diminish markedly, the kingdom was wracked by disturbances.[150] His courting of the affections of the common people was seen to be demagoguery, a sign, his enemies con-

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[145] *Matthew* 10:34; Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, pp. 458-459; Bush, *The Government Policy of Protector Somerset*, p. 67.

[146] A.F. Pollard, *England Under Protector Somerset* (London: 1900), pp. 171-176; Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, pp. 491-492.

[147] Jones, *William Turner*, pp. 20-21; King, *English Reformation Literature*, pp. 172-173.

[148] *CSP, Sp.*, 13 vols. (London: 1862-1964), x, p. 197.

[149] P.R.O., SP10/8, fol. 4.

[150] Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, p. 491.

tended, of his dangerous propensity to play rich off against poor. The basis of his regime was tinged with unconstitutionality, and as Somerset arrogated to himself quasi-regal powers, the court began to divide into factions, some ostensibly favouring religious and social reform, some reaction.[151] Securing the allegiance or at least the tacit acceptance of other groups and interests by dealing with acute social problems was probably crucial to survival of Somerset's Protectorate.

The loyalty of the citizens of London was a prime concern for the new regime; if it were to turn against the Protectorate, effective rule of the rest of the country would be all but impossible. Even as Seymour presided over the furtive arrangements regarding Henry VIII's will and his own role in the next reign, control of St. Bartholomew's hospital was legally assumed by the government of the City; however, attempts to link the issuance of the Letters Patent of 13 January with other improper or acquisitive acts of Seymour and his followers in the weeks preceding the death of Henry VIII remain speculative.[152] Details of the genesis of the Letters Patent and subsequent transactions largely remain a mystery, but the dry stamp of Henry VIII was affixed to the document giving the City possession of and rule over both St. Bartholomew's, with the properties of the late Grey Friars, and the Hospital of St. Mary of Bethlem.[153]

The Letters Patent confirming the transferral were delivered to the aldermanic court on 26 April 1547, and were examined there in a special court session held at the close of the following week.[154] Procuring them, and presumably the negotiations involved in their composi-

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[151] See below, pp 150-153; Guy, *Tudor England*, pp. 198-200; Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, p. 489.

[152] For a brief summation of the factional and ideological struggles which swirled at court in the few weeks leading up to the king's death, see Arthur J. Slavin's entry on Henry VIII, in *The Historical Dictionary of Tudor England, 1485 - 1603*, Ronald H. Fritze, editor-in-chief (New York: 1991), p. 236.

[153] *LPFD*, xxi, pt. 2, no. 698, p. 366; S.B.H., HC1/2002, also printed in *Memoranda, References, and Documents Relating to the Royal Hospitals of the City of London, Prepared and Printed Under the Directions of the Committee of the Court of Common Council Appointed in Relation to the Said Hospitals* (London: 1836; reprint 1863), pp. 8-19, 20-45; see also appendices iv and v of the same; also S.B.H., HC1/2001, C.L.R.O., MS. 62.8, and W.A.M., MS. 9344, fols. 1-2.

[154] C.L.R.O., Misc. MS. 61.8; C.L.R.O., Rep. xi, fol. 322.

tion, had involved the personal attention and expense of Sir Martin Bowes, Lord Mayor of London.[155] This was understandable; possession and full control of the two hospitals, and particularly St. Bartholomew's, was a *sine qua non* in the construction of City-administered institutions and mechanisms with which civic leaders might commence an attack on the problems the poor imposed on the City.

Until the fall of Somerset in 1549, the aldermen of London persisted in attempts to engage him in their plans to revise the terms of the deeds of foundation.[156] In efforts to improve the position of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, the City would eventually focus less on negotiations with crown agents, and work increasingly on forging sponsorships and agreements with the livery companies, wards, precincts, and city parishes. Only through cooperation between City government and the agencies of local government could poor relief programmes be made practicable and expansive enough to be effective; and virtual independence from extraneous sources, like the crown and the church, was a necessary starting point.[157] The settlement between the crown and the City regarding the original foundation of January 1547, did, however, result in the City gaining control over an important resource, and this was a privilege for which the City government could reasonably have been expected to evince some gratitude towards the vulnerable Protectorate.[158]

Within its first year, the Protectorate set in motion a number of plans which encouraged expectations of wide-ranging social reform and renewal. For instance, the regime generated several commissions on the problem of enclosure, ultimate producing broadly unpopular solutions never fully implemented.[159] Even less successful, and more puzzling, was the regime's

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[155] C.L.R.O., Rep. xi, fol. 322; *LPFD*, xxi, pt. 2, no. 648 [47], p. 341. Since at least December 1546, Bowes had been part of a commission, on which also served Sir Ralph Warren and Sir Rowland Hill, the purpose of which was "to take possession from the king of the Hospital of St. Bartholomew (or Little St. Bartholomew's in West Smithfield beside London)." *Ibid.*

[156] C.L.R.O., Rep. xii, fols. 18^{v}, 57^{v}; Journal xvi, fol. 26^{v}. See below, Chapter VI, p. 166.

[157] Rappaport, *Worlds Within Worlds*, pp. 180-182.

[158] The foundation of St. Bartholomew's is dealt with more fully below, in Chapter V, pp. 149*ff.*

[159] *CPR, Edward VI*, i, p. 416; *T.E.D.*, i, pp. 39-47; see M.W. Beresford, "The Poll Tax and the Census of Sheep, 1549," *AHR*, i & ii (1953-1954), pp. 9-15, 15-29; Penry Williams, *The Tudor Regime* (Oxford: 1979), p. 68.

attempt to recast legislation which dealt with the national problem of vagrancy. The Vagrancy Act of 1547 spoke in extreme terms, authorising punishments of forced servitude of two years for first-time offenders, and ultimately threatening incorrigible vagabonds with enslavement and even death.[160] It was never enforced, despite persistent concerns over vagrancy, and its draconian measures added nothing to the reputation of the regime or its ability to cope with complex social problems.[161] The clumsiness and harshness of the central provisions of the act obscured the prescriptions it made for weekly collections for the helpless poor, and the strictures against all forms of begging: in a godly society, there ought to be no begging. In these senses, at least, the Vagrancy Act of 1547 harked back to the commonwealth proposals of the mid 1530s regarding public employment of the able-bodied indigent and organised relief for the distressed.[162]

Most significant of all in arousing the hopes of reformers that resources would be found to put plans for reform into effect was the second attack on chantries, launched in 1547.[163] The Act of Dissolution came in the midst of the passage of other pieces of legislation devised to move England fully into the fold of Protestant nations. Like the earlier attack on the chantries, the act condemned prayers for the dead, but unlike its predecessor, the Act of 1547 made a dynamic attack on chantries, fraternities, religious guilds, colleges, and hospitals.[164] The wording of the act gave hope that the resources of otiose and superstitious institutions would be reallocated, especially towards the founding of local "grammar schools to the educa-

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[160] *SR*, iv, pt. 1, pp. 5-8, 1 Edward VI, ch. 3.

[161] Clifford S.L. Davies, "Slavery and the Protector Somerset: The Vagrancy Act of 1547," *Economic History Review* (2nd series, xix, no. 3, December 1966), p. 536; C.L.R.O., Rep. xii, fol. 112^{r-v}; Christopher T. Daly, "Basilisks of the Commonwealth: Vagrants and Vagrancy in England, 1485-1553," (Unpublished M.A. Thesis, The College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia: 1986), pp. 66-84.

[162] Turner, *The Hunting of the Romish Wolf*, sig. D v-vi; Slack, *Poverty and Policy*, pp. 114-118, 122; see also Chapter II, above, pp. 61-62; *SR*, iii, pp. 328-329, 22 Henry VIII, ch. 12; *SR*, iii, pp. 558-560, 27 Henry VIII, ch. 25.

[163] *SR*, iv, pt. 1, pp. 24-28, 1 Edward VI, ch. 14. Commissioners under this act were empowered on 14 February 1548: *CPR, Edward VI*, ii, p. 135; Kitching, *London and Middlesex Chantry Certificates*, pp. ix-xii.

[164] *CPR, Edward VI*, iii, p. 386; Christopher J. Kitching, "The Disposal of Monastic and Chantry Lands," in *Church and Society in England: Henry VIII to James I*, Felicity M. Heal and Rosemary O'Day, eds. (London: 1977), p. 133.

tion of youth in virtue and godliness, the further augmenting of the Universities, and the better provision for the poor and the needy."[165]

Between 1545 and 1549, approximately five hundred small, poorly-administered hospitals, most with only tiny incomes, were terminated; in addition, an undetermined number of almshouses and religious guilds were also shut down.[166] The second dissolution did liberate considerable wealth, well over £600,000, and many of the institutions it demolished had outlived their usefulness.[167] But while some of the proceeds of the dissolution were put to educational and charitable uses, another portion was given to crown servants and supporters, and most of it went to finance Somerset's wars in Scotland.[168] Once again, reformers were left to decry the "devilish drowning of youth in ignorance," while the Protectorate was depicted as being obsessed with the war and intent on enriching "the king's coffers and their own" with the plunder of the church.[169]

Yet, the charitable institutions of London, and especially its hospitals, would benefit, at least indirectly, from the expropriation of chantries and religious guilds. Popular attitudes regarding personal piety and forms of worship changed slowly but noticeably in the years after the break with Rome; regardless of their inter-relations, piety and charity could no longer be considered strictly synonymous terms.[170] The seizure of monastic properties, the outlawing of chantries, and the official renunciation of belief in Purgatory each narrowed the ways in which

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[165] *SR*, iv, pt.1, p. 24, 1 Edward VI, ch. 14; Jones, *History of Charity Laws*, pp. 10-12.

[166] Beier, *Problem of the Poor*, pp. 19, 21.

[167] Davies, *Peace, Print, and Protestantism*, pp. 269-270; Jordan, *Edward VI: The Threshold of Power*, pp. 193-195. For instance, in Alan Kreider's survey of four sample counties (Warwickshire, Essex, Wiltshire, and Yorkshire), at least ten of the thirty-three hospitals provided no eleemosynary function: some of these maintainted healthy clerics or students rather than the poor sick. The remaining 23 hospitals did provide real aid to the sick and poor of their communities, though as endowments dried up, not always to the extent stipulated in their charters. See Krieder, *English Chantries*, pp. 7-8, 64-66. Neither of the newly founded hospitals in London, St. Bartholomew's or Bethlem, was seriously affected by the Act of 1547; there is no evidence of the known medieval chantries of St. Bartholomew's surviving beyond the fifteenth century. See Kitching, *London and Middlesex Chantry Certificates*.

[168] Kitching, "The Disposal of Monastic and Chantry Lands," pp. 130-131.

[169] *CSP, Sp.*, x, p. 99; Davies, *Peace, Print, and Protestantism*, p. 270.

[170] Jones, *History of Charity Laws*, p. 57.

citizens could bestow their charitable offerings.[171] Bequests that in years past would almost certainly have gone to support the rituals and organisations of the old church were, in the 1550s, increasingly diverted to civic-directed entities that promised to do the work of Christ even as they ameliorated pressing social problems.[172]

The acquisitiveness of Somerset and other reformers stood in stark, almost ironic, contrast to the exhortations of court preachers. Where preachers saw opportunities "of godly charitable reformation" in the destruction of the vestiges of papism, many officials only acted in the interests of "worldly covetous corruption."[173] In their venality, those responsible for the king set a bad example to him and to the country: as the preacher Gilpin would note in 1552, the covetousness of officials "hath cut away the large wings of charity, and pluck[ed] all to her self. She is never satisfied, she hath chested all the old gold in England and much of the new: she hath made that there was never more idolatry in England, than at this day."[174]

The preachers instead envisaged the court of the king as the "refuge and sanctuary of the poor."[175] The king must personally hear poor men's suits, and provide "redress of these things so out of frame [by] giving example by letting down his own lands first, and then enjoining his subjects to follow him."[176] Such a court, presided over by such a king, would establish an ideal commonwealth; Edward VI accepted this as his commission from God.[177] But in the late 1540s, reality belied these pleas. Sir William Petre reflected on those close to Somerset, who had traduced or forgotten their ideals: "We, which talk much of Christ and His Holy Word,

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[171] David M. Palliser, "Popular Reactions to the Reformation during the Years of Uncertainty: 1530-1570," in *Church and Society in England: Henry VIII to James I*, Felicity M. Heal and Rosemary O'Day, eds. (London: 1977), p. 37; Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, p. 481.

[172] Jordan, *Philanthropy in England*, p. 333.

[173] Lever, *Sermons*, p. 61.

[174] Bernard Gilpin, *A Godly sermon preached in the Court at Greenwich, the first Sunday after the Epiphany, Anno Domini, 1552...* (London: 1581), p. 65.

[175] John Hooper, *Early Writings of John Hooper, Bishop of Gloucester and Worcester*, 2 vols., Samuel Carr, ed. (Parker Soc., Cambridge: 1843), i, p. 366.

[176] Latimer, "Second Sermon before Edward VI," in *Sermons*, p. 108; Latimer, "First Sermon before Edward VI," in *Sermons*, p. 86.

[177] Grafton, *Chronicle*, ii, p. 529.

have I fear me used a much contrary way; for we leave fishing for men and fish again in the tempestuous seas of this world for gain and wicked mammon."[178] "These great men, these men that are oppressors of the poor" surrounded the king, and prevented him, in his youthful innocence, from knowing the hypocrisy and meanness that so burdened the poor: "How do we love our neighbour as our selves when we put them out of their houses and lay their goods in the street?"[179]

The sad, frightening reality for the godly was that England was ruled by men accursed by God for allowing poverty to flourish on the streets of London.[180] Speaking before Edward VI, and on behalf of the "vile beggars" of the capital, Thomas Lever said:

> I will tell thee, that art a noble man, a worshipful man, an honest, wealthy man, especially if thou be Mayor, Sheriff, Alderman, Bailiff, Constable, or any such officer, it is to thy great shame afore the world, and to thy utter damnation afore God, to see these begging as they used to do in the streets. For there is never a one of these, but he lacketh either thy charitable alms to relieve his need, or else thy due correction to punish his fault.... These silly souls have been neglected throughout all England and especially in London and Westminster.[181]

By the autumn of 1548, however, reformers were held in deep suspicion by the rich and powerful in London: the commonwealth they spoke of so often appeared to hold little but disturbance and disorder.[182] It seemed that by pandering to the dispossessed poor, the more radical moralists, and the Protectorate that sponsored them, gave proof to "the common proverb [that] goeth...that ever fair weather should do harm."[183] In the disorders in 1549 that so weakened the regime of Somerset, even the organic ideal of the commonwealth seemed per-

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[178] As quoted in Pollard, *England Under Protector Somerset*, p. 315.

[179] Latimer, "Last Sermon before Edward VI," in *Sermons*, p. 203; *The Praise and Commendation of Such as Sought Commonwealths*, *STC*, 12336 (London: 1548), fols. 2-3.

[180] William Samuel, *A Warning for the City of London, that the dwellers therein may repent their evil lives for fear of God's plague*, *STC*, 21690.8, fols. 3-4.

[181] Lever, *Sermons*, p. 78.

[182] Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, p. 492.

[183] P.R.O., SP10/8, fol. 4.

verted, with the foot taking upon itself "the part of the head, and [with] commons...become a king."[184]

Hope did not expire with the fall of Somerset, however. Increasingly, those who looked for redress of urban ills, and those still awaiting the full flowering of a Christian commonwealth looked to the king himself, when he would be of an age to assert his royal prerogatives. "You shall see the king, when he commeth of age, [that] he will call his lands again, as fast as they be now given from him," was the prediction of the queen-dowager, Catherine Parr.[185] That would be a day of fierce reckoning, warned the king's maternal uncle, the Lord High Admiral, Sir Thomas Seymour: "I would not be in some of their coats for five marks, when he shall hear of these matters."[186] Would then the mature king look not merely to recover those lands and goods illegally taken from the crown, but also strive to return to the poor what God ordained as theirs? Those who still sought the Christian commonwealth could again look ahead in optimistic expectations that the king, with "a good overseer, a godly bishop [Nicholas Ridley of London], I mean, will see that they in these two cities [London and Westminster], shall have their needs relieved, and their faults corrected to the good example of all other towns and cities."[187] The preacher Lever here spoke with remarkable prescience: this prediction would yield rich fruits in the foundations of Christ's, Bridewell, and St. Thomas's Hospitals in the closing months of Edward VI's reign.

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[184] P.R.O., SP10/8, fol. 4.

[185] *A Collection of State Papers Relating to Affairs in the Reigns of King Henry VIII, King Edward VI, Queen Mary I, and Queen Elizabeth, from the year 1542 to 1570, in the Collection of William Cecil, Lord Burghley*, 2 vols., Samuel Haynes and William Murdin, eds. (London: 1740), i, p. 104.

[186] P.R.O., SP10/7/8.

[187] Lever, *Sermons*, p. 78; Leonard, *History of Poor Relief*, p. 30.

CHAPTER IV

LONDON AND THE POOR IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

Few other sixteenth-century Londoners celebrated their city with the eloquent pride and heartfelt enthusiasm of the chronicler John Stow. For him, the metropolis stood as the preeminent "ornament to the realm by the beauty thereof, and a terror to other countries, by reason of the great wealth and frequency. It spreadeth the honour of our country far abroad...."[1] The wealth of the city was a magnet which drew the talented, the hopeful, and the impecunious of the kingdom to itself: this was reflected in the historically heterogeneous composition of its population, underscoring the city's national primacy in the diverse areas of finance, industry, trade, and legal studies, and its dominance as the centre of artistic, cultural, ecclesiastical, and governmental activities.[2] The riches generated in the capital, especially by its merchants, were "praiseworthy and profitable" for the whole nation, bringing "benefits [that] redound to the prince and this realm," like a "good fleece" that stood ready to be shorn by the prince "when he seeth good."

London's prosperity assured the crown a source of income in the forms of taxes, subsidies, and loans; similarly, it made London the place most "fit and able to entertain strangers honourably, and to receive the prince of the realm worthily." And as befitting a great city, Stow's London was by longstanding tradition bounteous with its good fortune: "it relieveth plentifully, and with good policy, not only her own poor people, a thing which scarcely any

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[1] "A Discourse of the Names and First Causes of the Institution of Cities and Peopled Towns and of the Commodities that do Grow by the Same; and, namely, of the City of London: Written by way of an apology (or defence) against the opinion of some men, which think that the greatness of that city standeth not with the profit and security of this realm," in John Stow, *Survey of London*, Henry B. Wheatley, ed. (London: 1987), p. 497. Stow's intentions overall were more to praise his city and reinvoke its glorious past than to illuminate present-day social problems. See Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability*, p. 16, and Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, p. 422.

[2] "A Discourse of the Names and First Causes," in Stow, *Survey*, pp. 493-497; *LPFD*, xii, pt. 2, no. 91; Thrupp, *The Merchant Class of Medieval London*, p. 1.

other town or shire doth, but also the poor that from each quarter of the realm do flock unto it."[3]

The story of the development of organised poor relief in London in the sixteenth century centred on how--and how completely--the governors of the City arrived at that "good policy" which allowed them to control and sustain the indigent of the intramural parishes as well as the "great concourse of people of all sorts" who came from the far ends of the kingdom. Part of that policy seems to have been based on the realisation that, in words written towards the end of the century, London could not "relieve [all of] England."[4] The refoundation of the London hospitals in the 1540s and 1550s signified an important but limited arrangement to lessen the strains the poor placed on the City. The system of hospitals devised in mid-Tudor London has fittingly been described as "the greatest experiment in social welfare" of the century, but its effectiveness was linked to, and to some extent circumscribed by, the municipal institutions that sponsored and directed it.[5]

1. The Social and Political Framework of London's Government

Notwithstanding the real hardships caused by inexorable population growth, the spectre of urban unemployment, declines in wages for skilled and unskilled labourers, and, during periods of prolonged price inflation, concomitant reductions in the purchasing power of consumers, the social fabric of London proved remarkably durable throughout the reigns of the Tudors.[6] This was particularly impressive considering the limited social services offered by the City government, hampered as it was "by a small bureaucracy and limited resources."[7] A

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[3] "A Discourse of the Names and First Causes," in Stow, *Survey*, pp. 493-497; Hoskins, *The Age of Plunder*, p. 178.

[4] *T.E.D.*, iii, pp. 421, 438.

[5] Slack, "Social Policy and the Constraints of Government," p. 108; Rappaport, *Worlds Within Worlds*, pp. 180-182.

[6] Rappaport, *Worlds Within Worlds*, pp. 122-123.

[7] Rappaport, *Worlds Within Worlds*, pp. 182-183.

conspicuous shortcoming in the endeavours of the governors of London to plan or implement long-term solutions to social problems was their failure to devise a regular, systematic method of City-wide taxation. The lack of a mechanism with which the City could exercise direct control over collection of its revenues meant that the primary function of central government was relegated to coordinating and integrating the multifarious activities of the smaller administrative units like the wards, precincts, parishes, and companies. In reality, it was these "small social organisations which provided the real muscle for whatever social, political, and economic control was needed."[8]

Effective civic governance throughout the sixteenth century relied to a considerable extent on the durable ties, personal and institutional, that bound the rulers of London to the citizenry: both to those who possessed the freedom of the City and those who did not. The City government was linked most directly to those it ruled through officials like beadles, scavengers, rakers, and constables, and through neighbourhood institutions such as wardmotes and, rather less directly, through parish vestries. The enduring bonds which maintained the urban framework through periods of tension were revealed through the important roles assumed by families, parishes, and livery companies in providing identity, security, and the potential for social mobility and economic advancement for individuals confronted with the harsh realities of existence in London.

An individual's first recourse in periods of illness or economic distress was probably to his or her family. Parish aid might supplement what the family could provide; parishes would play an increasingly prominent role in monitoring and funding City poor relief efforts as the century progressed.[9] The power of the livery companies extended over a variety of social and economic affairs. The companies often collected the taxes levied by the City corporation; it was under the aegis of one of the companies that an adult male could aspire to inclusion in the

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[8] Rappaport, *Worlds Within Worlds*, pp. 12, 180-182.
[9] Palliser, *The Age of Elizabeth*, p. 125.

City franchise. The companies sometimes served as channels through which wealthy Londoners could leave property and money for the construction and maintenance of almshouses; on occasion they acted as conservators for the estates of deceased members. The companies collaborated frequently with the crown and the City government to maintain order amongst the citizenry. And, finally, the companies occasionally provided start-up loans to members commencing their professional lives, relief to fellows saddled with debts, and they more frequently managed doles and pensions for their ailing and needy members and their dependents or survivors.[10]

The government of the City fully recognised the important role played by the great companies as organs of local control. The companies were an important component in the city-wide, informal network of poor-relief mechanisms, and in part for this reason, the aldermanic chamber reserved for itself prerogatives to oversee and comment upon alterations in company ordinances.[11] For their part, some livery companies maintained close, traditional relationship with certain hospitals. For instance, before the Dissolution, the Mercers' Company had ties with its neighbour, the Hospital of St. Thomas of Acon. That hospital was the recipient of several loans made by the Company.[12] Livery companies helped lighten the load of hospitals with loans and gifts in cash and kind.[13] Furthermore, individual companies were occasionally empowered to act as overseers of perpetual or long-term benefactions arranged by citizens.[14]

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[10] C.L.R.O., Rep. viii, fol. 274^{v}; G.L., MS. 11588/1, fol. 168; B.L., Lansdowne MS. 846, lix, fol. 218; Archer, *Pursuit of Stability*, pp. 83, 86, 122; Rappaport, *Worlds Within Worlds*, pp. 29-30, 184-189, 191, 193-195, 214, 372-373, 376; Jordan, *Charities of London*, pp. 172-173; Jordan, *Philanthropy in England*, p. 82; C.L.R.O., *Letter Book of the City of London*, N, fols. 142-143; William Herbert, *The History of the Twelve Great Livery Companies of London*, 2 vols (London: 1837), i, pp. 132, 282-287; R.W. Herlan, "Poor Relief in London during the English Revolution," in *The Journal of British Studies*, 18 (1979), pp. 30-51; *Parl. Papers*, xix, pt. i [Reports from the Charity Commissioners] (London: 1840), p. 13.

[11] Rappaport, *Worlds Within Worlds*, p. 200; G.L., MS. 15197, fols. 152-154; Guy L. Gronquist, "The Relationship between the City of London and the Crown, 1509-1547," (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Cambridge: 1986), pp. 48-49, 168, 220-221.

[12] Sir John Watney, *Some Accounts of the Hospital of St. Thomas of Acon in the Cheap, London, and the Plate of the Mercers' Company* (London: 1892), pp. 110-114.

[13] See, for instance, G.L., MS. 12806/2, fol. 27^{v}.

[14] See, for instance, S.B.H., HA1/2, fol. 25^{r}.

When Sir Thomas Gresham planned annual annuities for four of the hospitals (he did not include Bridewell) in 1572, he instructed that the warden and masters of the Mercers' Company would be in charge of seeing that the capital arising from his property in the Royal Exchange was equitably distributed.[15] Others made similar arrangements.[16]

The London-born poor who could avail themselves of the assistance provided by either their family, local parish, or livery company were generally able to stave off the worst effects of poverty: the poor who came to London from the provinces, however, inevitably had fewer resources with which to mitigate deprivation. This category of the poor was regarded as "foreigners," "aliens," and "strangers" when they competed for jobs or sought a share in the charitable outlay available within the capital. Cut off as they usually were from communal or family ties, and lacking "any sense of lineage or of status," the non-native, propertyless poor of London generally found economic assimilation or the forging of new ties in the metropolis arduous and at times virtually impossible.[17] Even ambitious non-Londoners who sought a share in the prosperous bartering and commerce of the capital had to move cautiously lest they offend against the commercial regulations of London. In June 1571, the government at Christ's Hospital settled a matter in which men from Norwich and Sandwich were bringing woolen wares into the City: thereafter, they must only sell it at Blackwell Hall, and then only to freemen.[18]

Even before the time of the legendary Dick Whittington, London had lured the young who sought training in crafts or employment in the service of one of the great urban households. It was the generational and class duty of masters of trade that they should take on young apprentices, and stand *in loco parentis* while shepherding the boys through the trying

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[15] G.L., MS. 12816/1, fol. 13; Stow, *Survey*, pp. 69-70, 104.

[16] G.L., MS. 12819/2, fol. 17.

[17] Heal, *Hospitality in Early Modern England*, p. 318; Jordan, *Charities of London*, p. 17; Lawrence Stone, *The Family, Sex, and Marriage in England: 1500-1800* (New York: 1979), p. 75; Joyce Youings, *Sixteenth Century England* (New York: 1984), pp. 88-89; Andrew Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities in Sixteenth Century London* (Oxford: 1986), pp. 282-286.

[18] G.L., MS. 12806/2, fol. 62^{v}.

years of adolescence, teaching their charges the mysteries of their vocation and ideally providing them with living examples regarding their responsibilities as members of the guild and the urban polity. The tasks of mentorship could include acting as a moral tutor to young men and women indifferent to the tedious lessons of morality of an older generation, and these unlucky masters were sometimes held accountable for the misadventures of their apprentices.[19] Throughout the 1560s and 1570s, for example, the governors of Christ's Hospital brokered arrangements in which masters paid support of children begotten by unmarried apprentices.[20] There were similar moral obligations for the heads of significant urban houses: as Edmund Dudley mused from the Tower in 1510, all good men were duty-bound to hire household servants and labourers, "whereby all idle people and vagabonds shall be set to work."[21]

2. London and the March of the Poor

By the dawning of the sixteenth century, the wealth of London was markedly beginning to outpace the prosperity of the provinces, and so it was to the capital that people "congregated...from all parts of the island, and from Flanders and from every other place."[22] London held the whole of the nation tightly within its irresistible gravitational pull: so argued a correspondent of Thomas Cromwell, who commented that the consequences of each occurrence originating in the capital would, over time, inevitably fan out to all outlying regions of

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[19] However, Margaret Pelling suggests the limits to which one could rightfully equate the relationship between apprentice and his or her master and mistress with the relationship between child and parents. Margaret Pelling, "Child Health as a Social Value in Early Modern England," in *Social History of Medicine: The Journal of the Society for the Social History of Medicine*, 1, no. 2 (August 1988), p. 153. For more on the practices of apprenticeship, and early efforts at regulation, see O. Jocelyn Dunlop, *English Apprenticeship and Child Labour: A History* (London: 1912), especially p. 31.

[20] See, for example, G.L., MS. 12806/2, fol. 40^{v}.

[21] Edmund Dudley, *The Tree of the Commonwealth* [London: 1509], D.M. Brodie, ed. (Cambridge: 1948), pp. 39-42; see also Cornwall, *Wealth and Society*, p. 8.

[22] *A Relation, or Rather a True Account, of the Isle of England, With Sundry Particulars of the Customs of These People, and of the Royal Revenues Under King Henry VIII, About the Year 1500*, C.A. Sneyd, trans. (Camden Society, Original Series, xxxvii, London: 1847), p. 43.

the country.[23] But London itself was never immune to outside pressures, either. The cadence of immigration to the City quickened as the century progressed. The metropolis expanded, seemingly beyond control, as provincial towns like Boston and Coventry, once thriving mercantile centres, slipped into depopulated, decayed backwaters.[24] As Dr. Jeremy Boulton has noted, London's remarkable growth in population "offset the relative urban stagnation in other areas of the country in this period."[25] London beckoned the migrant poor with hopes--sometimes illusory--of jobs, wages better than those paid in the provinces, organised or informal relief, and for those fleeing from an unsavoury past, of a vast hiding-place into which they could forever disappear.[26] Rather ironically, the fact that London was perceived as a place of promise--or of last resort--by the country's poor was counted as evidence of its precipitous decline; especially in the mid-Tudor period, City governors feared a cycle in which the more that persons without means filed into the City, the nearer the City slipped towards apparently inevitable anarchy, penury, and ruin. In general, city dwellers in early modern England regarded urban decline as incontestable.[27]

Yet London's capacity to attract the ambitious and the poor of the nation in many senses assured its continued vitality.[28] Demographically, London in the sixteenth century was a city

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[23] B.L., Cotton MS. Cleo Eiv, fol. 217.

[24] *The Itinerary of John Leland in or about the years 1535-1543*, L. Toulmin Smith, ed., 5 vols. (London: 1907-1910), ii, pp. 106-108.

[25] Jeremy Boulton, "Neighbourhood Migration in Early-Modern London," in *Migration and Society in Early-Modern England*, Peter Clark and David Souden, eds. (London: 1987), p. 107.

[26] Beier, *Problem of the Poor*, p. 8; Jordan, *Charities of London*, p. 318; F.D. Logan, *Excommunication and the Secular Arm in Medieval England* (Toronto: 1968), pp. 93-94; Rappaport, *Worlds Within Worlds*, pp. 4, 76-77; Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, pp. 2-3, 134, 140; A.L. Beier and Roger Finlay, "The Significance of the Metropolis," in *The Making of the Metropolis: London, 1500-1700*, A.L. Beier and Roger Finlay, eds. (London: 1986), p. 17; Christopher Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down: Radical Ideas during the English Revolution* (New York: 1972), pp. 40-41; Susan E. Brigden, "The Early Reformation in London, 1520-1547: The Conflict in the Parishes," (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, Cambridge: 1979), pp. 4-6.

[27] Bodl. Lib., Oxford, Jones MS. 17, fol. 6; R.B. Dobson, "Urban Decline in Late-Medieval England," in *The Medieval Town: A Reader in English Urban History, 1200-1540*, Richard Holt and Gervase Rosser, eds. (Harlow, Essex: 1990), p. 268; Palliser, *The Age of Elizabeth*, p. 225.

[28] A.L. Beier, "Social Problems in Elizabethan London," in *The Tudor and Stuart Town: A Reader in English Urban History, 1530-1688*, Jonathan Barry, ed. (London: 1990), p. 124.

disproportionately peopled by youthful immigrants.[29] Their steady flow into the metropolis accounted for the prodigious growth of the City: without the steady flow of migration to the capital, the population there would actually have declined.[30] London's birth rate was low, and with its overcrowding and inadequate sanitation, the City's mortality rate placed high relative to the rest of England. As reckoned from selected parish registers at the end of the sixteenth through to the middle of the seventeenth century, life expectancy in London's poorer parishes was between twenty and twenty-five years, half that of those living elsewhere in England. The life expectancy in the wealthier City parishes was somewhat higher, at thirty to thirty-five years. Nonetheless, owing to the steady influx of rural workers and poor, the City grew at a rate of approximately one per cent annually from the middle of the century onward. It expanded beyond its ancient boundaries, almost doubling its numbers from the middle of the century until the beginning of the seventeenth. London's population increased from an estimated total of 120,000 (c. 1550) to 200,000 (c. 1600), counting its suburbs to the north, Southwark, and other adjacent areas south of the River Thames.[31]

It is difficult to speak with confidence about the number of poor assembled in London at a given time. In the country at large, tax returns and (presumably) informed opinion would estimate, in the 1520s for instance, the number of people living at or near the poverty level somewhere between one-third and one-half. London, the terminus of many of the nation's poor and desperate and so densely populated, must have seemed to contemporary denizens to have had to bear the burden of coping with a disproportionate share of the kingdom's needy.[32]

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[29] Beier and Finlay, "The Significance of the Metropolis," p. 21; Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, p. 134.

[30] Jordan, *The Charities of London*, p. 17; Dobson, "Urban Decline in Late Medieval England," pp. 284-286.

[31] Rappaport, *Worlds Within Worlds*, pp. 50, 68-70; Roger Finlay and Beatrice Shearer, "Population Growth and Suburban Expansion," in *The Making of the Metropolis: London, 1500-1700*, A.L. Beier and Roger Finlay, eds. (London: 1986), Table 5, p. 49; Palliser, *Age of Elizabeth*, p. 215; Roger Finlay, *Population and Metropolis: The Demography of London, 1580-1650* (Cambridge: 1981), pp. 92, 100-108; A.L. Beier, "Social Problems in Elizabethan London," pp. 123-124. Not counting its suburbs, London had some 70,000 residents in 1550, and approximately 141,000 by the end of Elizabeth I's reign: Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, p. 133; Machyn, *Diary*, p. 319.

[32] Starkey, *A Dialogue between Reginald Pole and Thomas Lupset*, pp. 80-81; Beier, *Problem of the Poor*, p. 5.

By the Elizabethan period, distinctions were made in towns between the poor, around 5 per cent of the population, who regularly received poor relief, and another 15 per cent of the population who were poor enough to apply for at least occasional assistance.[33]

Censuses taken in London at the beginning, middle, and end of the sixteenth century give some indications of the number of persons City officials deemed qualified to beg to support their families, and the later surveys purported to include vagabonds, fatherless children, and other categories of the poor.[34] Analysing the figures given in the estimate of 1518, Dr. Steven Rappaport calculated 6.1 per cent of the City population (excluding the borough of Southwark) as members of a family whose head, because of disability or age, could seek relief through begging.[35] The figures attained in the 1552 search for "...every of the sorts of the poor" were inclusive of more types of poor than the earlier survey, although as with the earlier count, it is probably best to consider this survey as rendering a minimum estimate of the poor within the City bounds. Again excluding Southwark, the survey of 1552 counted the number of fatherless children (300), vagrants (200), decayed householders (650), poor men overburdened with children, as well as the sick and aged.[36] Rappaport then estimated that 10.9 per cent of London's population lived in poverty.[37]

These figures point to what was undoubtedly a real and expanding problem of poverty within the City; to contemporaries less confident in interpreting statistics, though, the problem may well have seemed overwhelming.[38] The City government itself did not yet possess the

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[33] Paul Slack, "Poverty and Social Regulation in Elizabethan England," in *The Reign of Elizabeth I*, Christopher Haigh, ed. (London: 1984; Athens, Georgia: 1985), p. 232.

[34] C.L.R.O., Journal xi, fols. 337^{r}-338^{v}; *T.E.D.*, iii, pp. 415-420; C.L.R.O., Rep. xxiii, fols. 279^{v}-280^{r}.

[35] Rappaport, *Worlds Within Worlds*, pp. 167-169.

[36] Howes, "A Familiar and Friendly Discourse," p. 21.

[37] Rappaport, *Worlds Within Worlds*, pp. 167-169. Dr. A.L. Beier states that the figure given for the number of vagrants in London was almost certainly a drastic underestimation. Enumerating the different types of poor folk, and particularly the vagrants, often amounted to making guesses. Beier, *Masterless Men: The Vagrancy Problem in England, 1560-1640* (London: 1985), pp. 14-15.

[38] Chronicler William Harrison estimated the number of English vagrants at 10,000 in the mid-1570s. William Harrison, *An Historical Description of the Island of Britain...* [London: 1577], G. Edelen, ed. (Ithaca, New York: 1968), p. 267.

formal apparatus to deal with the poor: it relied on individuals and smaller institutions to see that their needs were met, intervening early on in the century most frequently simply to restrain or expel miscreants. Somewhat more complex were its endeavours to maintain adequate food stores against possible famine, and the disruptions massive starvation within the City would predictably bring.[39]

Aldermanic responses to even the most urgent problems could be frustratingly slow and piecemeal: even after the royal government began to formulate a national policy for public health in response to epidemics of the sweating sickness and the plague in 1517 and 1518, the aldermanic council of London usually reacted at a deliberate pace in devising or enforcing prophylactic measures.[40] The early 1500s was a period of considerable national development in safeguarding public health. Legislation in 1512 denounced the "great multitude of ignorant persons" fraudulently or recklessly practicing midwifery, surgery, and physic.[41]

Official sanction of health practitioners eventually came down to a tacit tripartite division between physicians, surgeons or barber-surgeons, and apothecaries.[42] The creation of the College of Physicians of London in 1518 transpired while the capital was in the depths of the health crisis. The College was intended to establish standards of decent health care and also to begin some regulation of those who could rightfully style themselves physicians. It undertook dogged and generally necessary--if at times self-interested--battles against unlicensed practitioners, empirics, and illiterate quacks and their profusion of quasi-magical, alchemic, or

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[39] C.L.R.O., Rep. xii, fols. 121^{v}-122^{v}; Beier, *The Making of the Metropolis*, pp. 18-19; Rappaport, *Worlds Within Worlds*, p. 138; Herbert, *Twelve Great Livery Companies*, i, pp. 132-133.

[40] Slack, *Impact of the Plague*, p. 202.

[41] *SR*, iii, pp. 31-32, 3 Henry VIII, ch. 11.

[42] Margaret Pelling, "Medicine and Sanitation," in *William Shakespeare: His World, His Work, His Influence*, 3 vols., John F. Andrews, ed. (New York: 1985), i, p. 81; Sidney Young, *The Annals of the Barber-Surgeons of London* (London: 1890; reprint 1979), p. 111.

astrological cures and methods.[43] Thomas Linacre founded the College of Physicians, and served as its initial president until his death in 1524. His attitudes were consonant with the thinking of other civic humanists, and they found a receptive audience in some of the dominant figures at court, among them Queen Catherine of Aragon, Thomas Wolsey, and Thomas More.[44] Some of the social legislation backed by Cardinal Wolsey, in particular, articulated the growing awareness that "...the preservation of health was a public responsibility."[45] Conceptually, the College was palpably in the debt of similar institutions already founded in Italian Cities; there they "were an integral aspect of civic order."[46] Like the Italian collegiate bodies, the London College "consisted of small élites of academically qualified physicians." While the early days of the College were characterised by generally flexible regulations, its organisational structure eventually calcified, and certainly by the middle of the century its ruling body exerted rigid controls over membership qualifications and was hierarchically ordered.[47]

The influences on the College were evident in the preliminary legislative guidelines established to quarantine sufferers from the plague; they bore the imprint of foreign examples. By the early sixteenth century, for instance, English intellectuals recognised that northern Italian enterprises which sought to limit the ravages of massive outbreaks of dysentary, smallpox, typhus, and influenza were considerably more original, consistent, and effective than their own. Tuscany was highly regarded especially for its pioneering efforts to contain

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[43] Charles Webster, "Medicine as Social History: Changing Ideas of Doctors and Patients in the Age of Shakespeare," in *A Celebration of Medical History*, Lloyd G. Stevenson, ed. (Baltimore, Maryland: 1982), pp. 116-119; Margaret Pelling, "Medicine and Sanitation," p. 81; Keith Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic* (London: 1978), pp. 14-15; Copeman, *Doctors and Disease in Tudor Times*, pp. 3, 25-26, 54-55, 107. For limitations of the power of the College beyond London and its environs, see R.S. Roberts, "The Personnel and Practice of Medicine in Tudor and Stuart England: Part I, the Provinces," in *Medical History*, 6 (1962), pp. 363-382.

[44] Charles Webster, "Thomas Linacre and the Foundation of the College of Physicians," in *Linacre Studies: Essays on the Life and Work of Thomas Linacre, c.1460-1524*, Francis Maddison, Margaret Pelling, and Charles Webster, eds. (Oxford: 1977), pp. 198-200, 203, 205.

[45] Paul Slack, "Dearth and Social Policy in Early Modern England," in *Social History of Medicine: The Journal of the Society for the Social History of Medicine*, 5, no.1 (April 1992), p. 3.

[46] Webster, "Thomas Linacre," p. 213.

[47] Webster, "Thomas Linacre," p. 218.

the spread of the plague. Within the course of the fifteenth century, Florentine and other Italian officials steadily moved beyond solely defensive measures, such as the destruction of the clothing and personal effects of the stricken and the imposition of travel and trade restrictions over infected areas, to more aggressive and selective instruments of quarantine and observation of plague victims, including the creation of specially-built isolation hospitals.[48] In general, England responded more slowly than other continental countries in issuing measures and regulations on the plague.[49] London's aldermanic council usually concentrated its efforts on segregating the infected from the healthy in times of outbreak, because, it was argued, those who had already caught the disease did more, in their "negligence, disorder, and want of charity" to cause its spread than did any "corruption of the air." These efforts, and similar ones in Oxford, would set the pattern for other provincial towns to emulate, forming as they did the most basic, standard public health procedures in restricting the impact of the plague.[50]

Only from the mid-century did the City really marshal its forces to police existing by-laws concerning infection and sanitary procedures regarding the cleansing of streets and polluted waterways, and other precautionary measures against infections borne through the atmosphere.[51] Crowding and filthy conditions were gradually acknowledged to be at the root of the wild spread of some illnesses. And only after subsequent outbreaks of sickness throughout the century did anything materialise which approached a cohesive urban policy to restrict the risks of mass contagion.[52] When, in the late 1540s and early 1550s, the government of London began to organise official responses and programmes to other specific problems of the City, the results were more often *ad-hoc* remedies to immediate social concerns than long-term solu-

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[48] Katharine Park, "Medicine and Society in Medieval Europe, 500-1500," in *Medicine in Society: Historical Essays*, Andrew Wear, ed. (Cambridge: 1992), pp. 85-90.

[49] Ole Peter Grell, "The Plague in Elizabethan and Stuart London: The Dutch Response," in *Medical History*, 34 (1990), p. 425.

[50] *TRP*, iii, pp. 269-270; C.L.R.O., Journal xv, fol. 48^{r}; Slack, *Poverty and Policy*, pp. 116-117.

[51] Slack, *The Impact of the Plague*, pp. 202-203; McLean, *Humanism and the Rise of Science*, p. 208.

[52] Slack, *The Impact of the Plague*, pp. 199-205; see also Andrew Wear, "Making Sense of Health and the Environment in Early Modern England," in *Medicine in Society: Historical Essays*, Andrew Wear, ed. (Cambridge: 1992), pp. 136-137.

tions. Again, this was perhaps unavoidable precisely because London was only just starting to develop the bureaucratic implements needed to effect the social reform and renewal of an over-burdened, ever-expanding metropolis.[53]

London easily outranked the kingdom's significant provincial cities, like Bristol, York, and Norwich, in terms of size, prestige (or notoriety), and dynamism. Its governors and more substantial residents, however, came to fear its swift growth and propensity toward seemingly inexorable expansion, and the frequent spates of demolition and re-building.[54] Lack of lodging for the poor was a persistent problem, as was crowding. Bishop Ridley would note that in many single-dwelling houses, "[there] are fain to lodge three families under one roof."[55]

In the opinion of one foreign observer, English people seemed to view cities, and London in particular, with some detachment; notwithstanding the quickness of pace and the variety offered by life in the City, the English generally did not have the affection for urban centres as they had for places which could boast "the commodious nearness of dales and brooks."[56] John Stow, then, was not alone in decrying the changes wrought on his beloved city within his own lifetime; did not the leveling of wooded areas along the City's periphery, the lamentable sixteenth-century tendency of reckless enclosure of city and suburban lands, and the frivolous building of "summer houses...with towers, turrets, and chimney-tops, not so much for use of profit as for show and pleasure," betray the "vanity of men's minds"?[57] For many, the City's aesthetic appeal was sorely reduced when tenements and slums pockmarked the urban landscape, and London's social integrity and political stability were imperiled when so many of the nation's discontented, shiftless, and needy were concentrated as never before within such a small geographic area.

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[53] Rappaport, *Worlds Within Worlds*, pp. 180-182; Jordan, *The Charities of London*, p. 16.

[54] Cornwall, *Wealth and Society*, p. 64; Jordan, *The Charities of London*, p. 17.

[55] Glocester Ridley, *The Life of Dr. Nicholas Ridley, Sometime Bishop of London: Shewing the Plan and Progress of the Reformation in which he was a principle instrument, and suffered martyrdom for it in the reign of Queen Mary* (London: 1763), p. 377.

[56] *Polidore Vergil's English History from an Early Translation...containing the first eight books*, Henry Ellis, ed. (Camden Soc., xxxvi, 1846), p. 4.

[57] Stow, *Survey*, pp. 381-382.

In many aspects other than its physical dimensions, though, London remained a compact city well into the Elizabethan period. London's city parishes were generally small-scale in comparison to their urban European counterparts, and this helped ensure that the rich and the poor, who often lived within close proximity of one another, shared some sense of community through their regular contact. The rich could hardly avoid witnessing the problems the poor of their neighbourhood faced, and the parish church historically provided the most direct and practical outlet for personal assistance.[58] Throughout the medieval period, and into the early modern period, the more prosperous churchgoers of a given London parish generally presumed that the problems besetting their poor neighbours would eventually impinge on the quality of their own lives: apart from considerations of Christian obligations to the poor, it was well understood that localities could deteriorate rapidly, and social stability could be disrupted, if the difficulties of the poor were not dealt with.

Of particular concern in Tudor London was the widening gulf between rich and poor residents of the City. For the Commonwealth idealists, this problem indicated the shortfall of charity and the collapse of paradigms of Christian compassion and the stewardship of the rich, and it also represented an omnipresent threat to the good order of the City. John Hales wondered "How many be there also that be thereof great talkers, and in deeds be not doers." The truth was plain and regrettable: "Poverty was never so abundant, and charity never so scant. Every man is given to himself, and few consider their Christian brethren. And therefore no marvel though God thus do plague us. For the calamity and misery of the needy and for the mourning of the poverty, I will rise, saith God, that is he will punish the people."[59] The rich who ignored the sufferings of the poor and who were mean-spirited acted at their own

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[58] Paul Slack, "Metropolitan Government in Crisis," p. 62; Richard Holt and Gervase Rosser, "Introduction: The English Town in the Middle Ages," in *The Medieval Town: A Reader in English Urban History, 1200-1540*, Richard Holt and Gervase Rosser, eds. (Harlow, Essex: 1990), p. 13.

[59] *The Defence of John Hales against certain slanders and false reports made of him* [1549], in *A Discourse of the Common Weal of this Realm of England, first printed in 1581, and commonly attributed to W.S.*, Elizabeth Lamond, ed. (Cambridge: 1929), pp. lxvi-vxvii; Cornwall, *Wealth and Society*, p. 168; Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, p. 481; Thompson, "Piety and Charity," pp. 178-181, 186.

peril: those who threw away their money on "cockfightings, tennis-plays, parks, banqueting, pageants, and plays" while begrudging, for instance, the sick poor money to be cleansed and healed in the restoring waters at Bath could end up paying more heavily later as their own neighbourhoods were riddled with infection, idleness, and seething resentments.[60]

A significant change in attitudes in sixteenth-century London, however, was the broadening of the scope of philanthropic concerns: slowly, citizens came to think of, and act upon, the problem of poverty not merely as it affected their particular parish, but as a city-wide phenomenon.[61] Given the pressures that mass migrations to the City placed on parishes, this evolution was entirely natural. As whole areas of the City became inundated with poor folk, parish vestries were forced to become more selective as to whom they could help with their finite resources. Efforts were also made by aldermen to limit begging: white tokens or badges were the symbols of official consent given to impotent people who could then beg only within prescribed City areas.[62]

The regulations devised in London to survey, license, and monitor begging at times anticipated, and other times imitated, legislative acts in smaller cities like Lincoln, Ipswich, Cambridge, and York. Provincial cities like Coventry in 1547 and Worcester in 1556 also followed London's lead in measuring the depth of their social problems in their use of censuses of the poor.[63] The governors of the London hospitals would later re-enforce the policy of insisting "that every poor [person] and pensioner within the City" wear insignia "upon their breast" which would show that they were dependent upon the succour of the Corporation and the citizenry.[64] Making good use of the charitable means of a sixteenth-century London parish

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[60] Jones, *William Turner*, pp. 125-126; William Turner, *A Booke of the Natures and Properties, as Well of the Bathes in England, As of Other Bathes in Germany and Italy, Very Necessary for All Seik Persones That Can Not be Healed Without the Helpe of Natural Bathes* (Cologne: 1562), fols. 1^{v}-2^{v}.

[61] Jordan, *Philanthropy in England*, p. 362.

[62] C.L.R.O., Rep. iii, fol. 174^{v}, 192^{r}, 194^{r}; Beier, *Problem of the Poor*, p. 27.

[63] Leonard, *History of Poor Relief*, pp. 40-45; Slack, "Social Policy and the Constraints of Government," p. 107; *The Coventry Leet Book, Part III*, M.D. Harris, ed. (*E.E.T.S.*, cxxxviii, 1909), pp. 783-784; A.D. Dyer, *The City of Worcester in the Sixteenth Century* (Leicester: 1973), pp. 166-167.

[64] G.L., MS. 12806/1, fol. 7^{v}.

resolved itself in making two hard choices: distinguishing the worthy poor from the wilfully idle, and determining who among the worthy poor could make justifiable claims on the generosity of the parish.

The realisation that there existed a category of healthy, able men and women who sought employment, but could not find it, and who were poor through no fault of their own, was arrived at only slowly.[65] By the middle of the century, there was at least momentary agreement amongst city officials that "there is as great a difference between a poor man and a beggar, as is between a true man and a thief."[66]

Nonetheless, it cannot be said that at anytime before the middle of Elizabeth's reign did there exist a clear, unwavering acknowledgment among the City's elite that sharp distinctions could rightfully be made between the idle and those seriously seeking work. The dilemma of unemployment elicited a spectrum of attitudes throughout much of the sixteenth century. Nonetheless, some part of the willingness to admit the existence of the class of 'worthy' poor hinged on the confidence society in general placed in local authorities to manage the poor.[67] At least since 1388, when the government of King Richard II issued an important set of poor laws, responsibility was placed on neighbourhoods to care for their own poor, and efforts were made to curtail wandering on the part of the poor.[68] For virtually the entire century-and-a-half that followed, these were the twin pillars of governmental efforts to cope with poverty: keeping the poor sedentary and under the direct supervision of officials of their locality.

Both royal and local officials of the early Tudor period were, however, continually confronted with the troublesome reality that one of the most obvious means the poor had to

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[65] Categorisation of the poor before 1536 was generally bi-lateral: only the impotent poor and the able-bodied poor were acknowledged, and all sturdy poor were regarded as work-shy: *SR*, iii, pp. 328-332, 22 Henry VIII, ch. 12. Five years later, the classifications were broadened to include the impotent poor, the able-bodied poor willing to work but unable to find any, and the sturdy rogues who avoided labour: *SR*, iii, pp. 558-562, 27 Henry VIII, ch. 25. Cornwall, *Wealth and Society*, p. 217; Beier, *Problem of the Poor*, p. 5.

[66] Thomas Bowen, *Extracts from the Records and Court Books of Bridewell Hospital* (London: 1798), appendix ii, p. 8; Leonard, *History of Poor Relief*, p. 36.

[67] Leonard, *History of Poor Relief*, p. 26.

[68] *SR*, ii, p. 58, 12 Richard II, ch. 7; Leonard, *English Poor Relief*, pp. 4-5.

improve their situation was to travel in search of employment.[69] By the second decade of the sixteenth century, it was apparent that the poor were more mobile than they had ever been. The mobility of the unsettled poor gave rise to increased fears of vagrancy; social commentators from Sir Thomas More early in the century to the Elizabethan William Harrison were preoccupied with the burdens and dangers large numbers of idle, unrestrained men and women posed to Tudor society.[70] After Henry VIII's final war with France, a new type of poor man began to filter into the beleaguered City: wounded soldiers seeking cure and relief. The visible strains these veterans placed on the resources of the City ironically gave the City fathers the bit of leverage they needed to persuade the king to grant them control of St. Bartholomew's Hospital.[71]

The more thoughtful commentators and officials reasoned that if the poor, sedentary and itinerant alike, were not relieved, they would indeed become rogues, driven in their desperation to lawlessness and destructiveness. Many others, however, were prepared to assume that those who drifted from place to place in search of employment, or who floated from one temporary job to another, were to all intents and purposes already vagrants who should be dealt with sharply.[72] These wandering poor were reviled as a notorious menace, "...do[ing] very great mischief in all places they become. [They] spare neither rich nor poor; but whether it be great gain or small, all is fish that commeth to net with them...."[73]

Throughout the century, officials and commentators repeatedly expressed their fears of shoals of poor who might descend on urban areas, "ready to beg and brawl at every man's door." The havoc they might bring would make them, in More's view, "robbers of the

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[69] Beier, *Problem of the Poor*, p. 8; Rappaport, *Worlds Within Worlds*, pp. 76-77.

[70] More, *Utopia*, p. 16; Harrison, *Description of the Island of Britain*, p. 183; Starkey, *Dialogue between Pole and Lupset*, p. 79; Cornwall, *Wealth and Society*, p. 212.

[71] Howes, "A Familiar and Friendly Discourse," pp. 4-5.

[72] See John Awdeley, "The Fraternity of Vagabonds," Thomas Dekker, "The Bellman of London," and Thomas Harman, "A Caveat for Common Cursitors," all in *The Elizabethan Underworld*, A.V. Judges, ed. (London: 1930), *passim*; Hoskins, *The Age of Plunder* p. 112.

[73] Harrison, *Description of the Island of Britain*, p. 355.

future," a "grievouser and perilouser danger," according to Sir John Cheke, "than the plague is."[74]

Control of the movements and behaviour of the poor was thus perceived as essential to maintaining order, especially in densely populated areas. Throughout the century, a variety of methods was conceived to relieve the poor and abate the strain they placed on the social framework. Building on the legislation of 1504, several policies aimed at re-settling the itinerant poor, either in the parishes of their birth or the places where they had last resided consecutively for at least three years.[75] After the system of hospitals in London was in place, the governors issued "passports" to patients discharged, stating in which direction the carrier was headed, and the number of days they were permitted, free from the harassment of local officials en route, to reach their destination.[76]

Maintaining reasonably good order and keeping rogues from wandering from their native areas to the capital were battles never fully won for Tudor civic officials. So, for example, the decision of the Lord Mayor in 1569 to abridge the festivities surrounding the Midsummer Watch because of their attraction to vagrants and rural delinquents was probably more a measure of futility and frustration than an effective urban policy against unwanted immigration.[77] Metropolitan officials viewed certain civic festivities, such as the wrestling and shooting matches traditionally held in conjunction with the St. Bartholomew's Fair, as attractions to troublemakers. In the wake of social strife or political uncertainty, the rulers of the City acted quickly to call off the events, even when the disturbances were as far off as Norfolk in the late summer of 1549.[78] The rulers of the City and the governors of Christ's Hospital had to keep a sharp eye out for landlords like Adam Dent, who in late 1560 was charged and fined for

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[74] John Cheke, *The Hurt of Sedition* (London: 1549), p. 94; More, *Utopia*, p. 16; Russell, *Crisis in Parliament*, p. 20.

[75] *SR*, iii, pp. 328-332, 22 Henry VIII, ch. 12; *SR*, iii, pp. 558-562, 27 Henry VIII, ch. 25.

[76] S.B.H., *The Order of the Hospital of St. Bartholomew's in West Smithfield in London* (London: 1552), sig. F5^{r}; G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A89/1, fol. 1.

[77] Michael Berlin, "Civic Ceremony in Early Modern London," in *Urban History Yearbook* (1986), p. 19.

[78] Wriothesley, *Chronicle* ii, p. 21.

making no real distinction between honest tenants and "beggars, vagabonds, or any other person [who transgressed] the good orders of this City." The two sons of Agnes Blackley, Dent's tenant originally from Canterbury, were found begging and eventually admitted to Christ's.[79]

Parishes in London also sought protection against the demands of non-resident poor by pre-conditioning relief on three years' residence within the parish: outsiders were further kept at bay by the local poor who were employed by their parish vestries to function as staff-bearers, empowered to turn non-indigenous poor out of parish boundaries.[80] In this fashion, City-born poor could at times assume a proprietorial or antagonistic stance against those 'foreign-born' poor who sought to make claims on the charitable largesse of a parish: whether by official design or not, a parish residency requirement was one of several factors which prohibited London's poor from thinking or behaving monolithically.[81] Officials of Christ's Hospital worked with parishes in September 1557, offering bounties and regular pensions to local poor who worked within parish boundaries to repel beggars "that annoy and trouble the City."[82] Typical of other parish officials, for instance, the beadles of St. Sepulchres counted expelling foreign beggars from the immediate neighbourhood as part of their regular duties. Hospital officials might occasionally intervene to see that the non-indigenous poor were not merely shuttled from one City neighbourhood to another.[83]

The poor who could partake of the bounty of a parish and its congregation were thus expected to cede their deference and loyalty--and pledge their good behaviour--to the parish

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[79] G.L., MS. 12806/1, fols. 36^{v}, 38^{v}, 39^{r}.

[80] The governors of Christ's Hospital, on 14 August 1557, ordered that "in every parish one of the poor (who already hath a pension if any such were there) or some other honest person should be appointed who should attend daily upon their own parish to keep out from begging within the same all foreign and strange beggars, and the same to bear in his hands to be known a staff painted black and yellow." G.L., MS. 12806/1, fols. 7^{v}, 8^{r}.

[81] Dr. Ian Archer adumbrated other considerations which divided the poor: religion; occupational rivalries; and status as free or non-free. Archer, *Pursuit of Stability*, p. 98.

[82] G.L., MS. 12806/2, fol. 8^{r}. See also *ibid.*, fol. 22^{v}.

[83] G.L., MS. 12806/2, fol. 38^{v}.

elders and towards all figures of municipal authority. And in turn, the leaders of the community were expected to use their powers of patronage over the poor to mould their attitudes.[84]

The relationship between City government and parish vestry was close throughout the century. The government relied on the ability of parishes to spur their communicants to ever-greater generosity towards their poorer brethren in Christ; the government also required parishes to monitor the orderly and discriminate distribution of alms.[85] Indeed, for a formal distribution of alms to proceed in meticulous fashion, distinctions had to be made between worthy and unworthy poor, lest the distribution serve only to draw idle beggars to the area.[86]

For City governments after the Reformation, poor relief programmes directed by parish vestries were easier to control and oversee than either the doles of the old monasteries or the food-queues underwritten by individuals both before and after the establishment of the reformed faith. Large-scale alms-giving by individuals independent of civic or parish supervision risked the suggestion of ostentation (or the implication of a theology of works) on the part of the giver, as well as the needless encouragement of begging.[87] Nonetheless, the tradition of giving aid on a grand scale stretched far back into time, and it emanated from the highest reaches of society. According to the Eltham Ordinances of 1525-6, which were promulgated to rid the court of needless waste and other manifestations of household abuses, the poor would benefit from economies practiced in the royal palaces. To that end, Wolsey instructed in the king's name that all "relics and fragments of such meat and drink as daily hath been spent in the King and Queen's chamber and household" should henceforth be distributed

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[84] Cornwall, *Wealth and Society*, p. 222; Archer, *Pursuit of Stability*, p. 86; Jordan, *Philanthropy in England*, p. 80.

[85] *SR*, iii, pp. 558-562, 27 Henry VIII, ch. 25; C.L.R.O., Rep. viii, fol. 274^{v}.

[86] For example, Paul Slack noted that in 1548, Exeter halted the wholesale distribution of bread to the poor because of the risk of "'great infection...by reason of the great press of people.'" Slack, "Social Policy and the Constraints of Government, 1547-1558," p. 107.

[87] Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, p. 477; White, *Social Criticism*, pp. 256-257.

among the "poor people at the [outer] court gate."[88] The ancient tradition of important indi vidual Londoners dispensing outdoor, liberal hospitality survived the Reformation, but the tendency in the middle and latter part of the sixteenth century was to direct charitable sums and gifts towards institutions sanctioned by the City government, such as parish vestries, companies, and hospitals.[89]

By the early-modern period, the tradition of wealthy individuals providing dinners to those who applied to their gates was practiced far more sparingly and selectively than ever before, and particularly in urban settings. Where this practice persisted, it was far more likely to take place between an individual and his immediate neighbours, tenants, and social superiors.[90] Writers offered cautionary notes to individuals who unadvisedly sought to aid all who appeared before their doorsteps. Experienced men, like William Turner, warned of the wiles of those who sought alms that were too easily attainable: the undeserving poor, malingerers, and charlatans seemed to thrive on, and were complacent with, the alms dispensed independently and casually by individuals. This class of poor not only stole from the just poor, but they further imperiled the godly society that was struggling for viability in the mid-Tudor period. Laziness and begging had no place in the land of the elect.[91] Turner, a physician in the household of the duke of Somerset, occasionally offered to heal those who pleaded for alms in front of the Protector's mansion. Frequently, however, he was spurned by the poor who had hitherto not realised he was a doctor, for "they had much liever be sick still with ease and idleness, than to be whole, and with great pain and labour to earn honestly their living."[92]

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[88] "Ordinances for the Household Made at Eltham in the XVIIth Year of King Henry VIII," [1526], in *A Collection of Ordinances and Regulations for the Government of the Royal Household, Made in Divers Reigns: From King Edward III to King William and Queen Mary. Also Receipts in Ancient Cookery*, John G. Nichols, eds. (London: 1790), Cap. lix, p. 154.

[89] Stow, *Survey*, pp. 84, 102-103; Leonard, *History of Poor Relief*, p. 18; Einstein, *Tudor Ideals*, p. 235; Palliser, *Age of Elizabeth*, pp. 116-117.

[90] See Felicity M. Heal, "The Idea of Hospitality in Early Modern England," in *Past and Present*, 102 (1984), pp. 66-93; Boulton, *Neighbourhood and Society*, pp. 138-139.

[91] Turner, *The Hunting of the Romish Wolf*, sig. D v-vi; Jones, *William Turner*, pp. 191-192.

[92] Turner, *New Book of Spiritual Physic*, sigs. 1^b - 2.

Stories like Turner's served to cast doubts in the minds of many on the genuineness of the plight and sincerity of each poor person, particularly those who sought help from outside his or her parish or family circles. Thomas Harman later delineated various types of tricksters who deluded those who dispensed alms, taking food and money on the merits of their tales of misery, and all the while cheating the worthy poor of their just alms.[93] John Cheke depicted swarms of loiterers, "ready to beg and brawl at every man's door." For him and many of his contemporaries, they were a potentially dangerous nuisance."[94] How many of the rich and comfortable would have demurred from Thomas Becon's assertion that the poor man should "rather starve and die for hunger, as poor Lazar did, than to trouble a commonwealth"?[95]

This chariness would remain intense as many other accounts, oftentimes apocryphal in nature, aspersed the willingness of all the poor--ill and well--to rise above their own miserable state, regardless of how much assistance they were offered.[96] The well-off were all too eager to believe that the poor were blissful in their indigent state: there was a predisposition to generalise from the innumerable anecdotes about the poor and their ways. The underlying message of the descriptions of encounters like these seemed clear: the welfare of the poor, and the stability of the City, would best be assured by civic-run organisations equipped to supply health-care, nourishment, shelter, guidance, and discipline, each in their appropriate doses.

3. Social Experimentation Abroad and English Reflections on Foreign Hospital Systems

The construction and operation of London's hospitals were demonstrations of the tendency of local authorities in the mid-century period to assume increasing responsibility for

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[93] Thomas Harman, "A Caveat for Common Cursitors, Vulgarly Called Vagabonds," [1566], in *The Elizabethan Underworld*, A.V. Judges, ed. (London: 1930), pp. 61-118.

[94] John Cheke, *The Hurt of Sedition*, p. 14; Charles James Ribton-Turner, *The History of Vagrants and Vagrancy*, p. 94.

[95] Thomas Becon, "The Fortress of the Faithful," in *The Catechism of Thomas Becon with other pieces (temp. Edward VI)*, J. Ayre, ed. (Parker Soc., Cambridge: 1844), p. 601.

[96] See More, *Utopia*, p. 15.

putting into practice methods of social control. Municipal leaders who in years past would have routinely deferred to the orders of Parliament or the royal councils in the planning of poor relief measures were inclined, in the middle years of the century, to attach local variations on the decrees from the central government.

Several towns and cities ordered collections for the poor, and Norwich first began the practice of transmuting these collections into recurring, compulsory assessments. London and other cities also, in the mid-century period, moved to eliminate the voids in urban poor relief which inner-city parishes could not by themselves fill.[97] London parishes had long played a heroic role in combating poverty and disorder as those conditions existed within local boundaries, and they would remain an integral part of municipal efforts to defuse social problems; but City officials preferred to fight poverty that afflicted the whole metropolitan area using institutions wholly under municipal control. The importance of the parish vestries' support of the hospitals remained crucial to their survival in the sixteenth century, but ultimately it was to be the aldermanic council that most directly shaped both their design and destiny.

The hospitals also represented the maturation of the ambitions of two generations of English urban reformers: the network of hospitals approximated the social amenities offered by the governments of several contemporary continental cities. From the time of Cardinal Wolsey, social planners looked with interest at the experiments in social welfare already in place in northern Italy and Flanders. Wolsey's desire to see London stand beside places like Paris and Florence as a splendid Renaissance metropolis did not terminate at his fall.

Cromwell evinced interest in the plans for social improvement presented to him by subordinates who had travelled in Europe and had made some studies of urban problems and foreign approaches to lessening those problems.[98] Some of the young men who received their

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[97] Slack, "Social Policy and the Constraints of Government," p. 107; *The Records of the City of Norwich*, 2 vols., William Hudson and John Cottingham Tingey, eds. (Norwich and London: 1906-1910), ii [item 222, 31 May 1549], p. 126.

[98] *Some Early Tracts on Poor Relief*, p. 36.

political grounding under Cromwell's tutelage, and who were associated with the experiments in poor relief in the 1530s, would come of age as statesmen in the 1550s, and would then stand at the forefront in the fight for more generous social policies in London. Men like Thomas Offley, William Laxton, Rowland Hill, John Gresham, William Harper, and Richard Grafton played prominent roles in the early history of the hospitals, and it would not seem implausible to suppose that their sense of vision in creating the London hospitals must have been influenced by their earlier exposure to the continental schemes scrutinised and debated within Cromwell's coterie.[99]

Familiarity with comparatively sophisticated foreign systems of welfare for the needy was increasingly recognised as a logical and compelling first step towards enriching urban life in the English commonwealth, and particularly in London. Henry VIII upheld his father's interest in northern Italian hospitals, requesting and receiving a report from Francesco Portinari on the structure of Santa Maria Nuova.[100] When the king moved against the monasteries, couching his attack in part on the ideal of returning to the use of the poor what had once properly been theirs, he would presumably have been aware of continental innovators. One contemporary who challenged the entrenched monastic order in his principality was Philipp of Hesse, who in the early-1530s converted a Cistercian monastery in Haina and an Augustinian canonry at Merxhausen into major Protestant hospitals. As Henry VIII would later do, Philipp began with inquisitions against monastic abuses, and ended by dislodging the monastic orders; however, the abandoned religious houses were put to charitable uses with more alacrity under the German prince than the English king.[101]

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[99] See above, Chapter II, pp. 59-63; Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, p. 289; McLean, *Humanism and the Rise of Science*, p. 78; Geoffrey R. Elton, "An Early Tudor Poor Law," in *Studies in Tudor and Stuart Politics and Government*, 3 vols. (Cambridge: 1974-1983), ii, pp. 137-154.

[100] Luigi Passerini, *Storia degli stabilimenti di beneficenza e d'istuzione elementare gratuita della cittá di Firenze* (Florence: 1853), pp. 851-867.

[101] Midelfort, "Protestant Monastery?", p. 73; William J. Wright, "Reformation Contributions to the Development of Public Welfare Policy in Hesse," in *Journal of Modern History*, 49 (1977), D1145 [microfiche].

Some of the rulers of London learned first-hand of foreign experiments in public welfare policies. City fathers who had "travelled in outward parts" were encouraged by the Court of Common Council in 1543 to work to put into execution "such devices...as you have seen there observed and kept, so as we may be seen to have learned that point of civility, and to have among us as charitable a mind for preservation of our neighbours, as they have."[102] The two men perhaps most prominently associated with the foundation and early regulation of the hospitals of London, Richard Grafton and Sir Martin Bowes, both apparently profited from some understanding of European methods of centralised urban poor relief, and Grafton, at least, is known to have travelled to the Continent.[103]

Recent historiographical work has indicated that Catholic and Protestant positions regarding the proper role of charity in secular and spiritual matters was not, in the sixteenth century, as minutely distinguishable as has sometimes been assumed. Despite different national approaches to the problem of poor relief, Catholic and Protestant countries often shared similar beliefs about the poor and the nature of poverty, concern that poor patients be healed and then guided toward a productive life, and they also constructed systems of relief which mixed "genuine humanity [with] brutal paternalism."[104]

Protestant reactions to exposure to Catholic systems of relief could be ambiguous. Even the most chauvinistic reformers, like Bishop Pilkington of Durham, could acknowledge that "the hospitality and alms of abbeys is not altogether to be either allowed or dispraised."[105] Earlier, Martin Luther had been obviously impressed by the commodious and clean hospital he

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[102] This passage refers specifically to observances city fathers might have made of continental practices aimed at halting contamination and infection among urban populaces. Consult C.L.R.O., Journal xv, fol. 49^{v}; Slack, *The Impact of the Plague in Tudor and Stuart England*, p. 203.

[103] Slack, "Social Policy and Constraints of Government," pp. 109-110.

[104] Brian Pullan, *Rich and Poor in Renaissance Venice: The Social Institutions of a Catholic State, to 1620* (Oxford: 1971), pp. 11-12, 638; Brian Pullan, "Catholics and the Poor in Early Modern Europe," in *TRHS*, 5th ser., xxvi (1976), pp. 15-34.

[105] James Pilkington, "The Burning of St. Paul's Church: The Addition and the Confutation of the Addition," in *The Works of James Pilkington, B.D., Lord Bishop of Durham*, James Scholefield, ed. (Parker Soc., Cambridge: 1842), p. 610.

visited in Italy in 1510, and he was effusive in praising its expert staff (including two physicians, servants, and married matrons "whose faces are covered" lest they tempt male patients!). But in the end Luther demurred, concluding that "these works are good and laudable, only, the mischief is that thereby they think to merit Heaven, and to be sustained and saved by reason of such their works, which spoileth all."[106] Before the break with Rome, there was at least one rhetorical account of an Italian hospital, when in the mid-1470s Robert Flemming observed Pope Sixtus IV's rebuilding of the Ospedale di Santo Spirito.[107] Henry VII, in the creation and endowment of the Hospital of Blessed Jesus of the Savoy in the first decade of the 1500s, acquired detailed knowledge of the construction and rules of the Santa Maria Nuova of Florence.[108]

The Hospital of Santa Maria Nuova in Florence combined many of the attributes which made Tuscan hospitals renowned throughout Europe. To Henry VII and succeeding generations of English social planners and philanthropists, Santa Maria Nuova would have been an extraordinary institution, and well worth the trouble of gathering information to learn how it functioned. It had a bed-capacity of 230, and since its foundation at the end of the thirteenth century, it had gradually shifted from the practice of distributing casual alms to offering medical treatment. Patient stays averaged eleven to fifteen days, and eighty to ninety percent of those treated were cured and dismissed. Patients benefited from regular professional attentions: doctors and surgeons visited St. Maria Nuova daily, and because many physicians were willing to reduce their fees when they worked in charitable institutions, the hospital was able to draw from the six "most excellent [physicians] in all the city." St. Maria Nuova also gave

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[106] *Dr. Martin Luther's Discourses at His Table*, Captain Henry Bell, trans. (London: 1652), p. 233. It is uncertain whether Luther visited a Florentine or Roman hospital. This quotation is also cited in Edward P. De G. Chaney, "'Philanthropy in Italy': English Observations on Italian Hospitals, 1545-1789," in *Aspects of Poverty in Early Modern Europe*, Thomas Riis, ed. (Brussels: 1981), note 35, p. 213. The following discussion on English impressions of Italian hospitals is drawn from Dr. Chaney's article, especially pp. 192-193.

[107] Robert Flemming, "Meditations at Tivoli," in *The English Traveller to Italy...to 1535*, George Parks, ed. (Rome: 1954), pp. 601-606; Chaney, "Philanthropy in Italy," note 36, p. 213.

[108] Bodl. Lib., Bodl. MS. 488; *The History of the King's Works*, 3 vols., Howard Montagu Colvin, gen. ed. (London: 1960), iii, pt. 1, p. 199; Jordan, *Charities of London*, p. 137.

residence and board to apprentice surgeons and physicians and to nurses, in return for their professional services.[109]

In general, the diversity of care offered by different hospitals in various northern Italian cities would have arrested the attentions of fifteenth and sixteenth century English observers. Florence even managed what would appear to be the first attempt to incorporate groups of the poor into its civic rituals. Orphans and foundlings, for example, received care from the Confraternity of the Misericordia, and as early as the late fourteenth century they are documented as participating in a city procession. Sixteenth century hospitals, like Rome's Santo Spirito, used processions of the institutionalised poor to inspire charity.[110] To some extent, Christ's Hospital of London duplicated this last tactic in the earliest days of its history, using public processions of its children and their masters to bolster support amongst the citizenry for the struggling institution.[111]

Northern Italian hospitals were also noteworthy for the attention paid to detail in the construction and maintenance. For example, sanitation was clearly a concern for those who designed hospitals. The Italian architect Filarete studied Florentine and Siennese hospitals as he prepared the design of the Ospedale Maggiore in Milan in the middle of the fifteenth century, and in his *Tractate on Architecture*, he discussed problems and solutions for the disposal of human and material waste, as well as broader concepts of cleanliness, order, and beauty, all of which played a part in the process of healing.[112] The larger northern Italian institutions like Santa Maria Nuova and the Ospedale Maggiore contained a variety of facilities

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[109] John Henderson, "The Hospitals of Late-Medieval and Renaissance Florence: A Preliminary Survey," in *The Hospital in History*, Lindsay Granshaw and Roy Porter, eds. (London: 1989), pp. 69-70, 81-82.

[110] Richard C. Trexler, *Public Life in Renaissance Florence* (New York: 1991), pp. 369-370, and note 8; Richard C. Trexler, "The Foundlings of Florence, 1395-1455," in *History of Childhood Quarterly*, 1 (1973), pp. 261-263; Gregory Martin, *Roma Sancta* [1581], G. Parks, ed. (Rome: 1969), p. 85.

[111] For example, see *CSP, Sp.*, xi, p. 151.

[112] Antonio Filarete, *Filarete's Treatise on Architecture, being the Treatise by Antonio di Piero Averlino, known as Filarete*, J. Spencer, ed. (New Haven, Conn.: 1965), pp. 137-138, 145.

within their enclaves: Filarete's design called for a storage space for the personal effects of each patient, a grain mill, laundry, and a water compressor.[113]

To finance expensive enterprises like these, hospital rulers relied on the largess of prosperous, centralised city governments, in addition to their institutions' own property holdings in the countryside and city, to which larger hospitals added ownership of private houses, commercial shops and stalls in the marketplace, farms, fields, and vineyards.[114] Henry VII, in planning his own monument to charitable and pious obligation, looked to the example of northern Italian hospitals, which offered treatment of the sick poor in modern, functional buildings.

Mentions of Italian institutions became more commonplace after the break with Rome, perhaps not coincidentally at a time when London was struggling to deal with increasing poverty and homelessness. Englishmen got a vicarious glimpse of the large and robust hospital network in Florence in William Thomas's *History of Italy*, published in 1549. The treatment accorded patients in the Hospital of Santa Maria Nuova was so professional and antiseptic "that many times right honest men and women be not ashamed to seek their health there."[115] The hospital's sizable budget permitted it to procure the services of "excellent physicians, good apothecaries, diligent ministers, and every other thing necessary." And in Venice, Thomas observed that dowries were provided for unmarried women (larger amounts being allocated for "foul" looking girls). Care was also taken that orphans and others capable of learning a trade be given a chance when their age and health permitted. Those infected with the plague were removed to the *Lazoretto*, two miles outside the City. The rulers of Venice also took pains to

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[113] Filarete, *Treatise*, p. 144.

[114] Henderson, "Hospitals of Late-Medieval and Renaissance Florence," p. 77.

[115] A similar claim could hardly have been made of the hospitals in London, where even by the seventeenth century "[no] person of social pretensions would dream of entering one as a patient; and if he did he would certainly be increasing his chances of contracting some fatal infection." See Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, p. 15; William Thomas, *The History of Italy: A book exceeding profitable to be read because it entreateth of the estate of many and divers commonwealths, how they have been, and now be governed*, *STC*, 24018 (London: 1549), p. 138[a].

store up grain against famine.[116] Similar approval was evinced by Sir Thomas Hoby in 1550, when he toured a hospital in Naples, and was moved by its impressive endowments which allowed for the treatment of gentlefolk as well as the poor, each being separated according to his or her disease, and "served according to their degree, with a good order...."[117]

These mentions of Italian hospitals came at a crucial, early stage in the creation of London's new hospitals; there is insufficient evidence to assess how accounts like these might have influenced readers in London, and by extension it remains uncertain how they might have helped to shape the nascent hospital system. Protestants, while assuredly not shrinking from works of charity as their critics would charge, would remain wary of the haphazard ways they believed alms had been distributed under old church-run outlets, and the debate over the efficacy of good works, and what merit God attached to them, would persist throughout Edward's and Mary's reigns.[118]

It is also true that the leaders active in re-founding the hospitals apparently never sought blindly to copy European systems. While they might have taken a cue from pioneering systems like those in Geneva and Lyons, where the direction of charitable relief was in the hands of the city governors, London's system developed along its own lines.[119] The sophisticated concepts forged particularly by northern Italian hospital designers might have excited the interest and admiration of the rulers of London, but they never lost sight of the fact that they had to contend with relatively slim resources which made dealing with mounting social pressures increasingly arduous. Nonetheless, the reports disseminated in the middle of the century and those composed throughout Elizabeth's reign that marveled at the mature and well-

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[116] Thomas, *The History of Italy*, pp. 82[b]-83[a].

[117] Sir Thomas Hoby, *A Book of the Travels and Life of Me Thomas Hoby: My Journey from the Tour of London in the month of August, anno 1547 2 Edward VI, into Germany with John Abell*, Edgar Powell, ed., Camden Miscellany, x (London: 1902), p. 29.

[118] G.L., MS. 9171/12, fols. 80, 128; *Narratives of the Reformation*, p. 182; Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, pp. 476-477.

[119] Slack, "Social Policy and Constraints of Government," p. 109; R.M. Kingdon, "Social Welfare in Calvin's Geneva," in *American Historical Review*, 76 (1971), pp. 50-69; Natalie Z. Davis, *Society and Culture in Early Modern France: Eight Essays* (New York: 1975), *passim*.

administered hospitals in Catholic countries must have afforded the *literati* in London an invaluable point of reference by which to judge the success of their own fledgling system.[120]

The hospitals of London clearly could not efface all social and economic problems. When the hospitals were in place, different beholders would have an array of understandings of the houses' individual and combined functions, and appreciation of their qualities also varied. For aldermen still worried by the continuing march of the realm's poor and shiftless on London, the hospitals, and the alms they attracted seemed at times an inadvertent part of the problem. This was the official view in March 1569, when the Court of the Common Council recorded that "experience late hath showed that the charitable relief given as well by the Queen's majesty's most noble progenitors as also the charitable alms from time to time collected within this City...hath drawn into this City great numbers of vagabonds, rogues, masterless men, and idle persons as also poor, lame, and sick persons dwelling in the most part of the realm."[121]

Nearly three decades later, the governors of Christ's Hospital would find meaning in that observation. While they felt beleaguered by the number of poor they regularly dealt with, they noted with satisfaction that, unlike the other hospitals of London, they did not spend the "profits of their lands upon foul persons, country people, and such like, [and] verily little upon citizens of London, which this house altogether doth relieve and comfort in the best poor kind of people, aged and infant."[122]

At least one foreign observer would be unimpressed by the City's combination of voluntary and compulsory poor-relief measures, and dismissive of the work done by the hospitals. Around 1580, the Italian visitor Petruccio Ubaldini noted that London hospitals routinely

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[120] See Chaney, "Philanthropy in Italy," pp. 193-199, for further sources of English impressions of Italian hospitals.

[121] C.L.R.O., Journal xix, fol. 164^{v}.

[122] G.L., MS. 12806/3, fol. 40^{r}.

denied admission to those diagnosed as suffering from incurable maladies. This must have seemed heartless to one accustomed to hospitals in his homeland devoted to tending to the "incurabili." Beyond that cold fact, Ubaldini could "not say much" for the hospitals that seemed to him to have been small and badly run. He ended wistfully by wondering that despite considerable charitable contributions and substantial sums given over to poor relief raised through taxes on houses, "you still see many beggars, and many of them even dying on the streets."[123]

Other sophisticated English travelers, like Thomas Nashe at the end of the sixteenth century, would concede the superior response to the needs of the sick and poor in many contemporary Catholic cities in Italy and France. The harshness and meanness of London reflected badly on the national faith, so in danger was English Protestantism of seeming a religion of "all avarice and no good works." "Because we may not build Monasteries, or have Masses, Dirges, or Trentals sung for our souls, are there no deeds of mercy that God hath enjoined us?"[124] Yet few Englishmen could suggest such comparisons, and even fewer would have had Nashe's temerity in belittling London's civic and godly generosity. Bishop James Pilkington, at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, spoke for those who looked askance at Catholic models of piety and charity, past and present:

> Look into London, what hospitals there are founded in the Gospel time! the poor indeed relieved, youth godly brought up, and the idle set at work. Popery would sometimes feed the hungry, but seldom correct the unprofitable drones who sucked the honey from the labouring bees, nor bring up children in fear of God: but to fill the belly, and not to teach virtue is to increase vice."[125]

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[123] A.M. Crinò, "Il testo di quella che Petruccio Ubaldini considerava la redazione definitiva della sua Relatione d'Inghilterra," in *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa* (ser. iii, vol. xi, no. 2, 1979), pp. 729-732; Chaney, "Philanthropy in Italy", pp. 191-192, and note 33, p. 212; Peter Partner, *Renaissance Rome, 1500-1559: A Portrait of Society* (Berkeley, California: 1979), pp. 106-110. Seventeenth-century sources indicate that patients of Bethlem Hospital might be discharged after a year if their mental afflictions were found to be incurable. Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, p. 16.

[124] Thomas Nashe, "Christ's Teares over Jerusalem," [1593] in *The Works of Thomas Nashe*, 2 vols., R.B. McKerrow, ed. (Oxford: 1958), ii, p. 161.

[125] Pilkington, "The Burning of St. Paul's Church," pp. 610-611.

And other Elizabethans found certainty in their insularity: they knew the hospitals were not "the work of man...[but] the bounty of thy Lord...a work so well begun, and now maintained as well, what deeds by Thee, and Thine are done, no earthly thing can tell." It was with steadfast assurance that Londoners would offer this hymn of praise and thanksgiving, confident that since the last of days of the reign of Henry VIII, citizens and governors together had found and kept that which Stow observed to be the City's unique "good policy":

> For many thousands ought have wept, in woeful want and grief,
> Who thus from time to time were kept, and aided with relief.
> Let godly men extol the Highest with everlasting praise,
> and let the imps of antichrist (that vaunt on elder days
> and say the gospel yields no fruit) our number here behold.
> No place hath furnished a suit, in any time of auld.[126]

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[126] B.L., Harleian MS. 7567, fol. 145.

CHAPTER V

THE REFOUNDATION OF THE HOSPITALS
Phase I:
Saint Bartholomew's Hospital
1544 - 1547

In the decades after the construction of the new system of hospitals in London, commentators like John Howes would recall with reverence the "forward willing minds and the bountiful liberal hands" of the men who had arranged the terms of the foundations. Their "time and study" in making "notable platts and devises" had, within a brief span of years, yielded copious rewards when observers were able to detect a decline in the number of poor and idle on the streets of the City.[1] For Howes, as no doubt for many of his contemporaries, the creation of Bethlem, St. Bartholomew's, St. Thomas's, Christ's, and Bridewell together represented the culmination and refinement of the ideas and techniques used to battle "penury and beggary" since the Norman Conquest.[2]

In a rare moment approaching giddy optimism, in fact, the system of hospitals was vaunted as having vanquished the worst effects of poverty: the hospitals' "good success" and effectiveness was such that by 1557 it would be recorded in the minute books of Bridewell that "there is no poor citizen at this day that beggeth his bread, but by some means his poverty is provided for."[3] This claim must in part be regarded as quintessentially self-promotional, coming as it did at a time of ostensible royal indifference, obstructiveness, and even hostility towards the hospitals of London,--"those dangerous days of Queen Marie when there was

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[1] Howes, "A Familiar and Friendly Discourse," pp. i, 1. John Howes had been apprenticed to Richard Grafton, Protestant activist, printer, and early governor of Christ's Hospital. He later served as an officer at both Bridewell and St. Thomas's Hospitals. Howes's account of the foundation of the royal hospitals, although written in the 1580s, is the most intimate and detailed single version. Kingdon, *Richard Grafton*, p. 97; Edward G. O'Donoghue, *Bridewell Palace, Prison, Schools from the Earliest Times to the End of the Reign of Queen Elizabeth* (London: 1923), p. 158.

[2] Howes, "A Familiar and Friendly Discourse," pp. 2-4.

[3] Bowen, *Extracts from the Records and Court Books of Bridewell*, appendix ii, p. 8 *seq.*; Raphael Holinshed, *Third Volume of Chronicles* (London: 1587), pp. 1081-1083; Palliser, *The Age of Elizabeth*, p. 127.

nothing else looked for (but 'down with them, down with them!')." Nonetheless, it did articulate a feeling that the hospitals were a uniquely compassionate and intelligent manifestation of the Corporation's "endless goodwill towards [the] most necessary succour of their poor brethren in Christ."[4] The bold assertion of the governors of Bridewell must also have mirrored an awareness on the part of the City leaders that the system of hospitals was grappling with stubborn, complicated social problems in a more complete way than had ever been contemplated previously.

The accomplishments for which the hospitals could take credit in making London safer, more orderly, and a more humane dwelling for the poor had their basis in part in the experimental, sometimes improvisational, way in which they were founded and organised. The system of hospitals that came into full existence in the early 1550s was not the construct of a masterplan either of an individual or even the aldermanic council. The system evolved piecemeal, sometimes almost haphazardly, engendered by aldermanic petitioning and pressures, empowered by spurts of royal beneficence, and sustained chiefly through the philanthropy of the citizenry.

Over the following score of years, City leaders did not always speak with one voice as to how the new hospitals were to be organised or were to function, but it would appear that an implicit consensus did emerge on how the new system of hospitals was to distinguish itself from its medieval precursors. First, the city-wide system was under public, lay management, which at least in theory would make abuses easier to detect and rectify, and which could demand public accountability of the managers--something rarely achievable under the old church-run institutions. Second, the individual hospitals were each to form a part of a larger whole, integrating their efforts and cooperating with one another to deal with the array of

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[4] Howes, "A Familiar and Friendly Discourse," p. 1; S.B.H., *The Order of the Hospital of St. Bartholomew's in West Smithfield in London* (London: 1552), A-7^{v}.

social problems faced by the City.[5] Each hospital offered a certain degree of specialisation. St. Bartholomew's and St. Thomas's treated general ailments; Christ's served as an orphanage and eventually as a school; Bridewell functioned as a house of correction and a centre of vocational training; and Bethlem was an asylum for the mentally ill. The range of complementary services these hospitals offered further indicated that City rulers sought a comprehensive approach to London's social problems. Attempts like these to be expansive and discriminating when tackling social problems typified the approach of many English city and town governing bodies in the middle years of the sixteenth century.[6]

1. St. Bartholomew's Hospital: 1544 - 1546

The re-constitution of St. Bartholomew's in Smithfield was the beginning step in setting up a system of secular, City-governed hospitals for the poor. In late June of 1544, when the king courted City leaders for assistance in underwriting his wars in France, Henry acknowledged that St. Bartholomew's was "now vacant and altogether destitute of a master and all fellows or brethren."[7] The king spoke of his desire that "the true works of piety and charity should not be abolished there, but rather fully restored and renewed according to the primitive pattern of their genuine sincerity, and the abuses of the foundation of the same hospital, in long lapse of time lamentably occurring," should be reformed. The refounded hospital, fully purged of its past excesses, would serve the City in a variety of ways, each corporal act of

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[5] Leonard, *The History of English Poor Relief*, pp. 38-39. Howes noted early efforts at cooperation among Christ's, St. Thomas's, and Bridewell: "...if any one of the three wanted, then the other two did supply the lack of that one, for so it was ordered from the beginning that the one should supply the others' lack...." Howes, "A Familiar and Friendly Discourse," pp. 74-75.

[6] Slack, "Social Policy and the Constraints of Government," p. 107.

[7] S.B.H., HC1/2000. A general subsidy had been levied in 1543, and in 1544 Londoners were forced to make the following extra contributions: £1,000 in prest for wheat, a levy of 500 men for France, a loan of £20,000 from the livery companies, and a further loan of £3,000 from the citizenry. In January 1545, a new demand would be issued for a benevolence. These heavy pecuniary demands coincided with a harvest failure, and not surprisingly, there were rumblings of dissent in London and a demonstrable increase in social criticisms by the reforming authors. Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, pp. 356-357; Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, pp. 147-148; *APC*, i, pp. 172-173.

mercy highly reflective of Christ's revelation that kindness rendered to the least of one's brothers is kindness done to Christ himself.[8]

St. Bartholomew's Hospital was to offer "comfort to the prisoners, shelter to the poor, visitation to the sick, food to the hungry, drink to the thirsty, clothes to the naked, and sepulture to the dead administered there, and that other works of piety be performed there to the glory of Almighty God and the common utility and happiness of our subjects."[9] The new foundation proposed by the king would be ruled by a master and four chaplains, all priests. The master and chaplains would comprise a corporate body: succession to the offices of master and chaplain was established in perpetuity, and the corporate body was accorded rights to receive or alienate lands for the sake of the hospital in the same manner that other hospitals in the kingdom were by custom permitted to do.[10] The chaplains would be chosen to serve either as vice-master, curate, hospitaller, or as the visitor of the prisoners in Newgate.[11]

The king granted the master and chaplains possession of the buildings, land, and holdings (including all bells, lead pipes, gardens, fishponds, as well as any vases, jewels, chattels, etc., remaining from the old foundation) within the precincts of the former hospital. The master of the hospital was also granted the privilege of admitting "the inferior officers and ministers" to offices within hospital; however, the crown reserved for itself discretionary rights to intervene in the selection of the master.[12]

Examination of further evidence suggests that the Charter of 1544 was at least to some extent acted upon. The document reached the hospital and was preserved in its archives;

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[8] S.B.H., HC1/2000; *Memoranda, References, and Documents Relating to the Royal Hospitals of the City of London, prepared and printed under the directions of the Committee of the Court of the Common Council appointed in relation to the said hospitals* (London: 1836; reprint 1863), no. 2: "Translation of Letters Patent containing the Grant and the Establishment of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, 23 June 1544," pp. 4-5; *LPFD*, xix, pt. 1, no. 80, p. 501.

[9] *Memoranda...Relating to the Royal Hospitals*, pp. 5-6.

[10] *Memoranda...Relating to the Royal Hospitals*, pp. 5-6.

[11] *Memoranda...Relating to the Royal Hospitals*, p. 5: William Turges, the king's chaplain, was named as first master of the restored St. Bartholomew's Hospital.

[12] *Memoranda...Relating to the Royal Hospitals*, pp. 6-7.

moreover, the Valuation Roll of 1546 does inform that while the hospital may in general have been run-down by 1546, it did still treat the poor. By 1546, there were forty-five beds within St. Bartholomew's, although apparently only between ten and twenty were maintained in a state of readiness to receive patients.[13]

A likely shortcoming in the king's scheme was the ill-defined nature of the *raison d'être* of the hospital: St. Bartholomew's seemed destined primarily as a shelter for the poor, rather than a place equipped to nurse and heal the sick.[14] Two further reasons may explain the inertia of municipal authorities in apparently not acting to see the hospital re-founded under these general terms: despite the pledge that the new hospital was "reformed of its [past] abuses," municipal authorities would still be effectively excluded from control over the administration of the hospital, and the grant offered inadequate sources of revenue by which a hospital meant to serve a sprawling, bustling urban area could sustain itself.[15]

Properties which had been held by the dissolved monastic foundation were not mentioned in the grant; those still held by the Crown would presumably remain in its possession. The City would not exercise any powers of patronage over the hospital, nor would it seem possible for urban politicians to exert much control over St. Bartholomew's clerical governors. Clearly, the king's proposals did not meet the concerns aldermen had been communicating since the time of the dissolutions, when they petitioned the king that the canons, priests, and monks presiding over the hospitals of London be replaced by physicians, surgeons, and apothecaries answerable to the City government.[16] The leaders of the City appear to have been content to await a more propitious moment when they could claim a secure hold over a St. Bartholomew's Hospital refounded in terms congenial to them.

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[13] S.B.H., HC3, mem. 17; S.B.H., HC19 [English translation of the former]; Moore, *History of St. Bartholomew's*, ii, pp. 249-257.

[14] Kerling, "Administration," p. 24.

[15] *LPFD*, xix, pt. 1, no. 80, p. 812.

[16] B.L., Cott. MS. Cleo., Eiv, fols. 262^{v}-263; *LPFD*, xiii, pt. 2, no. 492; Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, i, pt. 1, pp. 409-410; Kingdon, *Richard Grafton*, pp. 21, 25.

2. Negotiations between the Crown and City: 1546 - 1547

That moment came at the very end of Henry VIII's reign and in the early days of his son's rule, when the men exercising the powers of regency sought to accommodate the rulers of London. The goodwill and stability of the capital was essential to the ability of the Protectorate to rule. The restoration of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, and the reversion of most of its estates and properties from the crown to the hospital were an obvious way to placate City leaders, for whom the need to extend poor relief was a source of continuing concern.[17] A committee of four aldermen and eight common councillors was convened in 1545 to construct an agreement with the Crown regarding the proprietorship of the hospital, and in the next year the Valuation Roll of 1546, a survey of St. Bartholomew's Hospital and precincts, was completed.[18] A clear move forward was made in mid-April 1546, when Henry VIII provided a founding endowment of 500 marks worth of lands and tenements toward the revitalisation of St. Bartholomew's: the Corporation was in turn bound to match the king's donation with assurances of a total of 500 marks a year to underwrite expenses at both St. Bartholomew's and Bethlem.[19]

The City would soon find this promise hard to keep.[20] On 1 July 1546, under the leadership of the Lord Mayor, Sir Martin Bowes, the City negotiated the purchase of the lands and properties of the Hospital of St. Mary of Bethlem. Bowes signalled the type of enlightened and generous guidance that so many aldermen would demonstrate over the next decades in revitalising the hospitals, when he used £100 of his own funds to complete this negotiation.[21] The aldermanic council also cast its attention on the hospital of St. Bartholomew's. The hospi-

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[17] C.L.R.O., Journal xv, fol. 213^{v}.

[18] S.B.H., HC3; S.B.H., HC19; Kerling, "Administration," pp. 24-25.

[19] C.L.R.O., Journal xv, fol. 245; Kingdon, *Richard Grafton*, p. 29; *Parl. Papers, 1837*, xxxii, pt. 6, p. 128.

[20] C.L.R.O., Journal xv, fols. 325^{v}-326^{v}, 398-400.

[21] C.L.R.O., Rep. xi, fol. 271; S.B.H., HA1/1, fols. 70^{v}-71^{r}. For more on Bowes's philanthropy, see Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, ii, pt. 1, pp. 424-425.

tal was apparently under-utilised, and the constitution of 1544 would have hampered the City from taking an active stance in suggesting internal improvements. By early October of 1546, the council obviously anticipated that it would soon have some power over the hospital: it deferred making an answer on the question of appointment to the stewardship of Little St. Bartholomew's in Smithfield until such time as "the City shall be perfectly in possession of the said house...." Bowes also pledged on "the very good love that he beareth to this City" that he would press other aldermen and common councillors to see that the City's new conduit was completed, and that the project to re-found and refurbish St. Bartholomew's Hospital continued to thrive even after his term of office came to an end.[22]

In the final six months of Henry VIII's life, the City intensified its efforts to gain control over former monastic properties it considered useful. The Corporation of London formally petitioned the king for the possession of St. Bartholomew's Hospital on 10 December 1546.[23] The king responded with a deed of covenant between himself and the Corporation on 27 December 1546.[24] In this indenture, the king noted with pity the many sick men and women who littered the streets of London and its suburbs. The sick and poor of the capital were reduced to begging to relieve their want; concern was also expressed regarding the dangers and unseemly annoyances caused by so many beggars pleading with passersby, as well as the imminent risks of infection and the spread of "great sickness and horrible diseases" among the king's honest subjects.[25]

To ameliorate the problems of poverty and untended sickness so apparent within the City, the king proposed to transfer possession to the commonalty of "certain convenient places for the receipt, comfort, and lodging of the poor people."[26] First-listed among these sites was

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[22] C.L.R.O., Rep. xi, fol. 288.

[23] C.L.R.O., Journal xv, fols. 213^{v}, 317^{v}.

[24] S.B.H., HC1/2001; C.L.R.O., MS. 62.8; W.A.M., MS. 9344; *Memoranda...Relating to the Royal Hospitals*, pp. 8-19.

[25] *Memoranda...Relating to the Royal Hospitals*, pp. 8-9.

[26] C.L.R.O., Journal xv, fol. 245.

the House of the Grey Friars, including all lands and buildings within its former precincts. The City would hold several tenements that formerly belonged to the dissolved monastery, in addition to any lead, stone, iron, glass, timber, and other valuable commodities which had not been sold off or stolen in the years after the Dissolution.[27] The City was further given governance over St. Mary of Bethlem Hospital near Bishopsgate, with fiduciary powers over its lands, properties, and revenues; however, outright possession of the house apparently remained within the Crown's keeping.[28] The City's custodianship of Bethlem remained rather distant; contact between the other hospitals and Bethlem came chiefly through situations when the other hospitals would refer mentally distraught patients to Bethlem.[29] In 1557, responsibilities for management of the hospital passed from the governors of Christ's to the governors of Bridewell.[30]

The City would also receive St. Bartholomew's Hospital, plus the Church of Little St. Bartholomew's--now known as St. Bartholomew's the Less, to distinguish it from the former priory, and St. Bartholomew's Parish by the Exchange in the Broad Street Ward. The City gained any movable possessions that had remained within the old hospital's precincts, and whatever revenues might be derived from "all the mansions, parsonages, lands, tenements, rents, reversion, fines, pensions, portions, advowsons, knight's fees, profits, commodities, easements, and all other hereditaments and possessions, as well spiritual as temporal" of the old establishment.[31]

The Crown, however, reserved for itself certain messuages and tenements situated in the parish of St. Andrew in Holborn, Middlesex, a yearly payment of 35*s* from the rental of tene-

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[27] *Memoranda...Relating to the Royal Hospitals*, pp. 9-10.

[28] *Memoranda...Relating to the Royal Hospitals*, pp. 18-19.

[29] S.B.H., HA1/1, fol. 128.

[30] Patricia Allderidge, "Management and Mismanagement at Bedlam, 1547-1633," in *Health, Medicine, and Mortality in the Sixteenth Century*, Charles Webster, ed. (Cambridge: 1979), pp. 148-149.

[31] S.B.H., HC1/2002; *Memoranda...Relating to the Royal Hospitals*, pp. 10, 36-37. The parish church within the hospital precincts was named St. Bartholomew the Less in West Smithfield in London in the Letters Patent of 1547, in which it is stated that the church should be a parish church for the hospital "as it hath heretofore been." It had apparently served as "a parish church to the tenants dwelling in the precinct of the hospital" even after the suppression of the hospital. Stow, *Survey*, pp. 166, 334.

ments held by Sir Martin Bowes on Friday Street in London, and other tenement and land holdings in Essex and Middlesex. The City would also receive from the Crown possession of the parish churches of St. Nicholas Shambles (near the flesh markets) and St. Ewen within Newgate, together with their movable possessions and the tithes and offerings of their parishioners.[32] The City would hold the lands, tenements, messuages, and pensions which historically were those of either church. The parishes of St. Nicholas and St. Ewen were then pronounced redundant, and were incorporated into a new parish of Christ Church within Newgate, which would be situated within the site of the former Grey Friars. Christ Church within Newgate would also be granted possession of those lands, buildings, and houses of the parish of St. Sepulchre which lay within Newgate. The vicar of Christ Church was to be a priest "sufficiently learned, to declare, preach, and teach the word of God truly and sincerely to the common people." The vicar would be assisted by five other priests, in addition to another who would serve as visitor to the prisoners at Newgate.[33]

The hospital of St. Bartholomew's was established as a "place and house for the relief and sustentation of poor people, and shall be called the House of the Poor in West Smithfield in the suburbs of the City of London, of King Henry the Eighth's foundation." Little St. Bartholomew's Church, which lay within the hospital precincts, was designated the parish church for those who lived within the hospital precincts, as well as the officers, and employees of the new hospital. A vicar of Little St. Bartholomew's would "minister sacraments and sacramentalles, and...say and celebrate divine service to the poor people there and to the inhabitants within the precincts...." Another priest would serve as hospitaller, visiting and ministering to the poor inhabitants of the hospital.[34]

The mayor and commonalty were granted the rights of nomination and appointment of the clerics who served both Christ Church and Little St. Bartholomew's. These clerics were

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[32] *Memoranda...Relating to the Royal Hospitals*, pp. 10-11; Stow, *Survey*, p. 283.
[33] *Memoranda...Relating to the Royal Hospitals*, pp. 11-12.
[34] *Memoranda...Relating to the Royal Hospitals*, pp. 12-13.

also granted perpetual exemption from any future claims on first fruits and tenths.[35] The Corporation had full powers to expel any cleric who was derelict in his duties, openly disobedient, or given to unlawful or immoral conduct.[36] In return, the Corporation was obliged to provide annuities and dwellings for the vicars and other priests of both parishes, as well as two sextons and one clerk at Christ Church, and one sexton and one clerk at Little St. Bartholomew's.[37]

The new Hospital of St. Bartholomew was to accommodate one hundred poor men and women, who were to be attended by one matron with twelve women under her. Other hospital offices created by the Indenture of 1546 and placed under the direction of the City leaders were those of a steward, responsible for provisions for the poor, a receiver and collector of rents, revenues, and gifts to the hospital, a porter, butler, and cook.[38] The City was also charged with appointing eight persons to serve as beadles: they would "bring to the late said hospital...such poor sick aged and impotent people as shall be found going abroad in the City of London and the suburbs of the same not having wherewith to be sustained, and to expulse and avoid such valiant and sturdy vagabonds and beggars as they shall find daily" within London and the surrounding areas.[39]

Most important to the welfare of the people being cared for in the hospital, the City was also commissioned to "find perpetually one person sufficiently learned in the science of physic, and one other person having sufficient knowledge in surgery, to be continually attendant upon the sick and sore people at the said late hospital..., and to minister to them from time to time such as things shall be needful and necessary for their sicknesses and diseases." Both the physician and surgeon would receive an annual stipend of £20.[40] The City government would be responsible for meeting the costs of all apothecary goods and equipments required by either

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[35] *Memoranda...Relating to the Royal Hospitals*, p. 13.
[36] *Memoranda...Relating to the Royal Hospitals*, pp. 13-14.
[37] *Memoranda...Relating to the Royal Hospitals*, pp. 14-15.
[38] *Memoranda...Relating to the Royal Hospitals*, pp. 15-16.
[39] *Memoranda...Relating to the Royal Hospitals*, pp. 16-17.
[40] *Memoranda...Relating to the Royal Hospitals*, pp. 16-17.

the physician or surgeon "for the making of salves and all other things touching...the help or healing of the said poor sick and impotent people."[41]

The Corporation of London, then, would be solely responsible for the costs of administering and maintaining the hospital. The Crown acknowledged that these expenses could prove burdensome, and therefore permitted the hospital be exempted from the restrictions of the laws of mortmain by being authorised to receive or purchase manors, lands, tenements, tithes, rents, etc., to the yearly value of 1,000 marks over and above the lands and properties already enumerated in the covenant between the king and the City.[42] The City was bound, however, to use any of these gifts or purchases "wholly...to the relief and sustentation of the poor" of St. Bartholomew's Hospital.[43] The Indenture of 1546 was concluded with the assurances of the king that he and his successors would continue to initiate, support, or promote any pieces of legislation which were aimed at strengthening the hospitals of St. Bartholomew and Bethlem, and the newly created parishes of Christ Church within Newgate and Little St. Bartholomew's.[44]

The Indenture of December 1546 placed at the disposal of the City government substantial concessions, properties, and resources with which to combat poverty and the tragedy of illness. By the beginning of January 1547, however, political uncertainty loomed. As the king's life drew rapidly to a close in late December 1546, the Corporation was no doubt eager to have its possessions confirmed before the reign ended. And at the same time, men of ambition at court--"the wolves of the world"-- began a frenzied struggle for positions in the next reign, and sought to attract the support they deemed crucial to uphold their places within the emerging political order.[45] One direct and effective way of winning some sympathies for their

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[41] *Memoranda...Relating to the Royal Hospitals*, p. 17.
[42] *Memoranda...Relating to the Royal Hospitals*, p. 17.
[43] *Memoranda...Relating to the Royal Hospitals*, pp. 17-18.
[44] *Memoranda...Relating to the Royal Hospitals*, p. 19.
[45] P.R.O., SP1/225, fols. 202-203; Bush, *The Government Policy of Protector Somerset*, p. 61; Davies, "Slavery and the Protector Somerset," pp. 543-544.

political advancement from the rulers of London was to champion the cause of those who aspired to secure permanent, substantial facilities for urban poor relief. Seeing the hospital placed in the hand of City rulers, and beyond the control of the Church, would also have been congruent with the broader aims of social and religious reformation of the realm eventually enunciated by Somerset and his advisers in the next reign.[46]

The Letters Patent of 13 January 1547 represented the second stage of negotiations between royal officials and the governors of the City. City leaders may well have suspected that political instability might be inescapable in the reign of a juvenile king, and would have been grateful to have the transfers of lands, chattels, and properties formalised as quickly as possible. Given the murky political gambits of the two court factions as they positioned themselves for power after the demise of Henry, questions have arisen concerning the use of the king's dry stamp. The dry stamp was in the control of Anthony Denny, who was himself allied with Hertford, Paget, and Dudley. By mid-January 1547, the dry stamp was used to validate all letters patent. While this practice arose from the need to proceed with important state business during the period of Henry's incapacity, it was a system open to abuse. By mid-January, the strong force of Henry's personality and sharp eye was missing, and the controlling group of Denny, Paget, and Hertford may have used the opportunity to make changes in the king's last will, which had been drawn up around Christmas 1546.

The manipulation of Henry VIII's last will remains a subject of scrutiny; several historians have harboured suspicions over the propriety of how the dry stamp was applied to the king's will. In addition, Dr. Susan Brigden has suggested that the same group of courtiers may have manipulated the grant for St. Bartholomew's and Bethlem in favour of the City.[47] Their actions would presumably have been calculated to attract the support of the leaders of London in the power struggles they foresaw in the time of transition between Henry's and

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[46] Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, pp. 458, 488; *LPFD*, xxi, pt. 2, no. 698, p. 366.
[47] Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, pp. 458, 488.

Edward's reigns. This would have been consistent with their frantic barrage of promises of land and titles to magnates and politicians who would in turn throw them support in subverting the king's will and gaining ascendancy in the next reign.[48] Dr. Brigden further posits that they may also have been activated by a "grand vision of the Christian commonwealth" which they looked forward to building.[49]

These are intriguing and plausible suggestions; however, no conclusive evidence can really support this. There is no reason to conclude, for instance, that the use of the dry stamp on the Letters Patent of 13 January 1547 was a deviation from standard operating procedures regarding the royal signatures on warrants or grants. Items requiring the king's written consent were, in the last years of Henry's life, routinely stamped rather than signed. Neither can it be argued that the City's proprietorship over the hospitals was set to appreciably better advantage in the Letters Patent than had been secured in the Indenture of the previous month.

If the Letters Patent for the City hospitals are regarded as a detailed ratification of the original Indenture of December 1546, it likewise becomes more difficult to read into the Letters Patent nascent signs of the altruism of the Seymour cabal. Nor can the terms of the Letters Patent be construed as a presage of the ideals of those keen to exhibit a new attitude of generosity and support for the poor. The incoming Edwardian power elite would certainly have been sympathetic with the aim of putting at the City's disposal the means to combat poverty and illness, and they were happy to win the friendship of the rulers of London. However, no evidence exists to suggest that they had been directly active in formulating the terms of the Letters Patent of January 1547. If, as would seem likely, Henry VIII was by mid-January no longer so active as to be involved in the final endorsement of the Letters

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[48] See, for example, Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, ii, pt. 2, p. 430.
[49] Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, pp. 458, 488.

Patent, leaders of the City would have felt relief and gratitude that royal assent, in whatever form it took, was not further delayed.[50]

The Letters Patent assured the City of its hold on the former Grey Friars and the Bethlem and St. Bartholomew's hospitals and their attendant properties in a timely fashion, but the terms of the covenant between Crown and City did not change dramatically in the City's favour in the documents of January 1547. In fact, the City soon found the terms stipulated in 1547 onerous, and would repeatedly petition Somerset personally to redress their grievances.[51] It was perhaps in this last sense that the City benefited most directly from the attitudes of the Protectorate. Instead of having to deal with a king who had the power and security to be intransigent or grudging to the rulers of his chief city in coming to terms on the arrangement of the hospitals' project, the aldermen would find their position somewhat strengthened by a regency that saw at least the occasional need to give semblance of being the "loving friend" to the Corporation.[52]

The Patent of 1547 confirmed the grant to the City of the Hospital of St. Bartholomew's, Bethlem Hospital, and the property of the Grey Friars.[53] Apart from the site of the Grey Friars and the lands of St. Nicholas and St. Ewen, all the properties granted to the City had formerly belonged to the monastic Hospital of St. Bartholomew. The grant also laid out in great detail the tenements, movable goods, appurtenances, and messuages which would also be given over to the City, as the Covenant of December 1546 had pledged to do. Predictably, the

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[50] For debate about the jettisoned will of Henry VIII, and the coup led by the earl of Hertford, see E.W. Ives, "Henry VIII's Will: A Forensic Conundrum," in *HJ*, 35, 4 (1992), pp. 779-804; Dale E. Hoak, *The King's Council in the Reign of Edward VI* (Cambridge: 1976), pp. 40-42; David Loades, *The Mid-Tudor Crisis, 1545-1565* (London: 1992), pp. 27-28; David Starkey, *Henry VIII, Personality and Politics* (London: 1985), pp. 150-155; Helen Miller, "Henry VIII's Unwritten Will: Grants of Lands and Honours in 1547," in *Wealth and Power in Tudor England: Essays Presented to S.T. Bindoff*, E.W. Ives, R.J. Knecht, J.J. Scarisbrick, eds. (London: 1978), pp. 87-95; Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, pp. 458, 488.

[51] C.L.R.O., Rep. xii, fols. 18^{v}, 57^{v}; C.L.R.O., Journal xvi, fol. 26^{v}.

[52] C.L.R.O., Journal xvi, fol. 26^{v}.

[53] S.B.H., HC1/2002; *Memoranda...Relating to the Royal Hospitals*, pp. 20-21, 43-44; C.L.R.O., Misc. MS. 61.8, fol. 1; W.A.M., MS. 9344, items 1 and 2; Stow, *Survey*, p. 285; *LPFD*, xxi, pt. 2, no. 698, p. 366, no. 771, item 14, pp. 414-417.

highest concentration of tenements and messuages held by the City for St. Bartholomew's Hospital was in the area of West Smithfield and in the vicinity of the parish of St. Sepulchre. *In toto*, the City gained holdings in more than thirty inner-city parishes.[54] Land and property belongings of the Hospital--including farm- and pasture-lands--outside London were most numerous in the nearby counties of Middlesex and Essex, with lesser holdings in Buckinghamshire, Northamptonshire, Somerset, Oxfordshire, and Hertfordshire.[55] The Crown reserved for itself certain assets and properties in London, Middlesex, and Essex; these were the only properties of the old hospital which were not transmitted to the new foundation.[56] The clear yearly value of the lands, holdings, tithes, and revenues, including those of the defunct parishes of St. Nicholas and St. Ewen and the parts of St. Sepulchre now enjoined to Christ Church, was "extended" to £380 4*s* 2*d*.[57]

Thomas Birkhead, clerk, was appointed "first, original, and modern vicar" of Christ Church parish, and Thomas Hickling, clerk, the same for St. Bartholomew's the Less. After the death or deprivation of these two vicars, the Corporation would enjoy full and perpetual rights of advowson, nomination, presentation, and patronage. The City was instructed to endow each vicarage with a mansion-house and assure yearly remunerations for the incumbent.[58] The Corporation received similar powers of advancement or removal over the visitor of Newgate, the five priests within Christ Church, the hospitaller (or housekeeper) of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, and all subordinate officers and ministers there and in St. Bartholomew the Less Church.[59] The privilege of exemption from the statutes of mortmain

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[54] *Memoranda...Relating to the Royal Hospitals*, pp. 19, 20-28.

[55] *Memoranda...Relating to the Royal Hospitals*, pp. 28-31.

[56] *Memoranda...Relating to the Royal Hospitals*, p. 31; C.L.R.O, Misc. MS. 61.8, fol. 27.

[57] *Memoranda...Relating to the Royal Hospitals*, pp. 33-34.

[58] C.L.R.O., Misc. MS. 61.8, fol. 44; *Memoranda...Relating to the Royal Hospitals*, pp. 38-42. The vicar of Christ Church would receive a stipend of £26 13*s* 4*d p.a.*; the annuity of the vicar of St. Bartholomew the Less was fixed at £13 6*s* 8*d*.

[59] *Memoranda...Relating to the Royal Hospitals*, pp. 42-43; C.L.R.O., Misc. MS. 61.8, fols. 52-53.

was reiterated: the hospital could purchase or be given manors, lands, tithes, possessions, etc., to the clear yearly value of one thousand marks.[60]

Possession of St. Bartholomew's Hospital by the City marked a significant first step in London's attempts to modernise both its methods and instruments used in staunching urban poverty and reducing the suffering of the poor. The fight of hospital governors, officers, and staff against illness and the problems which followed poverty and dislocation was experimental: there were no nearby models to which they could look for study or guidance. The methods they used were at times innovative, and at times improvisational, as from the beginning, resources were not plentiful.[61] The intimate involvement of a segment of the leadership of the City in the government of St. Bartholomew's, and later of the other hospitals of London, would over the course of time come to assume a fuller role in the politics of stability, particularly as practiced in the Elizabethan period. For players in City politics, volunteering to serve in the government of one of the hospitals was a recognised path of career-advancement in the age of participatory paternalism: indeed, it became a part of the City's *cursus honorum*.[62] As such, then, St. Bartholomew's proved to be the earliest training-ground for the future expansion and governance of all the civic urban hospitals; the confidence and experience gained there facilitated the development of the rest of the system.

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[60] *Memoranda...Relating to the Royal Hospitals*, pp. 44-45; C.L.R.O., Misc. MS. 61.8, fols. 56-58.

[61] S.B.H., *Order...of St. Bartholomew's*, F2.

[62] I thank Dr. Margaret Pelling and Dr. Vanessa Harding for clarifying this point. See Frank Freeman Foster, "Politics and Community in Elizabethan London," in *The Rich, the Well Born, and the Powerful: Elites and Upper Classes in History*, Frederic Cople Jaher, ed. (Urbana, Illinois: 1973), pp. 110-138; Foster, *Politics of Stability*, *e.g.*, p. 74; Archer, *Pursuit of Stability*.

CHAPTER VI

SAINT BARTHOLOMEW'S HOSPITAL 1547 - 1572

1. St. Bartholomew's and the City: 1547 - 1552

The announcement of the king's gift of St. Bartholomew's and Bethlem to London was made during a public sermon at Paul's Cross, on 13 January 1547, by Nicholas Ridley, bishop of Rochester.[1] The City had wasted no time in broadcasting news of the conveyance, and used as its spokesman a cleric sympathetic and closely allied to the cause of the reformers. Ridley gave an early indication of why he would soon become an instrumental proponent of the causes of the poor and the promotion of the reformed faith. It was then most appropriate that Ridley should have made the announcement of the transfer of the hospital to the government of London, for his eloquent homilies were noted for their capacity for swaying the large crowds which "swarm[ed] about him like bees...coveting the sweet flowers wholesome juices of the fruitful doctrine, which he did not only preach, but showed the same by his life, as a glittering lantern to the eyes and senses of the blind...."[2] Ridley, soon to replace the conservative Edmund Bonner as bishop of London, would play a highly visible and active role over the next six years in prodding the youthful, impressionable king and the citizenry to nurture the City's new hospitals.

The initial burden of opening the hospitals, and preparing them for use, occupied the attention of City officials for the next year. Throughout this period, Sir Martin Bowes, goldsmith and under-treasurer of the Tower mint, galvanized City efforts to find the funding called for in earlier negotiations with the Crown.[3] Bowes himself also set the example of per-

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[1] Stow, *Survey*, pp. 334-335; *LPFD*, xxi, pt. 2, no. 698, p. 366.

[2] Fox, *Acts and Monuments*, vii, p. 407; Knappen, *Tudor Puritanism*, pp. 84-85.

[3] Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, ii, pt. 1, pp. 424-425; Alfred B. Beaven, *The Aldermen of the City of London, temp. Henry III - 1912, with notes on the Parliamentary Representation of the City, the Aldermen, and the Livery Companies, The Aldermanic Veto, Aldermanic Baronets and Knights, etc.*, 2 vols. (London: 1913), ii, p. 29; *DNB*, ii, pp. 967-968; Herbert, *Livery Companies*, ii, pp. 143, 247.

sonal generosity and commitment to the project by expending his own funds in the prolonged process of ironing out the covenants between the Crown and the City. His lengthy involvement with the development of London's network of hospitals may have sprung from an earlier interest in continental schemes which involved the mercantile class in fraternities which furthered the causes of the urban poor.[4]

In the early years of the new hospitals, those who served as hospital officials would often provide 'seed-money' to begin a hospital-related project, hoping that their own good example would activate the generosity of the citizenry. The Lord Mayors and their brethren also made combined, customary donations.[5] Governors offered their services gratis, and since the St. Bartholomew's and the hospitals that followed "organized...and promoted themselves as charities," the rulers were usually also subscribers.[6] Depending on the amount of money in question, and the resources of the particular aldermen or common councillors affiliated with the hospital, the sum might be tendered as a gift or merely a long-term loan.[7] Family members of City rulers also assisted. Lady Judd, wife of Sir Andrew, the incumbent Lord Mayor, died in 1550. She left instructions that St. Bartholomew's receive forty gowns "for poor men and women of St. Bartholomew's Hospital," as well as other sets of apparel for every City parish.[8] Small bequests to the poor of individual parishes, or those who lived within specific wards, as well as those housed in the hospitals, were commonly designated for the "poor men's box" throughout the Edwardian period.[9]

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[4] C.L.R.O., Rep. xi, fol. 322. Bowes had previously proposed a "brotherhood of the poor," perhaps modeled after similiar schemes in Venice: Slack, "Social Policy and Constraints of Government," p. 110.

[5] S.B.H., HA1/1, fol. 219^{v}; HB1/1, fol. 428^{v}; HB1/2, fol. 80^{v}.

[6] Jonathan Andrews, "'Hardly a Hospital, but a Charity for Pauper Lunatics'? Therapeutics at Bethlem in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," in *Medicine and Charity before the Welfare State*, Jonathan Barry and Colin Jones, eds. (London and New York: 1991), p. 64.

[7] G.L., MS. 12812/1, fols. 1-2; Howes, "A Familiar and Friendly Discourse," pp. 23-24; P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 38/9, fol. 121^{r-v}; C.L.R.O., Rep. xv, fol. 1; C.L.R.O., Research Paper Box S.24.

[8] Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, ii, p. 44; Machyn, *Diary*, p. 2. The records of the hospital list only thirty gowns: S.B.H., HA1/1, fol. 9^{v}.

[9] G.L., MS. 9172/1b, fols. 70, 99, 120, 133, 161; MS. 9172/2a, fols. 7, 114; MS. 9172/2b, fol. 2.

Bowes also made allowances for gratuities or fees to those who wrote, engrossed, and drafted the indentures and letters patent, and gratuities of £8 to the Chancellor of the Augmentations "for reward to be given to the king's learned council for their pains taken in overseeing the grant and the indentures between the king and the City," an official of the Hanaper, and £3 to Anthony Stringer "for his pains in getting the bill [of indenture] signed."[10] In all, Bowes would eventually ask for remittance of some thirteen payments he had made to facilitate the re-opening of the hospital.[11]

The City lost little time in taking possession of the hospital and church properties. In late December, 1546, a commission whose membership included Bowes, Sir Ralph Warren, and Sir Rowland Hill was convened to receive St. Bartholomew the Less into City hands.[12] Shortly thereafter, on 3 January 1547, Christ Church was opened for its first public service as a parish church, and Mass was celebrated "with divers priests."[13] The church of the former Grey Friars had been built between 1225 and 1337, and had been consecrated in 1325: it stood 300 feet in length, 89 feet in breadth, and 64 feet and 2 inches in height.[14] In the north part of the cloister, Richard Whittington had constructed a "beautiful library...[of] hard stone."[15]

By 1547, certain areas of the complex apparently required some renovations, for upon the surrender of the order on 12 November 1538, the king had taken "the [Grey Friars'] ornaments and goods...[for his own] use."[16] For much of the first half of the 1540s, the church stood vacant. Before Christmas, 1544, Grey Friars' withstood the indignity of serving as a storehouse--or more accurately a wine-cellar--for liquid plunder taken from enemy ships in the

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[10] S.B.H., HB1/1, fols. 2^{v}-3^{r}.

[11] These payments would amount to more than £60, not including monies paid salaries to five hospital beadles and annuities to the former parsons of St. Nicholas and St. Ewen, for which Bowes would issue claims to the hospital. S.B.H., HB1/1, fols. 2^{r}-4^{v}.

[12] *LPFD*, xxi, pt. 2, no. 47, p. 341.

[13] *Grey Friars' Chronicle*, p. 53.

[14] Stow, *Survey*, pp. 283-284; *Grey Friars' Chronicle*, p. 3; Grafton, *Chronicle*, i, p. 185.

[15] This was built in the early part of the fifteenth century. Grafton, *Chronicle*, i, pp. 499-500.

[16] At the suppression, it was valued at £32 19*s*. Stow, *Survey*, pp. 283-284.

French wars.[17] Yet by the middle of 1547, the governors of St. Bartholomew's Hospital were overseeing the complete cleaning and restoration of Christ Church, and were outfitting it with an almsbox, presumably in which its new parishioners would make donations that would help support, *inter alia*, St. Bartholomew's Hospital.[18]

Christ Church was soon to suffer more depredations, though. As the first spate of officially-countenanced iconoclasm commenced in the autumn of 1547, much of the ancient beauty of the church was forever obliterated: "at this same time was pulled up all the tombs, great stones, all the altars, with the stalls and walls of the choir and the altars in the church that was some time [called] the Grey Friars, and sold, and the choir was made smaller."[19] Some of these goods, considered superfluous church items which promoted superstition and idolatry, were sold by Sir Martin Bowes for about £50.[20]

Control over the new parish was maintained by the governors of St. Bartholomew's, as was evident in late November 1550, when "the preachers of the French nation with their audience" were permitted to use Christ Church for worship while they waited for a resolution to the controversy surrounding Edward VI's July 1550 gift of the former Austin Priory to strangers within London.[21] Maintaining Christ Church in good order remained the obligation of the governors of St. Bartholomew's. They would deal with its business concerns, evict refractory tenants, handle problems like a collapsed roof, and compensate its curates who took "pains in preaching the Word of God."[22] In 1553, the Common Council consented to have part of the City wall removed between the Hospital and Christ Church, so that a door would

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[17] Stow, *Survey*, p. 285; *Grey Friars' Chronicle*, p. 48.

[18] S.B.H., HB1/1, fols. 3^{v}-4^{v}.

[19] *Grey Friars' Chronicle*, p. 54; Stow, *Survey*, p. 285.

[20] Stow, *Survey*, p. 288; P.R.O., SP10/8/9. From the time of Bowes' tenure as hospital treasurer until December 1548, the hospital earned £214 6*s* from the sale of "certain stones, organ pipes, bell metal, and such like, sold at sundry times." S.B.H., HB1/1, fol. 1^{v}.

[21] The French were permitted to conduct their services until "Christmas due next, and keep their usual times of preaching...upon condition that if they do any hurt or damage to the same, that there they shall make recompense for the same." S.B.H., HA1/1, fol. 9^{v}.

[22] S.B.H., HA1/1, fols. 18^{v}, 19^{r}, 33^{r}, 43^{r}.

provide "meet passage" for the hospital's governors.[23] Christ Church buried some of its dead in the graveyard of Little St. Bartholomew's; this practice was discontinued in August 1555, "because there is no more room to bury for Little St. Bartholomew's."[24]

The most immediate concern of the City, once it had assumed oversight of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, was to provide the means to fund its restoration and operations. There was a certain makeshift quality detectable in the earliest recorded transactions of the hospital: in 1549, the matron received eight old albs and a wall lamp "to hang in out of the ward of the poor."[25] Some of the landed endowments provided by the king had suffered years of neglect, or had been rented out too cheaply; the hospital consequently had difficulty in maintaining itself.[26] It would take time and attention on the part of the governors for the lands of the hospitals to bring in their proper revenues. The records of the house, like those of the other hospitals, show that questions regarding the land holdings of St. Bartholomew's consumed a good deal of the time of the regular meetings. Among the early records of profits for St. Bartholomew's from outside properties and concerns are listings among the Chantry Certificates of 1548 for quitrents from the tenements in St. Michael Cornhill, which maintained the chaplain of the Fraternity of St. Anne and Our Lady.[27]

In time, the hospital accumulated more property in a variety of ways. As the reputation of the hospital spread, prominent figures in the City left land to help the house support the poor. Less frequently, the City government was able to direct aid to St. Bartholomew's. At the discretion of the Lord Mayor and the Corporation, St. Bartholomew's realised annuities of £5 each from the Guildhall Library and London Bridge.[28] According to a ruling of the Common Council in October 1552, St. Bartholomew's also gained profits from a second rent,

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[23] C.L.R.O., Journal xvi, fol. 203.
[24] S.B.H., HA1/1, fols. 124^{r}, 126^{v}.
[25] S.B.H., HA1/1, fol. 2.
[26] S.B.H., *Order...of St. Bartholomew's*, A3-3^{v}; *Parl. Papers, 1837*, xxxii, pt. 6, p. 7.
[27] PRO, E301/34, m. 3^{d}; Kitching, *London and Middlesex Chantry Certificates*, pp. 7, 16, 46.
[28] S.B.H., HB1/1, fol. 80.

which was a penalty the City levied on tenants who had allowed their houses to be taken over by "idle suspect persons," or on those who had let their property become "alleys."[29] In April 1551, Robert Chersey, mercer and alderman of the ward of Farringdon Within, "gave over his cloak." As part of the terms of his abdication of public office, he "gave a house to the poor of the Hospital of St. Bartholomew's for the maintenance of the poor, of the value of £10 *per annum*."[30]

An early, important project of the governors was the building of new tenements within the defunct parish of St. Nicholas Shambles. The hospital received financial assistance in this project from both the City Chamber and the generosity of citizens like Sir Rowland Hill.[31] The undertaking was intended to supplement the long-term revenues of the house. Between 1551 and 1553, much of the business which occupied the governors in their regular meetings dealt with renegotiating the leases of tenants living inside the precincts of St. Nicholas Shambles, and supervising the construction of fourteen new houses there; other tenements were built there in 1568.[32] The houses were built on the site of St. Nicholas Church, which was torn down by the hospital.[33] The houses were explicitly constructed to house the poor of the hospital. This provides an early indication that patients were beginning to overflow onto hospital-owned properties. Later, tenants who took in sick people received rebates in their rents.[34] In the late 1560s and early 1570s, for example, the hospital also ordered a carpenter in Thames Street to make belated repairs to his "houses wherein the poor folk dwell."[35]

Expenses were heavy, and mounted even before the hospital could take in its first patient. The reality of the infiltration of the poor from the provinces into London dictated that the hospital treated not just the City's native-born "poor and afflicted, but...all other sore and

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[29] C.L.R.O., Journal, xvi, fol. 127; Pelling, "Appearance and Reality," pp. 87-88.
[30] Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, ii, p. 47; Jordan, *Charities of London*, p. 383, note 45.
[31] S.B.H., HA1/1, fol. 58; HB1/1, fol. 190^{v}.
[32] Stow, *Survey*, p. 283; S.B.H., HA1/1, fols. 35^{r}, 44^{r}, 45^{v}, 49^{r}; HA1/2, fol. 16.
[33] Stow, *Survey*, p. 283.
[34] S.B.H., HB1/1, fols. 164-167; Pelling, "Appearance and Reality," p. 97.
[35] S.B.H., HA1/2, fols. 17^{v}, 26$^{(b)}$.

diseased, which daily out of all quarters of the realm resort to the City (as in to a common receipt and refuge of their misery.)"[36] When the governors composed the *Order of the Hospital* in 1552, they recalled that at the time immediately following the refoundation, St. Bartholomew's was completely unequipped to care for the one hundred poor stipulated in the Indenture. In fact, the hospital was "found [to be] so much out of household implements and stuff towards the succouring of this hundred poor, as sufficed three or four harlots, then lying in childbed, and no more."[37]

The governors also felt hampered by some of the terms of the refoundation. As first treasurer of the hospital in 1547, Bowes would use his connections at court to ensure that a commission headed by the Lord Mayor and the Chief Baron of the Exchequer would "enter into the spytal and [work] for the reformation of the same."[38] In August 1547, Somerset and Richard Rich reviewed the complaints of the Corporation regarding St. Bartholomew's obligation to pay the "fees and wages [of] stipendary priests and other superfluous officers."[39] Somerset promised to petition Edward VI and convince the king that the commonalty should have leeway to "transpose, alter, and change the said number of priests, and all other officers and things which shall be thought by them not necessary for the ministering of the said hospital...for the better sustentation and comfort of the diseased and impotent persons within the said hospital."[40] The City was not completely satisfied with these promises, however. Some five years later, the rulers of the hospital were still agitating for dispensations from some of the terms of the refoundation documents: Thomas White and Richard Grafton were among the committee members of the hospital that sought the right to alienate lands "and alter such superstitious charges as by the same foundation this house is burdened with."[41]

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[36] S.B.H., *Order...of St. Bartholomew's*, A4.
[37] S.B.H., *Order...of St. Bartholomew's*, A3^{v}.
[38] S.B.H., HB1/1, fols. 2^{v}-3^{r}.
[39] Thomas Vicary, *The Anatomie of the Bodie of Man*, F.J. Furnivall and P. Furnivall, eds. (*E.E.T.S.*, extra series, liii, 1888), pp. 291-292.
[40] C.L.R.O., Journal, xvi, fol. 26^{v}.
[41] S.B.H., HA1/1, fol. 27^{v}.

The first method originated mainly by Bowes and used to augment the revenues at St. Bartholomew's was for civic officials to call upon the citizens in their parishes, and request that they devote some of their weekly donations to the new house of the poor.[42] These efforts were one part of a larger endeavour on the part of Edward VI's government to prompt all citizens of the realm to live in peace with one another, obedient to the king and his ministers, without stinting in charity to those in need.[43] Yet reformers queried aloud how the charity of the laity could be expanded when the church itself was failing to act as trustee to the poor: "...the goods of the church are called the goods of the poor, and at these days nothing is less seen than the poor to be sustained by the same...."[44]

Officials of state and church were expected to set an example in satisfying the wants of the poor: inquests, like the royal visitation of 1547, were designed to witness whether clerics were residents in their benefices, and whether they kept due hospitality, "and if they be absent or keep no hospitality, whether they do make due distribution amongst the poor parishioners or not."[45] Watch would be initiated to see that clerics kept and performed "all such doles and distributions to the poor, and other deeds of charity, as they are bound by their foundations so to do."[46] Anyone holding a benefice worth more that £20 a year, and who was not in residence, was ordered to remit "a fortieth portion of their stipend for the use of the poor of the parish.[47]

With a church intent on purging itself of the corruptions of the past, reformers could, with assured moral authority, make pleas for increased almsgiving among parishioners. This Bishop Ridley did in 1550, when he promulgated an injunction marking his initial visitation over his see of London. Ministers were instructed that "...immediately after the offertory, in

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[42] C.L.R.O., Rep. xi, fols. 353^{r}, 358^{v}; C.L.R.O., Journal xv, fol. 325^{v}; Slack, "Social Policy and Constraints of Government," p. 113.

[43] *Visitation Articles*, item 31, ii, p. 107.

[44] *Visitation Articles*, item 14, ii, p. 121.

[45] *Visitation Articles*, item 24, ii, p. 106.

[46] *Visitation Articles*, item 72, ii, p. 113.

[47] *Visitation Articles*, item 14, ii, p. 121.

the time of communion...[they should] admonish the communicants, saying these or such like words; 'That now was the time, if it pleaseth them, to remember the poor man's chest.'"[48] Here were reminders of the plight of the poverty-stricken poised at the most mystical passage of divine service: the reformed liturgy stressed the links between the suffering of Christ on the cross and the poor. For St. Bartholomew's Hospital, as later with the other hospitals of London, the potency of clerical calls reaffirming Christian duties of charity would bolster the hospitals' own straitened finances, for they shared in what was deposited in the parochial common-boxes for the poor.[49]

Another portion of the hospital's earliest receipts came from ward collections. The Treasurers' Accounts at St. Bartholomew's record at least ten ward benevolence payments made between July and November, 1547, totaling some £88 4*s*.[50] It was apparent that reliance upon ward benevolences would not suffice to meet the extraordinary expenses of the hospital.

Aldermanic concerns over hospital revenues persisted throughout its first year of operation. A sub-committee headed by Sir Martin Bowes was directed to study the annual income of the hospitals and the expenses for which it would be responsible, perhaps in part to prepare the case the City would eventually mount detailing the need to make alterations in the provisions made by Henry VIII.[51] The aldermanic council also monitored the transferal of lands authorised in the charter between the Crown and the City.[52] The City recognised the necessity of broadening the bases of financial support for St. Bartholomew's: voluntary contributions were not yet substantial enough to supplement the hospital's sources of assured income adequately.

Within the first year of its new existence, the hospital listed £237 10*s* in bequests: this figure was made up of twelve bequests, including three grants for £20 each, one for £40, and

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[48] *Visitation Articles*, ii, p. 244; Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, ii, pt. 1, pp. 400-401.

[49] S.B.H., HB1/1, fols. 9-10; C.L.R.O., Journal xv, fol. 325^{v}; Howes, "A Familiar and Friendly Discourse," p. 25; see also B.L., Lansdowne MS. 6, fol. 156^{v}.

[50] S.B.H., HB1/1, fols. 8-9.

[51] C.L.R.O., Rep. xi, fol. 325^{v}.

[52] C.L.R.O., Rep. xi, fol. 365.

another from William Merry for £100 "to the use of the poor."[53] Gifts made to the hospital, usually through an alderman or company official, accounted for £54 11*s* 7*d* of the first year's receipts. Of the fourteen earliest benefactors of the refounded hospital, two gifts were from those "that would not be named," another was 40*s* "from the queen's [Catherine Parr] grace," two were from men who wished to help specific inmates of the hospital, and one was a small sum--3*s* 3*d*--from a widow, a "gift to the poor" that would be repeated often over the next few decades by many with but small means.[54] Bequests and gifts that accounted for nearly £300 of the income of the hospital in its first, uncertain year were clearly not negligible: they bore witness to the recognition of Londoners that St. Bartholomew's was fulfilling--or would soon fulfill--an important role in maintaining decorum, order, and civility within the City. Nonetheless, the City needed to devise a more regular, systematic method ensuring broad-based financial support of the hospital.

For this reason, the rulers of the City engineered a compulsory poor rate, the first of its kind in the history of London.[55] This levy was inaugurated at Michaelmas 1547, with the intent that "the citizens and inhabitants...[would] further contribute and pay towards the sustentation, maintenance, and funding of the said poor personages...the moiety or half deal of one whole fifteenth."[56] The weekly "collections of the devotions of the people for that intent and purpose" were canceled.[57] The half-fifteenth was to be organised by common councillors, who would go before assemblies of the inhabitants of the various wards, and with the king's authority give instructions that "certain honest, discreet, and sad persons within the several parishes" be elected to oversee the assessments. Collectors would also be appointed to "gather all the same sums of money" with dispatch. The aldermen George Barnes and Augustine

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[53] S.B.H., HB1/1, fols. 6-7.
[54] S.B.H., HB1/1, fols. 7*r-v*.
[55] *T.E.D.*, ii, pp. 305-306.
[56] C.L.R.O., Journal xv, fol. 325^{v}.
[57] C.L.R.O., Journal xv, fols. 325^{v}, 326^{r}.

Barnes were named High Collectors to receive ward collections.[58] By October 1548, twenty-five wards had brought in £298 5*s* 1*d* to the coffers of the hospital, accounting for slightly less than one-third of the hospital's total revenues for the tenure of Sir Andrew Judd as hospital treasurer.[59]

The half-fifteenth served, however, only as a temporary expedient. There were problems in the organisation of the funds, and the half-fifteenth was resented as an intrusive tax that still could not halt the danger and nuisance of public begging.[60] At times of particularly heavy local distress, the poor rate might be collected on a large scale, but during periods when a crisis had subsided, delinquency in collection and payment proved a persistent problem. Private giving was generally more substantial, but that too rose and fell with local situations, as was noted in the period during and after the outbreak of the sweating sickness in 1551, when approximately 1100 Londoners died between 7 and 30 July. At the peak of the illness, which could carry off its victims within twenty-four hours, charitable deeds rose to meet the urgent need, and then quickly declined soon after the tragedy had ended.[61]

By December 1548, the Corporation acknowledged that the assessments had caused great hardship and grief among the citizenry: they found the levy burdensome, and rate-payers "hath not a little grudged and repined."[62] Residents of wealthy areas beyond London were tapped for contributions to poor relief efforts in the capital, but the strain of dealing with the poor

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[58] C.L.R.O., Journal xv, fols. 326^{r-v}.

[59] The hospital revenues from 11 August 1547 to the Feast of Michaelmas 1548 were £1,028 4*d*. S.B.H., HB1/1, fols. 4^{v}, 10^{v}-12^{v}.

[60] Pound, *Poverty and Vagrancy*, p. 59; A.G.R. Smith, *The Government of Elizabethan England* (New York: 1967), pp. 73-81. The compulsory poor rate did foreshadow national legislation by twenty-five years. Rappaport, *Worlds Within Worlds*, p. 178.

[61] Grafton, *Chronicle*, ii, p. 525; Machyn, *Diary*, pp. 318-319; Edward VI, *Journal*, pp. 71, 91; C.L.R.O., Journal xvi, fol. 256^{v}; Palliser, *The Age of Elizabeth*, p. 125; Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, pp. 475-476.

[62] C.L.R.O., Journal xv, fol. 399^{v}.

proved onerous and inescapable.[63] The City now fixed on assessments of the livery companies to meet the pledge of 500 marks. The assessments were to be sent in to the City in quarterly installments. Sixty-one of the companies "willingly granted" relief to the poor in St. Bartholomew's, headed by the Mercers' Company giving £24, and the Grocers, Drapers, and Merchant Taylors each pledging £20.[64]

The livery companies would thereafter play a meaningful role in assuring the survival and strength of the hospitals in London. Particularly while St. Bartholomew's was the only large, functioning hospital in the City, companies offered regular support.[65] Given that the national economy was at times volatile, notably with experiments in the early 1550s with devalued coinage, a few companies would have to be calculating even in their charitable giving. The Carpenters' Company, for instance, penalised one of its officers for "not having had the foresight to pay the company's alms to the hospitals before the fall in money."[66] Some companies would later have their assessments to St. Bartholomew's modified. In the case of the Company of the Bottlemakers and Horners, representatives of both the company and St. Bartholomew's agreed to a yearly relief payment of 6*s* 5*d* a year; the agreement was reached in July 1552 before the Lord Mayor and the aldermen at the Guildhall.[67] Early in the next year, officials of the hospital were accommodating to the Company of Stationers, which officially requested that the company's regular payments to support the poor thereafter be "eased."[68]

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[63] Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, p. 476; C. Pendrill, *Old Parish Life in London* (London: 1937), p. 178. Collections in other parts of the kingdom for poor relief projects within London would occasionally be reinstated, as in 1560, when Elizabeth I authorised collections in Wales for Oriel College, Oxford, and four hospitals in the vicinity of London, including Our Lady of Bethlem, where "the poor people that be stricken by the hand of God, some be [dis]traught from their wits...be kept and maintained...until God call them to his mercy or to their wits again." *TRP*, ii, 476-477.

[64] C.L.R.O., Journal xv, fols. 399^{v}-400.

[65] For the provisions made by the Company of the Carpenters, see *Records of the Worshipful Company of the Carpenters: Warden's Accounts, 1546-1571*, Bower Marsh, transcriber and ed. (Oxford: 1916), pp. 33, 43, 53, 60, 64, 65.

[66] Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, p. 505; G.L., MS. 4326/2 (no folio number), also cited in Brigden, *ibid.*

[67] S.B.H., HA1/1, fol. 51$^{(a)}$.

[68] S.B.H., HA1/1, fol. 67^{v}.

Although the contributions of the livery companies stood at £333 6*s* 8*d* for each of the years between 1548 and 1550, they had declined to £250 for 1551.[69] While receipts would return to earlier levels after then, the hospital had trouble over several years collecting from companies delinquent in their benevolences.[70] The system of compulsory annual benevolences from the companies was discontinued after March 1554.[71] However, some livery companies continued their relationships with St. Bartholomew's, either, as in the case of the Butchers' Company, as renters, or as overseers for the estates of dead members who provided annuities for the house.[72]

The task presented to those who ruled over St. Bartholomew's Hospital, and those who served in it, was daunting. The first years of the hospital's reincarnation were, its rulers bemoaned, a time when "the misery of the poor most busily seemeth to awake."[73] Yet for this very fact, the hospital was criticised: "certain busy-bodies, more ready to espy occasion how to blame others, than skillful how to redress things blame-worthy indeed" charged the hospital with slack discipline. Some four decades after the hospital re-opened, John Howes would say that St. Bartholomew's had served the City well until the latter years of Edward VI's reign, when the hospital's "officers began to be negligent and chiefly the beadles so that the streets and lanes in London began to swarm in beggars and rogues, for nothing can be so surely established but that time may alter and change the good intent and meaning of the first founders." In the early 1550s, "the churches, streets, and lanes were filled daily with a number of loathsome lazars, botches, and sores, so that St. Bartholomew's Hospital was not able to receive the tenth part of those that then were to be provided for."[74]

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[69] S.B.H., HB1/1, fols. 32^{r}, 46^{v}, 60^{r}.
[70] S.B.H., HB1/1, fols. 95^{v}-97^{r}, 110^{v}, 135^{r}, 206^{r}, 243^{r}, 278^{v}.
[71] S.B.H., HA1/1, fol. 100.
[72] S.B.H., HA1/2, fol. 25; HB1/2, fol. 143.
[73] S.B.H., *Order...of St. Bartholomew's*, A7^{v}-8.
[74] Howes, "A Familiar and Friendly Discourse," pp. 6-7.

2. The Structure of the Government of the Hospital

The *Order of the Hospital of St. Bartholomew's in West Smithfield in London*, published by Richard Grafton in 1552, was intended to sensitize a wide reading audience to the valuable tasks officers and staff regularly performed.[75] More subtly, the tract was meant to underscore the professional, secular organisation of the hospital: the founding philosophy of the house destined St. Bartholomew's to be a tool in the larger efforts to restore order and godly compassion to London, but the hospital itself was unencumbered by restricting associations with the Church.

The *Order* did ascribe to the governors of the hospital an aura of spiritual authority, however. The governors served as "the faithful ministers of God." The gravity of their assignments meant that they must "...set apart as much as you possibly may...all your other business." Their absorption in the affairs of St. Bartholomew's would be noted by God, "whom ye chiefly in this vocation are appointed to serve, and to whom for your negligence or defaults herein ye shall render an account."[76]

The "division of the governors and officers" delineated in the *Order* of 1552 shows the government of St. Bartholomew's as being overseen by selected members of the political hierarchy of the City, while the more technical tasks of administration were assigned to individuals with special competencies. This organisation would have been familiar to anyone acquainted with the two-tiered civic government. Furthermore, the division of administrative labour, and the accountability officers would be held to in all matters within their jurisdiction would have been reassuring, particularly to a generation of citizens raised on stories of the inefficiencies and unaccountability of the old network of church-run hospitals and almshouses. The division of administrative posts, such as for provost, treasurer, surveyor, almoner, and scrutiner, appears to have commenced late in 1551.[77]

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[75] Kingdon, *Richard Grafton*, pp. 44-45.
[76] S.B.H., *Order...of St. Bartholomew's*, B3^{r}.
[77] S.B.H., HA1/1, fol. 31.

The rulers of the hospital hoped citizens would see how misplaced were the current criticisms. Quietly, within the hospital, they were trying to bring to an end practices critics could proclaim as petty abuses: for instance, in November 1551, the governors prohibited any of their ranks from using hospital funds to purchase their own dinners when they were abroad viewing the properties of the house.[78] In the *Order*, the rulers of St. Bartholomew's asked pointedly: if the hospital were ruled over by professional men and women, and detailed oversight was offered by the most respected citizens of the urban polity, why did the enemies of St. Bartholomew's "cry [their condemnations] at the [St. Paul's] Cross, [when they could] find those at the Hospital that both gladly will and may reform it?"[79]

The basic structure of government at St. Bartholomew's would serve as a model for the other hospitals, although innovations and improvements would naturally affect the details of hospital organisation after 1552.[80] The outline of hospital government was long-lasting: in all essential points, the infrastructure described in the *Order* remained in place until the twentieth century.[81] At the top of the edifice stood the Lord Mayor, who was at least nominally responsible for the good name of the house. The link between the Lord Mayor and the governing body of St. Bartholomew's was the president. The president was the senior alderman among the twelve governors. He set the tone for the house, calling officers to account, and convening general meetings of all the governors to thrash out decisions of direction or policy.[82]

The board of governors was designed as a collegian body. The earliest of traditions was probably instituted to foster cohesion amongst the governors: after they were sworn in, all governors--old, new, incoming, and outgoing--were expected to "dine together...every man at

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[78] S.B.H., HA1/1, fol. 29^{v}.

[79] S.B.H., *Order...of St. Bartholomew's*, A7.

[80] S.B.H., *Order...of St. Bartholomew's*, A6^{v}.

[81] D'Arcy Power, "Notes on the Bibliography of Three Sixteenth-Century English Books Connected with London Hospitals," in *Sir D'Arcy Power: Selected Writings, 1877-1930* (London: 1931; reprint, New York: 1970), p. 122.

[82] S.B.H., *Order...of St. Bartholomew's*, B4^{r-v}.

his own cost and charge."[83] The governing board was comprised of four aldermen and eight common councillors. Excluding the president, each member was assigned special functions.[84] Towards the end of 1551, the governors made oblique references in the court minutes to outside criticism of the house: one way to avoid these "slanders" was to ensure efficient government. To avoid senseless duplication of activities, each governor would henceforth be held accountable for a particular area of governance.[85] Thus, two commoners and two aldermen served as surveyors. They met fortnightly and kept account of the land transactions of the house and badgered tenants who defaulted either in repairs to hospital property or in the payment of rent.[86]

One alderman and three commoners served as almoners. They saw to the good order of the hospital, wielding discretionary powers in disciplinary matters. They kept account of hospital inventories and visited the sick poor regularly, ascertaining whether they were kept in good supply of food and drink. Each week they interrogated the surgeons to learn how many patients were healed. They could reward surgeons who were particularly dutiful, and they had important regulatory powers over the number of poor who could be admitted in the course of a week.[87] Together with the treasurer, the almoners had the power to approve any material alterations made within the precincts of the hospital.[88]

The job of treasurer was handled by a commoner. The treasurer rendered a "true and perfect account of [his] whole charge" each October 20th. The treasurer handled all payments except for the sums dedicated to the purchase of victuals and the payment of ordinary wages, both of which were handled by the steward. The treasurer also worked closely with the renter, keeping a joint account book which summarised whether the house's property interests

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[83] S.B.H., *Order...of St. Bartholomew's*, B4^{r}.
[84] S.B.H., *Order...of St. Bartholomew's*, B6^{v}-7^{v}.
[85] S.B.H., HA1/1, fols. 29^{v}, 31^{r}.
[86] S.B.H., *Order...of St. Bartholomew's*, B6^{v}-7^{v}.
[87] S.B.H., *Order...of St. Bartholomew's*, B8^{r}-C1^{v}.
[88] S.B.H., HA1/1, fol. 33^{v}.

prospered or decayed under their watch. All the accounts of the treasurer were reviewed by a panel of four auditors, which met at 8AM on the second of November each year. The demands of the office required special qualities of trustworthiness: by virtue of his position, the treasurer held one of the three keys which opened the triple-locked strong box, which was the repository for the most precious documents, records, and correspondence of the house.[89] The obligations of the treasurer were exacting and time-consuming, and treasurers departing from their office had to be reminded that "in recompense of [their] pains, [they] shall be assured of the mercies laid up for you in the promises and blood of Jesus Christ our Saviour."[90]

The remaining two commoners acted as scrutiners. They had two complementary sets of duties. First they took note of all bequests, gifts, and legacies made to the hospital, and submitted to the treasurer itemized lists of all offerings made to St. Bartholomew's. Their obligations to the house extended beyond ordinary working hours. Since they were also civic officers, they were expected to propagandise for the hospital. Whenever they came "in the company of good, virtuous, and wealthy" men, they were to proffer testimony on the plethora of good works done at St. Bartholomew's, and then to suggest that their listeners "extend their charity thereunto." When the scrutiners met with "those that have the office of preaching committed to them..., they may the rather provoke the devotions of the people, to the help and comfort of the house."[91]

The seven other offices were filled by paid agents of the board of governors.[92] The governors oversaw the work of the officers of the house, each of whom had charge over the workaday, innumerable tasks associated with running a large institution. The renter was the liaison between the tenants and the treasurer. The bookkeeping duties of the renter were

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[89] The other keys were held by the President and one other commoner. S.B.H., *Order...of St. Bartholomew's*, C4^{v}-5^{r}.

[90] S.B.H., *Order...of St. Bartholomew's*, B5^{r}-6^{v}.

[91] S.B.H., *Order...of St. Bartholomew's*, B2^{v}-3^{v}.

[92] S.B.H., *Order...of St. Bartholomew's*, B1^{r}.

onerous. He was expected to keep four books: a repertory of deeds, leases, etc.; a survey book of will registers; an accounts books noting all the property transactions of the house since the refoundation, plus lists of all persons who had been admitted to St. Bartholomew's; and a journal which recorded the "general affairs" of the hospital.[93]

The hospitaller combined housekeeping duties with pastoral responsibilities. He received shipments of foodstuffs and other provisions that had been authorised by the steward, and the hospitaller distributed them as he saw necessary. The hospitaller also received the poor when they entered the hospital, and he saw that each prospective patient was examined by two surgeons. He awaited the surgeons' appraisal as to whether the patient was curable. If a cure seemed possible, the hospitaller would record the patient's name in the presence of two almoners. Records would be kept on each patient. The hospitaller would see that the personal effects and money of each patient was removed from their persons and kept in a safe place where it could be returned to them upon their dismissal.[94]

Patients would be given a passport once they left the hospital to ensure their return home was direct and unmolested; they might also receive some money from the hospital's petty funds when they left the hospital, the precise amount "measured according to their journey and need."[95] The hospitaller would surrender to the treasurer the possessions and cash of those who died while being treated. Finally, the hospitaller was to report anything he found amiss in the running of the hospital: the *Order* stressed that his report should only be made to the governors, and that he should have no part in rumour-mongering or meddling.[96]

The duties of the steward largely revolved around the provision of food for the patients. Stewards kept account of the quality and cost of the food prepared, and they were to be present when the poor were fed. The authors of the *Order* presented enough warnings to the steward

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[93] S.B.H., *Order...of St. Bartholomew's*, C5^{v}-D2^{v}.
[94] S.B.H., *Order...of St. Bartholomew's*, D4^{r}-D6^{r}.
[95] S.B.H., *Order...of St. Bartholomew's*, F5^{r}.
[96] S.B.H., *Order...of St. Bartholomew's*, D4^{r}-D6^{r}.

to fill his office honestly and scrupulously to suggest sensitivity to several problems. Stewards were expected to guard against excessive prices, a running problem in a period of troubling price inflation.[97] By 1552, the average expense for feeding the one-hundred patients came to just over £300 per year, or some 2*d* a day for each patient.[98] Stewards were warned against scrimping on provisions.[99] The diction was conventional, and the sanctions familiar: the eyes of God "seeth and beholdeth the very thoughts of your heart," and the steward ought to regard the poor as "whole members..., and therefore ye ought the rather to study to serve in this house with fear of God and conscience, as on that manifestly and plainly walketh before the face of God."[100]

The porter of the house and the beadles primarily handled disciplinary matters. The porters, of course, kept watch over the comings and goings of patients and visitors within the grounds of the hospital. They protected the interests of the house against the theft of small items, including wood, coal, and consumables and potables. The porters also ascertained that no men cavorted or hid in the women's ward, just as they made sure the women did not venture into similarly forbidden areas. In the men's ward, the porter heard the prayers of the patients, generally said at seven in the evening in the summers. The worst-behaved patients were sent to the porter for punishment, which might be served as time in the stocks.[101] The porter prohibited the entry of strangers into the hospital, and he watched that male residents did not have improper access to the domiciles of the sisters.[102]

The watch of the eight beadles was more wide-ranging. Each beadle was assigned a particular walk within the City; all were to "espy any person infected with any loathsome grief or disease, which shall fortune to lie in any notable place of the City, to the noiance and infection

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[97] S.B.H., *Order...of St. Bartholomew's*, D6^{v}-D7^{r}.
[98] S.B.H., *Order...of St. Bartholomew's*, F3^{v}.
[99] S.B.H., *Order...of St. Bartholomew's*, D6^{v}-D7^{r}.
[100] S.B.H., *Order...of St. Bartholomew's*, D6^{v}-D7^{r}.
[101] S.B.H., *Order...of St. Bartholomew's*, E5^{v}-E6^{r}.
[102] S.B.H., HA1/1, fols. 94^{v}, 98^{v}, 99^{r}.

of passers by, and slander of the house." Beadles were also to patrol the streets in search of those who had been cured at St. Bartholomew's, but who nonetheless fabricated illnesses and begged from pedestrians. The beadles were always to remain impervious to the blandishments or bribes of the idle poor and vagrants. Those found begging without a license, or those who played on the sympathies of citizens, were to be committed "to some cage." They would then be brought before the governors of the hospital to determine further corrections: vagabonds would be "committed to ward," and the aldermen of the particular ward would be informed of their names.[103]

The remaining hospital officers had more direct and regular contact with inmates. The matron, for instance, took charge of patients once the formalities of the admissions procedures were concluded. The matron determined into which part of the hospital patients should be placed. Her normal tasks included the supervision of the sisters, keeping charge of the hospital laundry, and above all else, ensuring that discipline was maintained. She was to see that patients did not "sit and drink" within the hospital. The matron also had to admonish her charges that they should always avoid scabrous deportment: she was to remind troublemakers that "...this house [has been] appointed for the harbour and succour of the dear members of Christ's body, and not of drunkards and unthankful persons."[104]

Of all house employees, the contact between the sisters and the patients was indisputably most intense. By 1552, there were twelve sisters, although at times numbers seem to have fluctuated downwards.[105] They apparently had their own hall of residence and kitchen; by 1552, a gift from a draper allowed for a cistern of lead to carry water into their "office," and a waterbearer was eventually engaged.[106] Their most basic, and no doubt most time-consuming, tasks involved keeping the patients "sweet and clean" and seeing to their comfort and needs.

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[103] S.B.H., *Order...of St. Bartholomew's*, E7^{r-v}.
[104] S.B.H., *Order...of St. Bartholomew's*, D7^{v}-E1^{v}.
[105] S.B.H., *Order...of St. Bartholomew's*, F3^{r}; S.B.H., HA1/1, fols. 42^{v}, 99^{v}, 70^{v},-71^{r}, 119^{r}.
[106] S.B.H., HB1/1, fols. 79, 100, 132.

They were to act as professionals, never uttering "light, wanton, and foolish words" to the poor, and always carrying themselves with "sobriety and discretion." The sisters themselves functioned under the sharp watch of the matron, who regulated a curfew which had sisters in the women's ward by 7PM in the winter, and 9PM in the summer, except for particularly "virtuous, godly, and discrete" sisters who had "some great and special cause (as the present danger of death or needful succour of some poor person)."[107] In return for faithful service, the hospital could be sensitive to the fears of aging or ailing sisters: in 1570, the court considered (but did not record its verdict) Elizabeth Clark's plea to be permitted to remain a sister at St. Bartholomew's despite her infirmities.[108] In at least one case, the court also provided a "reward" of 10*s* for two departing sisters on the occasion of their marriage.[109]

The hospital also had high expectations of good and charitable behaviour from the surgeons it employed. All thoughts of personal gain were to be put aside, and the surgeons of St. Bartholomew's would befriend "the poorest, [and those] destitute of all friends." It was their professional judgment which was called upon to see that no incurable persons were admitted, "to the great let and hindrance of the curing and helping of many other." No ailing person who could be cured should be turned away, lest dishonour "and the displeasure of God" be visited on the house. The annual salary of each of the three surgeons was £20. Beyond this, no surgeon was permitted to accept rewards for the cure of patients of the hospital without first informing the governors; surgeons were never permitted to accept money from anyone trying to gain admittance to the house. Finally, when the surgeons dressed the poor after they had achieved a cure, they were to coach them in a better outlook on life: the healed man or woman should "sin no more, and be thankful unto almighty God, for whose sake they are here comforted of men."[110]

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[107] S.B.H., *Order...of St. Bartholomew's*, D8^{r}, E2^{r}-E3^{r}.
[108] S.B.H., HA1/2, fol. 32.
[109] S.B.H., HA1/1, fol. 51.
[110] S.B.H., *Order...of St. Bartholomew's*, E3^{v}-E4^{v}.

The final officer mentioned in the *Order* was the Visitor of Newgate, who *ex officio* was one of the ministers of the newly instituted parish of Christ's Church. He "faithfully and diligently...[visited] the poor miserable captives of Newgate." The Visitor ministered to them from the King's Book of Prayer. His missions were delicate ones, for he was the agent of God even while he functioned as an informer: in helping prisoners ease the "burden of conscience," the Visitor had also to try to pry from convicts the knowledge they had of "all such other persons as they know living, by the which robbery or murder may hurt a common weal." As with all other officers and governors who had extensive contacts in the world beyond the walls of the hospital, the Visitor was expected to solicit donations from any honest, substantial citizen he could impress.[111]

The concerns of the governors always returned to the unsure income of the hospital, and the many demands placed on its finite resources, "which only riseth of the charity of certain merciful citizens."[112] Citizens heard appeals for expanded beneficence based on their own self-interest--the preservation of order and civility in the capital--and because generosity was the obligation of all Christians. The Mercers' Company had promised in 1548 that God "which seeth in the darkness" would bring the "fruition of mercy during this mortal life...[and] everlasting life" in the next to those who assisted the needs of St. Bartholomew's.[113] Appropriately, then, the *Order* of 1552 concluded with a pious note to all who gave to relieve St. Bartholomew's Hospital, "for whose continuance, with the increase of more, we earnestly pray unto the fountain of mercy, Jesus Christ, the Lord of all...."[114]

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[111] S.B.H., *Order...of St. Bartholomew's*, E8^{r}-F1^{v}.

[112] S.B.H., *Order...of St. Bartholomew's*, F5.

[113] Mercers' Company, Acts of Court, ii, fol. 224^{v}, as quoted in Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, p. 482.

[114] S.B.H., *Order...of St. Bartholomew's*, F5.

3. The Care of Patients at St. Bartholomew's Hospital

The *Order* of 1552 stood as a counterblast against criticisms of the hospital. Precisely who made these criticisms, or even the exact nature of all the charges, remains a mystery. Apparently, though, one of the insinuations governors of the house hoped to put to rest through the publication was that the hospital was not improving the condition of the poor in London. In their own defence, hospital officials presented impressive statistics which they argued would belie charges of neglect and ineptitude. Sick and poor persons were being taken off the streets. The governors of the hospital could point to the hospital's didactic purposes: officers and staff tried to steer patients from "walk[s]...in the wicked desires of the flesh," by instilling in them the faith and moral strength that would make them pleasing to God and their fellows.[115]

In the earliest days after the hospital's refoundation, the governing body paid attention to details which might make each patient's stay spiritually profitable. Religious readings were arranged for the poor, as well as for the prisoners of Newgate and the parishioners of Christ Church.[116] The Hospitaller read prayers to the poor, and in 1550, a painter was engaged to whitewash the doors of the hospital and to "[write] Scriptures upon the walls."[117] The hospital in one instance also made some provisions for an employee who sought to better himself through advanced research. In December 1549, the governors granted William Hawkins a leave of absence from his clerkship to study in Oxford for one year, "to have such sight in the Greek tongue."[118] During the Marian period as well, care was taken that the poor had the access they needed to the spiritual comforts the hospitaller could provide.[119] At the end of September 1570, the vicar of Little St. Bartholomew's was also ministering to patients: the

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[115] Vicary, *Anatomie of the Bodie of Man*, p. 321.
[116] S.B.H., HB1/1, fol. 39; HA1/1, fols. 43^{v}, 76^{r}.
[117] S.B.H., HB1/1, fol. 53^{v}.
[118] S.B.H., HA1/1, fol. 2^{r}.
[119] S.B.H., HA1/1, fols. 126, 132^{r-v}.

governors commanded that he "have a key of the little wicket going into the churchyard, for the intent that he may at all times in the night visit the sick and diseased."[120]

Furthermore, despite limitations of space and financial constraints, the governors could assert that between 1547 and 1552, eight hundred patients at St. Bartholomew's had been cured of "pox, fistules, filthy blaines and sores," while 167 had died during their stay who might otherwise "have died [on the streets] and stuck in the eyes and noses of the City."[121] The Treasurer's Accounts of the first fiscal year (1547-1548) give a good indication of the variety of medical work done at St. Bartholomew's. Some eighty-five people were cured within the first year.[122] Of those, twenty-one had recovered from the pox, including James Milcote, whose feet were amputated as part of the cure.[123]

Surgeons like William Garter were sometimes paid premiums for successfully tending patients infected with venereal or communicable diseases.[124] St. Bartholomew's and the later London hospitals also treated many patients with ailments like scald head, sores, and ulcers which may themselves have been mere symptoms of venereal infections like syphilis: cases of the pox were noted more frequently in the ledgers of the hospital than most other diseases.[125] The hospital's records give glimpses of a few of the various tools used by surgeons in their work: thus, in 1550, the hospital paid for a "great kettle...for the surgeons to boil with," as well as for the purchase of a chest of salves.[126]

By the time of the re-opening of the hospital, England and especially London had at least a half-century's experience struggling with the virulent effects of sexual infections.[127] In the

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[120] S.B.H., HA1/2, fol. 31.

[121] S.B.H., *Order...of St. Bartholomew's*, A5^{v}.

[122] S.B.H., HB1/1, fols. 26^{v}-29^{r}.

[123] S.B.H., HB1/1, fol. 27^{v}.

[124] S.B.H., HB1/1, fol. 26^{v}.

[125] Margaret Pelling, "Appearance and Reality: Barber-Surgeons, the Body, and Disease," in *The Making of the Metropolis: London, 1500-1700*, A.L. Beier and Roger Finlay, eds. (London: 1986), pp. 97-98.

[126] S.B.H., HB1/1, fols. 53^{v}-54^{r}.

[127] A. Kernan, *The Cankered Muse* (New Haven, Connecticut: 1959), p. 99; Pelling, "Appearance and Reality," pp. 95-100.

second half of the century, St. Bartholomew's was an important urban centre for treatment. William Clowes, who served as a surgeon at St. Bartholomew's during the 1570s, offered the earliest study of the *morbus Gallicus* in vernacular English. Clowes offered varying claims about the enormity of the phenomenon of sexual infections. At St. Bartholomew's, he asserted that more than one thousand persons were healed of the pox within a span of five years; he also contended that between 1575 and 1585, at least half of St. Bartholomew's patients needing treatment had been afflicted with the pox. This, Clowes reminded his audience, was but a small segment of the problem: "I speak nothing of St. Thomas's Hospital and [the] other houses in the City, wherein an infinite number are daily in cure."[128]

Those who treated persons infected with sexual diseases understood the exigency of isolating carriers. In May 1550, the governors requisitioned the purchase of twenty mattresses, which "must be provided with speed for the ease of such of the poor as be healed of the pox, so that for lack of shifts of beds they be forced to [bed with] clean persons where the such persons hath lain, and by means thereof they be enflamed with the same disease that the last were healed of."[129] Later that year, the surgeon Thomas Vicary designated gowns made of white material for the "poor men as also of the poor women that be diseased with the pox." No one was allowed to retain these gowns after he or she was dismissed.[130]

By the summer of 1552, mention is made in the records of the hospital of both a dorter and a sweating ward, where persons with dangerous ailments would have been treated.[131] In January 1555, the husband of Margaret Heath apparently was summoned and examined by the surgeons, to determine "whether he is clean or not, and meet to have company with his

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[128] William Clowes, *A Short and Profitable Treatise Touching the Cure of the Disease Called Morbus Gallicus by Unctions* [*c.*1579] (Amsterdam and New York: 1972), sig. Bii; William Clowes, *A Brief and Necessary Treatise, Touching the Cure of the Disease Called Morbus Gallicus* (London: 1585), fol. 2; Pelling, "Appearance and Reality," p. 98; McLean, *Humanism and the Rise of Science*, p. 203; Copeman, *Doctors and Diseases*, p. 129.

[129] S.B.H., HA1/1, fol. 4^{v}.

[130] S.B.H., HA1/1, fol. 7^{v}.

[131] S.B.H., HA1/1, fols. 52^{v}, 59^{r}.

wife."[132] Four months later, the surgeons requested a "hot house", presumably to segregate those with strains of contagious diseases, and prevent cross-infections.[133] The Dorter ward also housed sufferers of the pox. They were ordered in 1557 to remain within the ward until they were fully cured: others were warned "neither [to] meddle with them or presume to enter up to them...upon pain of dismissal."[134]

The governors of the house tacitly acknowledged that the surgeons' obligations were heavy; provisions were made for especially energetic or diligent workers. Bonuses might be paid to surgeons who took "pains in dressing the poor of the hospital."[135] Surgeons also received supplemental payments if they, like Richard Westall, took "pain...among the poor," in performing intricate or unusual procedures. At Michaelmas 1547, Martin, one of the surgeons, was granted 10*s* "for cutting a boy of the stone."[136] In 1549, the surgeons were awarded 2*s* "for the expense [of] going to Mile End to cut off a leg."[137] In May of 1571, Roger Bennett, one of the poor of the house, was scheduled to "be cut in the belly on Monday next." The surgeon on the case would have an emolument of £4 40*s* in hand, and 40*s* when Bennett was "made whole."[138]

In an exceptional case, the hospital appropriated money for a woman to consult an outside surgeon, Allen of Charter[house] Lane, regarding her sore leg.[139] Similarly, in 1549 the hospital paid a surgeon in Kingston 10*s*; this was to be the first half of his remunerations for curing the leg of "the wheat porter...that begged at the Spytal the 24th of June."[140] As at the other hospital, St. Bartholomew's sometimes farmed out cases of head infection to outsiders of

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[132] S.B.H., HA1/1, fol. 113^{v}.
[133] S.B.H., HA1/1, fol. 121; Pelling, "Appearance and Reality," p. 97.
[134] S.B.H., HA1/1, fol. 164.
[135] S.B.H., HB1/1, fol. 201^{v}; HA1/2, fols. 22^{r}, 40^{v}.
[136] S.B.H., HB1/1, fol. 23^{v}.
[137] S.B.H., HB1/1, fol. 43.
[138] S.B.H., HA1/2, fol. 35$^{(b)}$.
[139] S.B.H., HA1/1, fol. 124.
[140] S.B.H., HB1/1, fol. 40.

established expertise. Several times in the 1550s, Mother Hall was paid for treating children bothered with scald head.[141]

Specific cases handled by the staff at St. Bartholomew's involved treatment for sore limbs, gunpowder burns, scald head, cankers, and dog-bites. No doubt some cures were more difficult to achieve than others. Margery Cook had been sick for one-and-a-half years before she was cured--though she almost certainly had not been in residence at the hospital for the duration--, and Elizabeth Collier was eventually healed of both a scald head and a "lameness in her loins."[142]

Both before and after the foundation of the other hospitals of London, the services of St. Bartholomew's were much in demand. Necessity dictated that the hospital devise different ways of dealing with the problems of applicants. As with the other houses, bed-space was a problem. In 1550, the treasurer paid 4*s* 2*d* "for [the] board of four persons" until room could be found for them."[143] At other times, the hospital compensated people for keeping poor (and presumably sick) people in their houses. The hospital gave 8*s* to one Nichols "for having five poor people at the Savoy."[144] And in 1552/3, it also paid for the keeping of two poor women "in childbed."[145]

Orders relayed from the governors in the fall of 1553 dictated that almoners not allow the number of patients to rise above one hundred.[146] Furthermore, all prospective inmates had to be examined by the surgeons. Except in the most urgent cases, only curable people were to be admitted.[147] Where there was some doubt as to whether a cure was possible, a patient

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[141] S.B.H., HA1/1, fols. 126^{v}, 158^{r}.
[142] S.B.H., HB1/1, fol. 28^{v}.
[143] S.B.H., HB1/1, fol. 54^{v}.
[144] S.B.H., HB1/1, fol. 55^{v}.
[145] S.B.H., HB1/1, fol. 42; HB1/1, fols. 141^{r}, 277^{r-v}.
[146] S.B.H., HA1/1, fol. 93.
[147] S.B.H., HA1/1, fol. 93.

might be admitted for a specific time. Thomas Underhill pleaded that his son John be admitted to see if the surgeons heal the "poor leg that he hath." The father agreed that he would remove his son after three months.[148] Four years later, in 1573, a "sore and diseased man," John Kettel, was received on the strength of the "special suit" of two gentlemen. He would be cured, suggested the governors, "if it pleased God." If, however, Kettel could not be helped within two or three months, his advocates must remove him and thereafter be responsible for his wellbeing.[149]

If a patient were found to be incurable, and he or she had no one to care for them in their remaining days, the hospital often placed them in one of the outhouses over which it had jurisdiction. There were six houses located on the outskirts of the City, Southwark, and Westminster: Mile End, Highgate, Kingsland, The Lock, Hammersmith, and Knightsbridge.[150] St. Bartholomew's acted as a corporate supervisor over these houses, viewing them periodically for signs of malfeasance in government, larceny on the part of the staff, or wear and tear on the building and properties.[151] The City government apparently retained a general right to intervene, but used its powers sparingly after the refoundation.[152]

The hospital sent patients to these places, and usually provided money to sustain them while there.[153] Some patients sent to the Lock were clearly identified as lepers.[154] In fact, the last recorded instance of leprosy in the London area was set down in the records of St. Bartholomew's on 31 July 1557, when the hospital directed two of its patients with the dreaded ailment to the Lock.[155] The hospital records do not define the nature of the afflictions of

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[148] S.B.H., HA1/2, fol. 23.
[149] S.B.H., HA1/2, fol. 56.
[150] S.B.H., HA1/1, fol. 221^{v}.
[151] S.B.H., HA1/1, fols. 29^{v}, 39^{r}, 47^{r}, 48^{r}, 153^{r}; HA1/2, fols. 14^{v}, 29^{v}, 35^{r}.
[152] For the fullest account of the lazar houses of London to date, see Marjorie B. Honeybourne, "The Leper Hospitals of the London Area," in *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society*, 21, pt. 1 (1963), p. 9. See also *VCH: Middlesex*, i, pp. 204-212.
[153] S.B.H., HA1/1, fol. 224.
[154] S.B.H., HA1/1, fol. 165.
[155] Honeybourne, "Leper Hospitals," p. 47.

others sent to these houses.[156] But in several recorded instances, St. Bartholomew's used the outhouses either as waiting-stations for patients due to be admitted, or as a final home for the terminally ill. One man applied to St. Bartholomew's in November 1571, "desirous to have his leg cut off." The surgeons judged that "the time of the year says not for it," and so he was sent to one of the lazar houses until the spring, when the season would be right for the procedure.[157] Almost twenty years earlier, Philip Green had resisted the amputation of his leg. While medical opinion at the hospital held that his leg was beyond salvaging, he would "not have it taken off to be eased of his pain." Green eventually convinced the court that a less radical healing programme ought to be adopted: after he was dismissed in May 1552, a surgeon was allowed 40*s* to undertake the healing.[158]

Another man was shunted from St. Thomas's to St. Bartholomew's in 1560; there he was judged to be incurable, and sent to the Lazar house at Highgate.[159] Roger Long was "diseased of the falling evil or sickness" and sent to "Highgate Spital."[160] And there were those sent to the lazar houses who probably had prognostications of a long period of convalescence. In 1557, one Mr. Flocker agreed to pay the substantial sum of £10 *p.a.* for life for Margaret Flocker, "one of the poor of the house delivered to Mile End."[161] Such an arrangement was apparently entered into with both parties anticipating a long stay. And in early August, 1568, several men made provisions for Nicholas Stollis, recently cured at St. Bartholomew's, to be transported "to the Lazar house for [his] better relievement."[162]

While, as Margaret Pelling has suggested, the maximum number of patients may at times have been exceeded through the possible practice of more than one patient sleeping within a bed, ordinarily patients would have to wait until the number of inmates declined before they

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[156] S.B.H., HA1/1, fol. 223; HB1/1, fol 110.
[157] S.B.H., HA1/2, fol. 40.
[158] S.B.H., HA1/1, fol. 46^{v}.
[159] S.B.H., HA1/1, fol. 205.
[160] S.B.H., HA1/1, fol. 122^{v}.
[161] S.B.H., HA1/1, fols. 159, 169.
[162] S.B.H., HA1/2, fol. 14.

could be admitted.[163] Admittance for the poor took place only on Mondays. Rules laid down in 1554 stipulated that the hospital could admit those who had urgent needs. Moreover, the governors tried to address a problem eventually faced by every other urban hospital: how should officers treat applicants who came with the backing of powerful patrons? The orders of the governors were unequivocal: "no aldermen and commoners do send any poor unto this house except there be any commandment comes from the council for the admittance of the poor."[164] Sir John Lyons, the president of the house in 1558, amplified this rule at a general meeting of all the hospitals in 1558. No individual hospital governor had the authority to send in poor folk in ways that might breach ordinary procedures for admissions.[165]

In general, before 1575, St. Bartholomew's did not feel the pressures experienced by both Christ's and St. Thomas's from important figures seeking to have clients or retainers admitted; though whether the regulations of 1554 actually forestalled this problem is highly debatable. Neither did St. Bartholomew's have many instances noted in its records of people being "brought out of the country and laid at the gate of this hospital." In one case where this did occur, the hospital extracted a pledge from a clerk in Hertford for contribution towards the healing of John Edmunds.[166] As did the other hospitals, St. Bartholomew's looked for outside support whenever possible in admitting patients.[167]

The hospital did of course listen to the suits of citizens trying to gain admittance for a poor neighbour, employee, or relation, and its governors were happy when one of its poor enjoyed financial assistance from friends or family.[168] A typical arrangement was the agreement in March 1573 between five members of different livery companies and the governors. At the men's "special instance and request," a poor sick man was "taken into this house to be

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[163] Pelling, "Appearance and Reality," p. 97.
[164] S.B.H., HA1/1, fol. 107.
[165] S.B.H., HA1/1, fol. 180^{v}.
[166] S.B.H., HA1/1, fol. 202.
[167] S.B.H., HA1/2, fol. 18^{v}.
[168] S.B.H., HA1/2, fols. 24, 43.

sent unto one of the Lazar houses and there to remain." His fellows would provide 12*d* each week for his support.[169] Apart from commonplace arrangements like this, however, St. Bartholomew's did not suffer from being a dumping ground for the "impotent" or aged servants and clients of the powerful. A minor but notable exception to this observation was a poor maid admitted in September 1559: she came in at the behest of the queen, who consented to provide alms for her.[170]

The hospital did make numerous, if not lavish, provisions for those dismissed from its care.[171] Poor people were regularly provided with some small allowance when they left the hospital, so that they might reach their parish, family, or hometown without harassing strangers for money. When the trip was long, which was the case for Griffin Davy who may have been returning to Wales, larger sums and a passport were provided to smooth his way home.[172] Generally, the hospital handled matters of patient discipline internally, but when, in June of 1569, a spinster had been "taken in suspicions as a rogue," she was ultimately sent to her father, after time spent in Bridewell. The court at St. Bartholomew's gave money towards her relief, on the understanding that she was evermore to devote herself to "the amendment of her life."[173]

4. Estate and Business Affairs of St. Bartholomew's Hospital

When the sixteenth-century minutes of the meetings of the governors of St. Bartholomew's are compared with those of either Christ's Hospital or St. Thomas's, they are generally found wanting in details of patient life or the mundane, specific problems entailed in the administration of a major urban hospital. In general, the governors of St. Bartholomew's

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[169] S.B.H., HA1/2, fol. 54.
[170] S.B.H., HA1/1, fol. 196.
[171] S.B.H., HB1/1, fols. 86^{v}, 202^{v}, 238^{r}.
[172] S.B.H., HA1/1, fol. 135^{v}; HA1/2, fol. 10^{v}.
[173] S.B.H., HA1/1, fol. 6; HA1/2, fol. 23.

met less frequently than their compatriots in the other houses, and their meetings often were centred around matters of property. Meetings were also at times lightly attended: according to a ruling in 1560, court business could proceed in the absence of the president, provided there were a minimum of four governors, of whom the presider had to be an alderman.[174]

The property interests of the hospital provided a substantial portion of its yearly revenues. Before 1575, the governors lavished their attentions on rebuilding what remained of properties of the old monastic foundation; they also entered into programmes of capital improvements, pursued renters who were behind in rent payments or tithes from parishioners of Christ Church and St. Sepulchres, and negotiated disputes between tenants. By the middle of the 1550s, the hospital listed income from lands and properties in seven counties: Essex, Northhamptonshire, Somerset, Oxfordshire, Hertford, Buckingham, and eight large holdings in Middlesex. Within London, the hospital had interest in at least twenty sets of properties: most important were the tenements laying within the Hospital's Close, those in West Smithfield, Giltspur Street, Green Dragon Alley, Cow Lane, Ducke Lane, Britton Street, Watling Street, Thames Street, Fleet Street, and St. Nicholas Shambles.[175]

From the original grants of land and property stipulated in the Indenture of Henry VIII, St. Bartholomew's gradually acquired more holdings as citizens left bequests in property.[176] In some instances, the hospital was granted a right to annual revenues from buildings and tracts of land.[177] After the mid-1550s, St. Bartholomew's would sometimes notify the court at Christ's Hospital of its legacies, possibly to ensure that its claims to gifts or property were well staked out.[178] By the beginning of 1570, the rulers of the hospital began to tighten procedures in the ways in which hospital lands were administered. Starting in March of 1570, gen-

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[174] S.B.H., HA1/1, fol. 207.

[175] S.B.H., HB1/1, fols. 1, 73-78, 112-120; HB1/2, fol. 72^{v}; HA1/1, fols. 63, 177; HA1/2, fols. 5, 10, 16^{v}, 27$^{(b-v)}$, 28$^{(a)}$, 51.

[176] For examples, see S.B.H., HA1/1, fols. 64^{r}, 67^{r}, 79^{v}.

[177] S.B.H., HA1/1, fol. 78^{v}.

[178] S.B.H., HA1/1, fols. 97, 108^{v}.

eral views of all the lands and tenements of the hospital were initiated.[179] Additionally, the hospital compiled "divers notes" on the improvements undertaken within the hospital and its properties (presumably since the refoundation). Copies of this memorandum were "delivered to divers notaries within London for the intent that if any man thereafter being well disposed to give any lands, leases, or goods to this house for the ministering of the poor, that the very true words of the charter may be rightly rehearsed within their said gifts."[180] By June of the same year, the clerk of the renter was directed to register within the "great book the whole particulars that passed between the king and the City." [181]

The other sources of income for the house ranged from small to large. When the hospital concluded an indenture with a tenant, the new renter sometimes offered a "fine to the use and relief of the poor" of the house: the indentures were typically for a twenty-one year period, and were contingent upon the good behaviour of the tenant.[182] The hospital took in small profits from the traditional fair on St. Bartholomew's Day.[183] Another important source of collateral revenue for St. Bartholomew's was the share it was apportioned in the profits of the Great Beam at the Weigh House, the King's Beam at the Steelyard, and the Iron Beam.[184] St. Bartholomew's also profited from regular revenues generated at Blackwell Hall, the weekly market place for woollen wares and cloth and linen products. Funds above the 500 marks due the commonalty from the weighing and measuring of items at the beam were to be given over to St. Bartholomew's; the hospital could receive up to 500 marks from those profits, while any sums remaining would be returned to the Lord Mayor's use. Eventually, Christ's Hospital was accorded a share in the profits of Blackwell.[185]

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[179] S.B.H., HA1/2, fols. 6^{v}, 34^{v}, 42^{r}.
[180] S.B.H., HA1/2, fol. 23$^{(b)}$.
[181] S.B.H., HA1/2. fol. 26$^{(b)}$.
[182] S.B.H., HA1/2, fols. 19^{r}, 53^{v}, 54^{r}, 55^{r}.
[183] S.B.H., HA1/1, fols. 58, 127^{v}; HA1/2, fol. 28^{r}.
[184] S.B.H., HB1/1, fol. 135^{v}; HB1/2, fols. 4, 24, 33^{v}, 142, 145, 168, 181^{v}.
[185] C.L.R.O., Journal xv, fols. 398-399^{v}; Journal xvii, fol. 39$^{(a)}$; Stow, *Survey*, p. 258; Kingdon, *Richard Grafton*, pp. 28-29.

As a consequence of its powers of patronage, the hospital also took the contributions left in the poor boxes at St. Bartholomew's the Less and Christ Church.[186] St. Bartholomew's was frequently called upon to inspect the various beams in addition to those two parish churches, and it contributed to their repairs.[187] For a period of almost twenty years after 1552, the governors of the hospital attempted to conclude a series of agreements giving the hospital rights to convey water from the old Priory of St. Bartholomew the Great. Gift-laden delegations were sent to Lord Richard Rich and later to his heir. The senior Rich had been granted the Priory by Henry VIII; the Priory was subsequently re-appropriated by Mary I for the use of the Black Friars, and restored to Rich in 1560 by Elizabeth I. By 1571, the hospital apparently had settled on agreements with Rich's assigns for a conduit from the property.[188]

5. The Medical Officers at St. Bartholomew's Hospital

Sir D'Arcy Power, a distinguished surgeon and antiquarian associated with St. Bartholomew's Hospital in the early years of the twentieth century, remarked that the rise of the system of City-run hospitals was synchronous with momentous developments within England's medical community.[189] The creation of the College of Physicians in 1518, and the amalgamation of the Barber-Surgeons' Company in 1540, established a professional framework for most London practitioners.[190] This was set against a backdrop of rising concern, particularly amongst Londoners, of the precarious qualities of urban life, with its ever-growing risks of "degeneration or premature death." Rich and poor in London, to their varying

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[186] S.B.H., HA1/1, fol. 57^{v}.

[187] S.B.H., HB1/1, fols. 210^{v}-211^{r}; HA1/1, fols. 43^{r}, 62^{v}; HA1/2, fols. 5, 19^{v}, 24$^{(a)}$. For disputes in the early 1560s between the Grocers Company and St. Bartholomew's over the possession of the weighhouse and the beams, see Kingdon, *Richard Grafton*, pp. 116, 118, 123-124.

[188] S.B.H., HA1/1, fols. 51^{v}, 201^{r}, 220^{r}; HA1/2, fol. 38^{r-v}; C.L.R.O., MS. 107.8; *DNB*, xvi, pp. 1011-1012; Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, vi, pt. 1, pp. 291-292.

[189] Sir D'Arcy Power and H.J. Waring, *A Short History of St. Bartholomew's Hospital: 1123-1923* (London: 1923), p. 47.

[190] *SR*, iii, p. 794, 32 Henry VIII, ch. 42.

degrees, both sought professional services in times of epidemiological crises, and while the Barber-Surgeons may have suffered somewhat in terms of prestige when compared with physicians, they proved themselves as a whole to be more aggressive and innovative in responding to the particular needs of their clientele.[191]

Remnants of superstitions and irrationality persisted throughout the century. Unusual occurrences, particularly outbreaks of mass illness like the sweating sickness or the plague, or natural disasters, were popularly held to be manifestations of an angry God.[192] Operating on the fringe of the established medical community were numerous other practitioners, some self-taught, and most self-licensed: they included frauds, empirics, magicians, mystics, and faith healers.[193] Thomas Gale, the sergeant-surgeon of Elizabeth I, ruefully recalled their handiwork. In both St. Bartholomew's and St. Thomas's Hospitals, he saw well over three hundred people "that were diseased of sore arms and legs, feet and hands, with other parts of the body so grievously infected that 120 of them could never be recovered without the loss of a limb. All these were brought to mischief by witches, by women, and by counterfeit worthless fellows that take upon themselves the use of art, not only robbing them of their money, but of their limbs and perpetual health."[194]

In the wake of calamitous mis-treatment like this, there was probably little skilled practitioners could do other than provide a clean and orderly environment for recuperation, while at the same time trying to minimize pain and trauma. As with everything, common sense was frequently the best remedy used by even sophisticated physicians and surgeons. When William Turner had spoken allegorically about the role of a good physician, he concluded that a doctor "not only healeth the present disease that vexeth the sick man, but after that he hath healed him

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[191] Pelling, "Appearance and Reality," pp. 82-83; Jones, *William Turner*, p. 99.

[192] Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, p. 531; Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, pp. 49-50, B.L., Harleian MS. 353, fol. 141^{v}.

[193] Thomas, *Religion and the Decline of Magic*, pp. 209-227; A. Macfarlane, *Witchcraft in Tudor and Stuart England* (London: 1970), pp. 280, 302; C. Goodall, *The Royal College of Physicians* (London: 1684), pp. 403-404.

[194] Quoted in Copeman, *Doctors and Diseases*, p. 56.

giveth counsel and appointeth him a diet, as if he will keep at the sick shall not fall into his old disease again."[195]

The College of Physicians and the Company of Barber-Surgeons both performed several functions: they gave a professional superstructure to London's medical profession which, they were apt to boast, made their membership unique and superior to other, more loosely-organised entities, as well as to other classifications of practitioners. Furthermore, they monitored members, and they urged their brothers to heal with compassion. In 1555, physicians were restrained from bargaining with sick patients: "let him be content with an honest price for his labour, on penalty of 3*s* 4*d* paid to the College." Neither did surgeons escape censures on their greed. Surgeons were thought to act only with their own profit in mind. Parliamentary legislation in 1542 observed that "it is now well known that the surgeons will do no cure to any person but when they know they shall be rewarded."[196]

Finally, the differing areas of competencies for physicians and surgeons were drawn in the statutes of both the College and the Company of Barber-Surgeons. While physicians were legally authorised to perform surgery, surgeons were restricted as to the procedures they could perform. The usual scope of a surgeon's activities revolved around treating external injuries, lancing abscesses, setting broken bones, applying ointments and plasters, and performing amputations.[197] Beyond this, however, some members of London's Company of Barber Surgeons were engaged in enquiries and writings on the pathological challenges of the period. Much of this writing was in the vernacular.[198] Particularly influential and attractive to the reputation of the new Company was the career and writings of the Barber-Surgeons' first master, Thomas Vicary.[199] While his medical services to the royal family spanned Henry

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[195] Turner, *The Hunting of the Romish Wolf*, sig. Eiv-vi.

[196] Both quotes from Copeman, *Doctors and Diseases*, pp. 39-40, 51.

[197] McLean, *Humanism and the Rise of Science*, p. 187.

[198] Pelling, "Appearance and Reality," p. 83.

[199] Copeman, *Doctors and Diseases*, p. 43; Duncan Porter Thomas, "The Life and Times of Thomas Vicary," (Unpublished Undergraduate Thesis, St. Bartholomew's Hospital, University of London: 1953), p. 16.

VIII's reign to the early years of Elizabeth I, links between Vicary's influence at court and royal support for the hospital remain a matter of supposition.[200]

Vicary began his career as a member of the Barbers' Company; he rose to prominence supposedly for his treatments of Henry VIII's ulcerated leg. In 1528 he was appointed one of the king's surgeons, and in the next decade he was named sergeant of the king's surgeons, with a rise in his yearly salary from £20 to 40 marks.[201] As the first head of the Barber-Surgeons's Company, Vicary must have played an important role in organising the educational functions of the company. Emphasis was placed on training in anatomical studies, and Vicary himself made at least one request for the corpse of a recently executed felon.[202] In addition, the Company sponsored lectures, and appointed Dr. John Caius, trained in Padua and Cambridge and a student of the works of Galen, as Reader of Anatomy.[203] Dr. Caius resided at St. Bartholomew's Hospital while he held this post; other than as a tenant, though, he had no formal connections with the hospital.[204] Thomas Vicary, however, played a highly conspicuous role in the reconstituted hospital's earliest years.[205]

Although at least two physicians--John Howell and Adrian the Physician--were connected with the hospital immediately after 1547, it was not until after 1561, with Dr. Roderigo Lopez, that a physician began to make twice-weekly rounds of the hospital. Regular contact between this physician and the hospital may, in the long run, not have brought lasting benefits to the house's reputation: Dr. Lopez, a physician to Elizabeth I and an expert in poisons, was incriminated in a Spanish plot to kill the sovereign, and was hanged, drawn, and quartered at

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[200] *DNB*, xx, pp. 300-301.

[201] Thomas, "Thomas Vicary," pp. 1-3, 7-8.

[202] C.L.R.O., Rep. x, fol. 186^{r}.

[203] D'Arcy Power, "The Education of a Surgeon under Thomas Vicary," in *Sir D'Arcy Power: Selected Writings, 1877-1930* (London: 1931; reprint New York: 1970), p. 76; Thomas, "Thomas Vicary," p. 23. See also Vivian Nutton, "Humanist Surgery," in *The Medical Renaissance of the Sixteenth Century*, A. Wear, R.K. French, and I.M. Lonie, eds. (Cambridge: 1985), pp. 96-97.

[204] S.B.H., HA1/2, fol. 3; HB1/2, fol. 84; *DNB*, iii, pp. 673-677.

[205] *DNB*, xx, pp. 300-301.

Tyburn in 1594.[206] In any event, it was the surgeons that clearly handled the brunt of the medical workload at St. Bartholomew's throughout the sixteenth century.

St. Bartholomew's was unique among the hospitals of London in allowing a surgeon, Thomas Vicary, to have such an active hand in the daily administration of the institution. Indeed, Vicary's activities seem to have been concentrated more in expediting sound administrative practices than in day to day surgical practices within the hospital. He sat as a member of the governing body, and among his activities, he travelled to inspect the outhouses.[207] He accepted bequests for the hospital, and he also dispensed sums to departing patients.[208] After the death of Nicholas Wilford in the middle of his tenure as the hospital's treasurer, Vicary and Richard Grafton unofficially fulfilled many of his duties: in the summer of 1551, Vicary received the gifts of the City companies, and apparently calculated for the effects of debased coinage.[209] However, his professional judgments also were exercised. In January 1553, a woman gave birth "in the Cloister." She was allowed 12*d* a week until her churching, but Vicary and the matron took "order for the child."[210] Later, presumably to accommodate immobile patients, Vicary authorised the construction of "standing or changing tables...in every ward where need is for the poor people to feed."[211] By 1550, he was entitled to demand special assistance from the hospital's butler.[212]

Because the governors' overall preoccupation with the estate and business concerns of the hospital appears to have left them somewhat detached from the *minutiae* of the daily administrative problems of St. Bartholomew's, Thomas Vicary effectively became a liaison between the board of governors and the hospital's staff. In 1550/1, Richard Grafton, the

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[206] S.B.H., HB1/1, fols. 15^{v}, 17^{r}; HA1/2, fols. 11^{r}, 54^{r}; Sir Geoffrey Keynes, "The History of Medical Practice at St. Bartholomew's Hospital, 1123-1700," in *The Royal Hospital of Saint Bartholomew: 1123-1973*, Victor Cornelius Medvei and John L. Thornton, eds. (London: 1974), p. 109.

[207] S.B.H., HA1/1, fols. 1, 4.

[208] S.B.H., HA1/1, fols. 14^{v}, 15^{v}, 57^{v}.

[209] S.B.H., HA1/1, fols. 21^{r}, 24^{v}.

[210] S.B.H., HA1/1, fol. 66^{v}; see also *ibid.*, fol. 125^{r}.

[211] S.B.H., HA1/1, fol. 7^{v}.

[212] S.B.H., HA1/1, fol. 11^{v}.

treasurer, allotted Vicary £7 11*s* for use within the hospital.[213] In January 1552, he was nominated as "one of the assistants of this house for the term of his life."[214] Two-and-a-half years later, he was charged with "oversight of all such officers as be within the hospital (in the absence of the governors), and to reform such things as he seeth amiss or every officer and to make report [to] the governors when they next meet."[215]

These directives, in addition to Vicary's high standing within his own company, would have made the three acting surgeons of the house subordinate to him. In 1553, intervention was needed by the court of the governors to arbitrate a "variance between the surgeons." The charge was made "that there is not an equal division of the cures of the poor...." The court mandated that all surgeons began their day at 7AM. The governors also demanded "the surgeons shall make equal division" of the cases, so that one surgeon was not overburdened while the other two enjoyed a lighter charge.[216] A second complaint was not so easily answered. The court reasoned that "natural counsel" was desirable amongst the surgeons. Surgeons were at all times to confer, and when questions arose as to the proper course of treatment, the surgeons ought to reach a consensus: mavericks would be dismissed.[217]

The evidence suggests that the surgeons policed their own ranks. In July 1554, Stephen Garlop, a carpenter who practiced surgery within St. Bartholomew's, was ordered to depart.[218] Garlop had "...no knowledge of surgery...[and] those who will not be ordered by the surgeons should be discharged."[219] This note of finality was broken scarcely three months later, however. Garlop was assigned the cure of six persons in October, and later his compensation was confirmed at 6*s* 8*d* for each cure he effected. By August 1555, he had taken up residence

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[213] S.B.H., HB1/1, fol. 93.
[214] S.B.H., HA1/1, fol. 33.
[215] S.B.H., HA1/1, fol. 106^{v}.
[216] S.B.H., HA1/1, fol. 77.
[217] S.B.H., HA1/1, fol. 77.
[218] S.B.H., HA1/1, fol. 104. For instances in Norfolk of barber-surgeons with other professions, see Margaret Pelling, "Occupational Diversity: Barbersurgeons and the Trades of Norwich, 1550-1640," in *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, 56, pp. 503-507.
[219] S.B.H., HA1/1, fol. 104.

in an empty chamber in the Dorter, and he was fully reinstated as a surgeon on 5 October 1555.[220] Fifteen years later, another surgeon proved to be just as impossible to remove. Thomas Skott had been dismissed around the beginning of 1570 for "certain abuses." In April 1570, with the backing of Sir William Garrett, Skott was readmitted, with the explicit understanding that "from henceforth [he would] meddle with no kind of cure without the consent of his fellows, [the] other surgeons of this house." Thereafter he would have to "use himself in his said office as the other surgeons...do. And also use such kind of drug and salves as be good and wholesome for the patient and to bear such charges as others his fellows do."[221] Skott was apparently true to his word, for his job was secure until August 1575, when he was dismissed and granted a pension because of advanced age.[222]

The governing body obviously did what it could to make the difficult and demanding position of hospital surgeon bearable. Above the usual compensation of £20 per year, surgeons were often awarded bounties for their hard work or for their successful methods.[223] When the hospital seemed to want the services of a particular surgeon, it might offer other enticements to sweeten the terms of employment. Such was the case with William Bedon in June 1568. The court of governors seemed unusually solicitous in ironing out the terms of a lease; and if Bedon did not like the first house he settled in, then he could move into the Barber's house in St. John's Street.[224]

In return for concessions like these, the government of the house expected diligence, professional competence, and that the prospective surgeon use "himself well and honestly therein, as any honest man ought to do."[225] In the case of Bedon, the governors may have

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[220] S.B.H., HA1/1, fols. 110^{r-v}, 114^{v}, 126^{r}, 130^{v}.

[221] S.B.H., HA1/2, fol. 24$^{(b)}$.

[222] "Chronological List of Physicians and Surgeons," Nellie J.M. Kerling, compiler, Appendix I in *The Royal Hospital of Saint Bartholomew: 1123-1973*, Victor Cornelius Medvei and John L. Thornton, eds. (London: 1974), p. 388.

[223] S.B.H., HA1/1, fol. 55^{v}; HA1/2, fols. 48^{r}, 54^{v}.

[224] S.B.H., HA1/2, fols. 11, 12^{v}-13^{r}.

[225] S.B.H., HA1/2, fol. 54^{v}.

been disappointed. Bedon took the place of George Vaughan, one of the original surgeons, in January 1570.[226] On 15 September 1576, Bedon seems narrowly to have averted dismissal, while bringing odium on himself and "great slander [to] the...house." "Contrary to the order and usage of this house," Bedon had taken 16*s* from a poor woman when she had sought admission, and though he was made to repay the woman, the damage had been worked on his good name and the reputation of the hospital.[227]

6. Staff and Patient Life within the Hospital

It was the matron and the sisters that had closest and most regular contact with the patients, as indicated in the *Order* of 1552. The first matron of the new St. Bartholomew's was Rose Fisher, a redoubtable figure who presided over her sisters and the wards with almost the same looming authority as did Thomas Vicary in managing the internal affairs of the hospital. In 1551, and again in 1553, Rose Fisher was nearly lured from St. Bartholomew's, apparently by offers from St. Katherine's by the Tower, and of the office of matron at St. Thomas's.[228] Before she was finally replaced by Ellen Smith at the end of 1558, Sister Fisher established the nature of the responsibilities for the matron and sisters for the duration of the century.[229]

The tasks of the matron were divided into two basic categories: administrative and housekeeping. The matron's administrative duties were relatively light; they included receiving bequests for the house, and, along with the hospitaller, seeing that whatever money deceased patients left behind was turned over to the general funds of the hospital.[230] In the areas of housekeeping, the matron was responsible for seeing that good order was kept, among both patients and the sisters.

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[226] S.B.H., HA1/2, fol. 22$^{(b)v}$.
[227] S.B.H., HA1/2, fol. 101^{v}.
[228] *CPR, Edward VI*, iv, p. 49; S.B.H., HA1/1, fols. 90^{v}-91^{r}, 100^{v}, 101^{r}.
[229] S.B.H., HA1/1, fols. 183, 185.
[230] S.B.H., HA1/1, fol. 121^{v}; HB1/1, fols. 9, 11.

As would be the case at the other City hospitals, the governors thought it important that the sisters' time always be put to good use: in moments where the care of patients did not occupy them, they were assigned other jobs. This served two purposes. Somewhat paternalistically, the governors obviously feared idleness as much from hospital employees as from hospital inmates. When sisters wove or spun flax, they set a living example of thrift and application to the patients. And of course, all the sixteenth-century hospitals needed to stretch resources to make ends meet, and the crafts of the sisters would have helped.[231] Patients sometimes participated in small-scale works projects. In 1553, the hospital paid inmates "for their pains" in making candles; two years later, a poor man (who admittedly might have been an outside jobber) was given 5*s* for making mattresses.[232]

The matron also oversaw the diet of all but the hospital's weakest patients.[233] Lists of foodstuffs purchased indicate that the hospital offered a variety of meals. Apart from staples such as bread and beer, rye, mutton, cheeses, beef, and fish were regularly ordered. The hospital also acted to ensure sufficient water supplies. Consumables accounted for a significant percentage of monthly expenditures.[234] Hospital officers often negotiated with individual tradesmen and purveyors for advantageous deals.[235] Particularly in the 1550s, during intermittent periods of dearth, the hospital struggled to cope with the effects of diminishing purchasing power. In 1550 and again in 1553, hospital rulers decided that bread rations for patients would have to be increased. In 1550 "corn began to wax very dear in England...which caused the size of bread to be small."[236] Therefore the governors ordained that each person was to have 8 ounces of bread daily, because "the half-penny loaf (now being

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[231] S.B.H., HA1/1, fols. 45^{v}, 172^{v}, 181^{v}; HB1/1, fol. 53^{v}.
[232] S.B.H., HA1/1, fol. 94; HB1/1, fol. 238^{v}.
[233] S.B.H., HA1/1, fol. 74^{v}.
[234] S.B.H., HA1/1, fols. 43^{r}, 103^{v}, 145^{r}, 150^{r}; HB1/2, fols. 12^{v}, 94^{v}, 108^{v}, 120^{v}, 169^{v}.
[235] S.B.H., HA1/1, fol. 51$^{(a)}$.
[236] Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, ii, p. 30.

very small) is too little for two men at a meal."[237] Throughout the decade, though, the hospital had to readjust its bread allowance.[238]

After securing adequate food supplies for the patients, the hospital staff and rulers worried about the material needs of the house. Numerous purchase orders survive for additional blankets, mattresses, pillows, coverlets, and bolsters. The hospital also provided livery for both staff and patients.[239] Gifts in kind from Londoners were needed, and were received regularly throughout the period.[240] What is most clearly revealed in the purchase authorisations of the 1570s is that by then, patients were routinely distributed in wards. By 1571, eight wards were listed, although some, like the Sweat Ward, seem to have gone unmentioned.[241] Some of the wards, like the Cloister Dorter Ward and the Chapel Ward, retained their pre-Reformation names. Whether or not in the first quarter-century after the hospital's refoundation patients were segregated by sex is not fully evident. By the 1590s, however, such an arrangement was almost certainly in place, and the number of wards had grown to thirteen. By the end of the century, the regular obligations of the hospital had expanded considerably, and the duties were such that each ward was supervised by its own sister.[242]

St. Bartholomew's Hospital provided many examples in organisation and governance for the other large urban hospitals founded slightly later. After 1546, the City assumed responsibility for its development and efficient operation, and City leaders drawn from the Aldermanic and Common Councils offered at least monthly oversight of its administration. For the small percentage of London's poor who were able to gain admittance, the hospital promised professional care, physical healing, rest, nourishment, and a clean and calm environ-

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[237] S.B.H., HA1/1, fols. 12^{v}, 92^{r}.
[238] S.B.H., HA1/1, fols. 139^{v}, 156^{r}.
[239] S.B.H., HA1/1, fol. 1; HA1/2, fol. 53.
[240] S.B.H., HA1/1, fols. 32^{r}, 47^{v}, 130^{r}.
[241] S.B.H., HA1/2, fol. 34^{v}.
[242] S.B.H., HA1/2, fol. 34^{v}; Yeo, *Ward Names at Bart's*, p. 1.

ment. Compared with similar institutions on the continent, St. Bartholomew's would have seemed a pale imitation. To Londoners, however, St. Bartholomew's and the hospitals that followed were a source of hope. At last, efforts were being made to deal with some of the more devastating problems of the metropolis, and the new City hospitals proved that these efforts extended beyond reliance on the piety and generosity of individuals.

CHAPTER VII

THE REFOUNDATION OF THE HOSPITALS
Phase II:
Christ's, Saint Thomas's, and Bridewell Hospitals

By 1552, it was evident that a single one-hundred bed facility would not suffice to meet the burgeoning demands the poor placed on the City.[1] After all, the poor of later-medieval London had had recourse to at least six major hospitals or hospices, four of which provided bed-space for some 420 sufferers.[2] Perceptions of intractable urban poverty, coupled with allegations of inadequacies in the administration of St. Bartholomew's, even resulted in certain uncircumspect preachers questioning the behaviour of the City administrators, "...thinking peradventure if the [governors of the] City had done their duty herein, this hospital should have made a general sweep of all poor and afflicted."[3] The rulers of London knew that a fine line had to be trodden between seeming to coddle the poor and appearing indifferent to their misery. The Lord Protector was a prime example of this paradox: his career had been undermined both by charges that he had allied himself too closely with the unruly poor, and on the other hand that he left the burden of providing for the poor wholly on the shoulders of Londoners, while he unconscionably enriched himself and his followers.[4]

The problem of adequately providing for the many poor in London would leave some reformers exhausted and even somewhat depressed. In moments of intimacy with other advo-

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[1] Howes, "A Familiar and Friendly Discourse," pp. 6-7.

[2] The Savoy, St. Thomas's in Southwark, St. Mary without Bishopsgate, and Elsying Spittle together had a capacity for an estimated 420 patients: perhaps even more if several slept in a single bed. The Valuation Roll of St. Bartholomew's (1546) gives a figure of 45 beds at St. Bartholomew's, although apparently not all the beds were kept in a state of readiness to receive patients. No pre-Reformation records survive to give firm numbers for the patients in residence either at St. Bartholomew's or at St. Thomas Acon early in the 1500s. Sir Norman Moore held that St. Bartholomew's had a capacity of fifty to sixty patients before the Dissolution, but he does not cite his sources. Rawcliffe, "Hospitals of Later Medieval London," pp. 1-21; Archer, *The Pursuit of Stability*, p. 154; S.B.H., HC3, mem. 17; Moore, *History of St. Bartholomew's*, ii, p. 257.

[3] S.B.H., *Order...of St. Bartholomew's*, A5.

[4] See above, Chapter III, pp. 104, 108; Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, ii, pt. 2, p. 430; C.L.R.O., Journal xvi, fol. 36; University of Pennsylvania, Van Pelt Library Special Collections, Dewey MS. SE 99/M, fols. 113-114; Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, p. 496.

cates of social reform, the *sang-froid* of theorists and politicians was apt to desert them, if only briefly. So it was in early July 1549, when a panicky sense that his tenuous grip on the levers of power was beginning to slip caused Somerset to try to prevail upon all officials to "begin to the reformations of your selves, whereby you shall both have the better credit and may with the more boldness proceed to the redress of others."[5] Others could reflect with somewhat less attention to political expediencies, as on 14 September 1551, when Sir William Petre wrote to William Cecil. Petre had just settled a commission for the visitation on the Savoy, the rich endowments of which would eventually support the work of Bridewell, Christ's Hospital, and St. Thomas's. He reflected that their generation had profited handsomely from the acquisition of church lands, yet "we, which talk much of Christ and His Holy Word, have, I fear me, used a much contrary way; for we leave fishing for men and fish again in the tempestuous seas of this world for gain and wicked mammon."[6]

The years Northumberland ruled at court were accounted a period of insatiable covetousness, so much so that "the people...each went about to devour each other." Suspicion was insidious and pervasive: the rich against the poor, natives against foreigners, practitioners of the new faith against those who clung to old forms of worship. Almost everyone assumed God to be on their side in important debates, and the disposition of the Almighty was as usual seen written in natural phenomena. God could and did, it was believed, manifest his dreadful displeasure: in plagues, dearth, natural disasters, and political uncertainty, all of which beset London and its suburbs in the early 1550s.

Nonetheless, the greed of the powerful often lurked behind the misery of the poor. Some men at court, among them Cranmer, Cecil, and Cheke, stood fast against those "courtiers and great men" who would monopolise corn and "tear and rend from the Church,

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[5] P.R.O., SP10/8/18.

[6] P.R.O., SP10/13/42; Patrick Fraser Tytler, *England Under Edward VI and Mary I, with the contemporary history of Europe illustrated in a series of original letters never before printed, with historical introductions and biographical and critical notes*, 2 vols. (London: 1839), i, p. 427; Pollard, *England Under Protector Somerset*, p. 315.

the Universities, and the hospitals of the poor."[7] Edward VI himself fulminated against the slothfulness and complacency of the rulers of London for "suffering unreasonable prices of things," in the midst of so much misery and murmuring amongst the populace: he "marveled greatly" that the prices of merchandise and victuals were so dear in the City, since "throughout all England [they were] fallen half in half, and in the City nothing [was] fallen." Ominously, though perhaps somewhat emptily, the king threatened to repeal City liberties and intervene directly in the government of London.[8]

And yet even as the City leaders were being met with these recriminations and warnings, in addition to the charges concerning the shortcomings of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, they were on the verge of gaining three other properties for the poor of London. In so doing, they would institute the most significant, enduring legacy to the practical and godly intentions of the Edwardian period; and, scarcely a year after Petre had written with remorse to Cecil, the reformers could again turn to the social and spiritual reformation of the capital city.

1. King Edward VI, Bishop Ridley, and the Governors of the City: New Strategies for the Relief of the Poor of London

John Howes wrote his dialogue on the creation of Christ's Hospital, St. Thomas's Hospital, and Bridewell in the early 1580s to remind the then-governors of the hospitals of the foresight and valour of their predecessors forty years' past: Howes's contemporaries had to appreciate the good works of founders if they were to continue in their tradition of "great good service" to the poor. Even as "the physician can never cure his patient except he first examine the grounds of his disease," so too might the bounty and "fatherly care" of men like Richard Dobbes and William Chester serve as a map for all rulers and benefactors of the future.[9]

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[7] Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, ii, pt. 1, pp. 494-495; *CSP, Sp.*, x, pp. 290-291, 368; B.L., Harleian MS. 284, fols. 127-128; Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, ii, pp. 1, 5, 17, 49-50, 59, 71; *CSP, Ven., 1534-1554*, pp. 541-542; *APC*, iii, p. 262; *Chronicle of Queen Jane*, p. 21; Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, p. 531.

[8] Edward VI, *Chronicle*, pp. 129-130; Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, ii, pp. 48, 70-71.

[9] Howes, "A Familiar and Friendly Discourse," pp. ii-iii.

Direct motivation for the foundation of Christ's, St. Thomas's, and Bridewell Hospitals sprang from three sources: Bishop Ridley, the successive City governments headed by Richard Dobbes and George Barnes, and Edward VI. The private inclinations of individual sovereigns is often rather hard to ascribe in the early history of the hospitals. Apart from approving or obstructing plans regarding the hospitals, their true interest in the tasks undertaken by the hospitals of London mostly remains nebulous. A real exception to this lies with Edward VI, whose concern with the hospitals was personal, active, and earnest.

Dr. Susan Brigden writes that Edward VI began his personal rule following the execution of the duke of Somerset in January 1552. With his uncle's death, a bond with the past was broken, and Edward then determined never again to be "manipulated by overmighty councillors" and was willing to exert his own preferences whenever practicable.[10] In his boyhood, he had been informed by his uncle Thomas Seymour that he was "but even a very beggarly king now, [as] ye have naught to play or to give to your servants." Seymour's efforts were crude and transparent: he sought only to instill in Edward a resentment towards his older uncle, Somerset. Seymour advised the king that by 1550, "[you] must take upon you yourself to rule, for you shall be able enough as well as other kings."[11] Advice like this, however selfishly rendered, must have stuck in the adolescent's mind.

But by the beginning of 1552, Edward's interests went well beyond imaginings: he had imbibed the lessons of his humanist education and the preachings of men like Cranmer, Latimer, and Lever, and had acquired an interest in social conditions. Lever, a "conscientious, [and] so a bold preacher," chided the officers of the king that they used the revenues of dissolved monasteries, chantries, colleges, and hospitals for their own greedy ends instead of bestowing those profits on the "relief of the poor, maintenance of learning, and the

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[10] Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, p. 518.

[11] *Collection of State Papers, Left by William Cecil, Lord Burghley, Relating to the Affairs in the reigns of King Henry VIII, King Edward VI, Queen Mary, and Queen Elizabeth, from the years 1542 to 1570*, 2 vols., Samuel Haynes and William Murdin, eds. (London: 1740-1759), i, p. 74.

setting forth of God's Word and to comfortable necessary hospitality in the commonwealth."[12] Homilists spoke before the king of the infamy of having "vile beggars...begging as they used to do in the streets," neglected by those who had the means to relieve them: if the king did not make his subjects accountable for the absence of charity, God would make him answerable for it.[13]

Those "sores of the realm" did, moreover, arrest the king's interest. He composed a "Discourse on Reform," in which he enumerated cures "with these medicines or plasters" for the ailments of the kingdom. Edward listed eight guidelines to restore discipline and equity to the realm: among them were the requirement of a good education for all poor folk, the devising of good laws, the execution of the laws justly and without respect of person, the provision of good examples on the part of rulers, and the punishing of vagabonds and all idle persons.[14] These solutions, however formulaic, at least suggested that the king would be sympathetic to the directives of older, wiser minds in relieving the misery of the poor. That guidance, Lever predicted in 1550, would come from Nicholas Ridley, the new bishop of London: he would prove a "good overseer" who would labour mightily for the poor of London and Westminster. Under his care, the capital would finally become what it ought to have been: a "good example [to] all the other towns and cities."[15]

The relationship between the king and Ridley was to be both cordial and productive.[16] So too was the rapport harmonious between the bishop and the City fathers.[17] It was important that the collaboration between Ridley and the leaders of London worked well, for the City was

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[12] Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, ii, pt. 1, p. 409.

[13] Lever, *Sermons*, p. 78. Sermons before the king that touched on themes like "covetousness...whereby the poor was so much wronged by the rich...[and yet this] great wickedness [was] committed without any censures or punishments" were commonplaces in his intellectual diet: see, for example, Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, ii, pt. 1, p. 496.

[14] Edward VI, *Chronicle*, pp. 159, 165.

[15] Lever, *Sermons*, p. 78.

[16] Gina Alexander, "Victim or Spendthrift? The Bishop of London and His Income in the Sixteenth Century," in *Wealth and Power in Tudor England: Essays presented to S.T. Bindoff*, E.W. Ives, R.J. Knecht, J.J. Scarisbrick, eds. (London: 1978), pp. 129.

[17] See, for instance, Ridley's eulogies of Dobbes and Barnes: Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, vii, pp. 559-560.

facing a variety of unusually intractable problems in the early 1550s. After a decade of governmental tampering with the coinage, the effects of inflation had reached their most deleterious stage: even proclamations designed to fix the price of foodstuffs within the City were of no avail.[18] According to the Imperial Ambassador, rumours of mass discontent were rife, with feverish resentment toward all foreigners within the realm. There were, as well, suspicions that agitators, ruffians, masterless men, and serving men in London were plotting to incite city-dwellers to revolt: vagrants especially were widely believed to sow the seeds of sedition in their rumours.[19]

To lessen strains, new efforts were made to encourage charitable donations from anyone in a position to help. When St. Bartholomew's Hospital proved incapable of relieving all the poor who sought admission, preachers "moved the people to provide and give liberally to the relief of those poor people."[20] Those at the top of the civic hierarchy set public examples. On Michaelmas Day, 1551, before the mayoral electoral proceedings, the aldermen paused after Communion in the chapel of the Guildhall to make an offering to the poor in St. Bartholomew's: links between civic responsibilities, obligations to the poor, and commemoration of Christ's earthly mission were reaffirmed.[21] Bishop Ridley ordered curates under him to be vigilant for any legacies which remained undistributed, notably those for the poor, the repairing of highways, or the marrying of poor maidens.[22] In revoking the draconian and largely unobserved Vagrancy Act of 1547, the new statutory legislation of 1552 hinted at sanctions to those who refused to give alms.[23]

The Act for the Provision and Relief of the Poor, 1552, gave authority to both civic and parish officials to appoint persons to gather and distribute alms, "gently [asking and

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[18] *Grey Friars' Chronicle*, p. 72; Rappaport, *Worlds Within Worlds*, pp. 168-170.

[19] *CSP, Sp.*, x, pp. 278-279 [21 April 1551]; Edward VI, *Chronicle*, p. 59; Paul Slack, "The Reactions of the Poor to Poverty in England, *c.*1500-1750" in *Aspects of Poverty in Early Modern England, II*, Thomas Riis, ed., Odense University Studies in History and Social Sciences, vol. 100 (Odense, Denmark: 1986), p 19.

[20] Howes, "A Familiar and Friendly Discourse," p. 7.

[21] Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, ii, p. 55.

[22] *Visitation Articles*, ii, item 61, p. 240.

[23] *S.R.*, iv, pt. 1, pp. 5-8, 1 Edward VI, ch. 3; *S.R.*, iv, pt.1, pp. 131-132, 5 & 6 Edward VI, ch. 2.

demanding] of every man and woman what they of their charity will be contented to give weekly towards the relief of the poor." Those with no charity in their hearts would be summoned before parish vestries for mild exhortations towards Christian generosity; if these suasions went unheeded, then the recalcitrant individuals would be hauled before their bishop for stiffer inducements.[24]

2. The Royal Grants of 1552

For the poor of London who were not able to find healing or shelter in St. Bartholomew's, Ridley turned his persuasive powers to his listeners at court. Shortly after the execution of Somerset, Ridley made before Edward VI a "fruitful and godly exhortation to the rich, to be merciful unto the poor and also to move such as were in authority, to travail by some charitable means and ways, to comfort and relieve them."[25]

Ridley's homily apparently pricked the conscience of the king, for after the sermon, Edward VI acknowledged that "a great number of poor people did swarm in this realm, and chiefly in the City of London, and that no good order was taken for them." Speaking in private consultation with Ridley in the Great Hall of Westminster Palace, the king recognised that he would "make answer unto God" for any negligence in answering the cries of the poor. He was "before all things most willing to travel that way," but he deferred to the wisdom and experience of Ridley. Ridley suggested that the king and the leaders of the City devise "some entrance to be had...because the numbers of the poor there are very great, and the citizens are many and wise, and he doubted not but they were also both pitiful and merciful, as [also] the mayor and his brethren, and other worshipful of the said City."[26]

After this initial meeting, Edward VI wrote to Sir Richard Dobbes, the Lord Mayor, "willing him to call unto him such assistants as he should think meet, to consult of this man-

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[24] *S.R.*, iv, pt. 1, pp. 131-132, 5 & 6 Edward VI, ch. 2.
[25] Holinshed, *Chronicle*, iii, p. 1060.
[26] Holinshed, *Chronicle*, iii, p. 1060.

ner, for some order to be taken therein, he doubted not but good should follow thereof." The king instructed Ridley that he should take full part in the deliberations of Dobbes.[27]

Dobbes took the king at his word. He invited Ridley to appear before the aldermanic council--an unusual step in itself--, and together they pleaded for the "most blessed work of God, of the erection and setting up of Christ's holy hospitals, and truly religious houses." Mayor and bishop became powerful advocates for "the relief of Christ's poor, silly members...from extreme misery, hunger, and famine."[28] Dobbes forthwith organised meetings with leading citizens, two aldermen and six commoners, and Ridley, and under his direction, they produced a book "wherein first they considered...nine special kinds and sorts of poor people."[29] Their stated intention was to establish a "platform" by which all the City's idle and sick could be housed and eventually made into "profitable members of the commonwealth."[30] From the first stages of their planning, then, the goals of the municipal leaders of London in building the hospitals were not dissimilar from the aims of those who had planned the urban hospitals of northern Italy in the fifteenth century: both sought the enclosure of "poor unproductive folk."[31] In London, however, hospital inmates would be admitted for definite purpose: release could come only after physical healing, social rehabilitation, spiritual refreshment, moral edification, punitive correction, or a combination of each.

The category of poor listed first by the committee presided over by Dobbes was the poor by impotence, which included fatherless and poor men's children, the aged, blind, and lame, diseased persons, lepers, and those afflicted with dropsy.[32] The committee proposed making over "the late dissolved house of the Grey Friars," currently in the possession of St.

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[27] Holinshed, *Chronicle*, iii, p. 1061; Howes, "A Familiar and Friendly Discourse," pp. 7-8.
[28] Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, vii, p. 559.
[29] Holinshed, *Chronicle*, iii, p. 1061.
[30] Howes, "A Familiar and Friendly Discourse," pp. 9-10.
[31] Rubin, *Charity and Community*," p. 32.
[32] Holinshed, *Chronicle*, iii, p. 1061. The two main categories of the poor were the poor by casualty, which included wounded soldiers, decayed householders, and those "visited with grievous disease," and the thriftless poor, namely "rioters that consumeth all, vagabonds that will abide in no place, idle persons, as the strumpets and others."

Bartholomew's Hospital, to receive orphans and poor men's children. There they would have "meat, drink, clothes, lodging, and learning, and officers to attend them."[33] In keeping with Ridley's interest in the education of the young, the children would be "trained in the knowledge of God, and some virtuous exercise to the overthrow of beggary."[34]

Sick children would be segregated from the healthy, lest "through the corrupt nature of the children who being taken from the dunghill might one infect another being packed up in one house, and so put the whole City in danger of infection." Sick children would be sent to Finsbury Court, in Cripplegate Ward, where they would benefit from fresh air; suckling children, and those too young to learn would also be sent to the country, returning to London only at Easter time. Those lame and aged people who "had not any place to go unto" would be conveyed to St. Thomas's Hospital in Southwark, where they would have "meat, drink, and lodging, [and] surgeons and other officers to attend upon them."[35]

Vagrants, both male and female, would be "taken up and conveyed into some house where they should have all things necessary and be compelled to labour."[36] While the thriftless poor were incarcerated, they would be "chastised" so that eventually they would be moulded to overthrow their "vicious life of idleness."[37] Lepers would be removed from the streets and sent to lazar houses strung along the periphery of the City. There they would be granted monthly pensions "to the end that they should not annoy the king's subjects resorting to the City." Decayed citizens would receive weekly pensions "according to [each one's] necessity" from their parishes, while they were cared for within their own homes.[38] People cured in any of the hospitals would be sent to the "House of Labour" and there work amongst

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[33] Howes, "A Familiar and Friendly Discourse," pp. 10-11.

[34] Holinshed, *Chronicle*, iii, p. 1061. In 1550, Ridley had instructed all curates that they should be diligent in the teaching of catechism, and they should be ready at all times to instruct and examine the young. Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, ii, pt. 1, pp. 401-402.

[35] Howes, "A Familiar and Friendly Discourse," pp. 11-13; Stow, *Survey*, pp. 261, 380-381.

[36] Howes, "A Familiar and Friendly Discourse," pp. 13-14.

[37] Holinshed, *Chronicle*, iii, p. 1061.

[38] Howes, "A Familiar and Friendly Discourse," pp. 14-15; Holinshed, *Chronicle*, iii, p. 1062; G.L., MS. 12819/1, fol. 25^{r-v}.

thieves and vagrants until such time as they "might be better provided for." To ensure further that beggars would be removed from the streets of the City, the committee planned to augment the number of beadles, who would "daily attend and wait in the streets and at the gates of the City that no country beggar should come in to annoy or put the City to further charge."[39]

The plan of the committee was reviewed favourably by the court of aldermen, which then considered the most efficacious way to implement it, lest bureaucratic inertia cause it to "die in oblivion." Officers were selected to "bring the work unto perfect ripeness" by composing "precepts" to be sent to every alderman and to the wardens of every company to "make diligent search within every of their wards and companies" of those requiring medical care, those who needed disciplinary intervention on the part of the City, or those who merited official relief. The search revealed some 300 fatherless children, 200 sick or incapacitated persons, 350 poor men overburdened with their children, 400 aged persons, 650 decayed householders, and 200 vagabonds.[40]

The people of London were actively engaged in contributing to the inauguration of the hospitals: civic officials as well as clerics gave "eloquent orations" on the duties and rewards of charity. These activities recalled the previous efforts of Sir Martin Bowes to stimulate parish collections; they were also consistent with the tenor of the national legislation on poor relief implemented in 1552. The Lord Mayor, Sir Richard Dobbes, and a deputation of aldermen and "other grave citizens" took to the pulpits to remind churchgoers "how great and how many commodities would ensue unto them and their City, if the poor of divers sorts, which they named, were taken from out their streets, lanes, and alleys, and were bestowed and provided for in hospitals abroad, etc." The speakers acted expeditiously, for on 17 February

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[39] Howes, "A Familiar and Friendly Discourse," pp. 16-17.

[40] Funding for this search was provided by the thirty members of the committee, who "press[ed] upon [themselves donations] according to his calling and ability," plus fines of £200 from two men elected sheriffs. Altogether, £748 was raised. Howes, "A Familiar and Friendly Discourse," pp. 17-24.

1552 the City government collected books in which were enumerated the promises of each ward towards the relief of the whole City.[41] This was part of the campaign to convince

> ...every man...liberally to grant, what they would impart towards the preparing and furnishing of such hospitals, and also what they would contribute weekly towards their maintenance for a time, which they said should not be past one year, or twain, until they were better furnished of such endowment: to make short, every man granted liberally, according to his ability; books were drawn of the relief in every ward of the City, towards the new hospitals, and were delivered by the mayor to the king's commissioners....[42]

Churchwardens, sidesmen, and preachers were enlisted to induce parishioners to offer "frank benevolence and weekly pension": local officials not gifted with acute persuasive powers were provided with ready-made, "fine, witty, and learned" orations to help them persuade their listeners "to give liberally."[43] Efforts to raise money for a "work [which] was so general well-liked" ranged widely: from the preachers at Paul's Cross to innkeepers, from parish poor boxes to collection plates at cockfights, those in contact with the public were encouraged to take up collections, or have boxes available to receive charitable impulses. The poor boxes in parish churches and chests in company halls soon became repositories of "great sums of money, for men gave frankly."[44]

Respectable householders were also presented with printed bills which left blank a space in which recipients could pledge a sum towards "the erection of the houses for the poor...and [a weekly donation] towards the maintenance and continuance of the same poor." All sums received from the "boxes, bills, and benevolences" would be recorded by the clerk of the committee.[45]

Conspicuous acts of beneficence were also required of, and were forthcoming from, the aldermen and other high-placed public servants to inspire good will among the citizenry at

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[41] Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, ii, p. 66.

[42] Stow, *Survey*, p. 335; Slack, "Social Policy and the Constraints of Government," p. 113.

[43] Howes, "A Familiar and Friendly Discourse," p. 24.

[44] There may be at least a hint of retrospective myth-making in Howes's statement. Howes, "A Familiar and Friendly Discourse," p. 25.

[45] Howes, "A Familiar and Friendly Discourse," pp. 26-27.

large: in all, between 1552 and 1553, aldermen gave individual gifts and pledges of £315 3*s* 4*d*.[46] The Corporation contributed £150 of lands towards the anticipated upkeep of St. Thomas's Hospital. The example set by these men, and certainly the necessity and propriety of caring for the aged, lame, and orphaned soon sparked the imagination of the citizenry: early collections from three wards, thirteen parishes, and innumerable individuals brought in more than £1250. Gift-givers ranged from the duchess of Suffolk, who gave 40*s*, to £24 "given by a nameless man for the apparelling of children" and lesser sums from "divers persons for [the] making of children's pies at Christmas." Bequests, especially to Christ's Hospital, came from people of every variety of background and means: rich and poor, powerful and lowly were often united in pity for helpless children.[47]

The immediate task in late July 1552 was that the former Grey Friars and St. Thomas's Hospital "should be repaired and made sweet and ready to receive the poor." Much of the precincts of the former Grey Friars had apparently not been well utilised by St. Bartholomew's, for it stood "void and empty, [with] only a number of whores and rogues harboured therein all night." Evidently the sole respectable resident was Thomas Bryckette, the Vicar of Christ Church Parish; the soon-to-be-named governors of Christ's Hospital "compounded (with him), and bought all his tables, bedsteads, and other things...[and] whose lodging the governors made them a compting [counting] house and a lodging for their clerk."

St. Thomas's Hospital appeared "somewhat out of reparation" also: in the course of readying the hospital to receive patients, the Corporation made repairs and alterations to old hospital buildings, and St. Thomas's assumed the physical dimensions and appearance it would substantially retain until the close of the seventeenth century.[48] Since at least 26 February

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[46] Nine aldermen donated a total of £143 13*s* 4*d*, led by Sir Rowland Hill (£30) and Lord Mayor Dobbes (£26 8*s* 4*d*); the seventeen early governors of St. Thomas's and Christ's contributed the remainder, with sums ranging from £20 to £3 6*s* 8*d*. G.L., MS. 12819/1, fol. 1^{r-v}.

[47] G.L., MS. 12819/1, fols. 2^{r}-8^{v}.

[48] Howes, "A Familiar and Friendly Discourse," pp. 27-30; John D. Thompson and G. Goldin, *The Hospital: A Social and Architectural History* (New Haven, Connecticut and London: 1975), p. 84.

1551, the City, led by John Gresham, Rowland Hill, William Gerrard, George Barnes, and John Ayliffe, had been negotiating with the king's council for the purchase of St. Thomas's Hospital and the lands belonging to it.[49] The Privy Council endorsed a survey of the hospital and its endowments on 25 March 1551.[50]

The terms of the City's purchase of the hospital, ratified by Gresham, Hill, Barnes, and William Blackwell, the Common Clerk, for the City on 30 July 1551, listed the possessions of St. Thomas's as worth £314 17*s* 1*d* a year. Allowances were made for the "impotent and lame soldiers and such like poor persons" to be kept there: bedding, furniture, fuel, winding sheets for "such poor as shall happen to die from time to time in the said hospital" amounted to £85 10*s* 5*d*. Also calculated were combined annual wages of £56 for the hospital officers, namely: a minister to serve the 700 "housling people" within the vicinity of the hospital, and another clergyman to serve within the hospital and to aid the curate; "two women or sisters to attend upon the poor and to wash their clothes"; a porter; a surgeon (who would receive £10 *p.a.*); and an "honest and sober man, to be Overseer and Deputy to the Mayor and commonalty, as well to oversee the said hospital, with all things thereunto belonging, as also for the better order of the revenue appointed." The survey also found the rental properties of the old foundation to be "so ruinous and decayed that £500 will scant suffice to repair them." These revenues came chiefly from the approximately 120 small cottages and tenements that lay within the hospital circuit: individual rents from these residences averaged at 5*s* a year. The clear yearly worth of the lands and properties amounted to £160.[51]

Further listing of the hospital's principal land holdings indicated that most were within the Southwark parishes of St. Saviour's, St. George's, and St. Olave's, while the diverse holdings which existed in Surrey included parcels in Lambeth, Newington, Wimbledon, and

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[49] C.L.R.O., Rep. xii, pt. 2, fols. 309^{r}, 310^{v}, 338^{v}, 417^{v}.

[50] *APC*, iii, p. 242.

[51] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/E14, fol. 109; P.R.O., E318 29/1650; *Supplement to the Memoranda Relating to the Royal Hospitals: Consisting of Original Documents from the Records Office, the British Museum, the Privy Council, the Archives of the City, etc.* (Court of the Common Council, London: 1867), pp. 5-7.

Penge, valued at £274.[52] The hospital had other properties in Kent and Essex, and within the City of London it collected rents in eighteen parishes and St. Paul's Cathedral, worth £35 8*s* 9*d*. Altogether, hospital land and residential holdings were worth £314 17*s* 1*d*.[53]

Omitted from these estimates were the buildings within the hospital precincts, for most of which annual rental values had previously been set. The hall, chambers, lofts, cellars, gardens, and orchards that had made up the old monastic foundation were rather tentatively accorded rental value of £11 6*s* 8*d*. The hall, chambers, and grounds of the Sisters' House were appraised at £4 *p.a.*. The two dwellings within the hospital precinct which had previously served as almshouses were not valued, as "they [were] reserved at this day to the same use of poor people." Within the church yard stood the old, derelict chapel, which if cleared away could fetch upwards of £4 from the timber, glass, stone, and iron.[54] Select aldermen and councillors would also have to make determinations regarding the beddings, ornaments, bells, utensils, implements, etc., which had survived the Dissolution, and report their findings to the City courts. It would later be ascertained what were the "needful ornaments of the Church, and the necessary stuff for the poor people."[55]

The total cost to the City for the purchase of St. Thomas's Hospital from the crown was finalised on 5 July 1551; the sum of £2,461 2*s* 6*d*, it was agreed, would be released to the treasurer of the Court of Augmentations.[56] Letters Patent were issued on 12 August 1551, confirming the transfer of possession of the hospital, church, and endowments of St. Thomas

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[52] *Supplement to the Memoranda*, pp. 7-9.

[53] *Supplement to the Memoranda*, pp. 10-14; G.L.R.O., H1/ST/E14, fols. 103-109. See also the Churchwardens' Accounts of St. Nicholas in Shambles for the entries of accounts of yearly quitrents on the tenements called the Christopher and the Peacock, paid to the masters of St. Thomas's Hospital from *c.* 1527 to 1548: S.B.H., HA1/1 [n.p.].

[54] *Supplement to the Memoranda*, p. 10. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, some patients had their beds in the aisles of this church. See John H. Harvey, "Henry Yevele Reconsidered," in *The Archaeological Journal*, vol. cviii (1951), p. 107; Pendrill, *Old Parish Life in London*, p. 136; Carlin, "Medieval English Hospitals," p. 28.

[55] *Supplement to the Memoranda*, p. 10.

[56] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/E14, fol. 101; P.R.O., E315/346; *Supplement to the Memoranda*, p. 14.

Becket, the Martyr, in Southwark, to the Corporation of London.[57] The king acknowledged the continuing blight of the "poor sick and infirm persons lying about and begging in the public streets and places," endangering the health and safe passage of honest people in the City and suburbs: to ease this problem, he granted "that the said late hospital in Southwark from henceforth may and shall be a place and house for poor persons, there to be relieved and supported."[58]

The new foundation would bear the title The House of the Poor in Southwark. The church within the site of the hospital would function as a parish church for the hospital inhabitants, and would be known as the parish of St. Thomas in Southwark.[59] Ministers of the hospital and parish church would be nominated and admitted to their offices without payment of first fruits and tenths; the hospital could also buy or receive lands, properties, or possessions up to the clear yearly value of £46, in exemption from any prohibitions against mortmain.[60] To ensure that the City would use the endowments of the hospital responsibly and honestly, the hospital would be subject to periodic visits from royal commissioners.[61] Letters Patent issued the next day, 13 August, confirmed the particulars of the hospital's endowments.[62]

On 25 April 1552, three aldermen--Andrew Judd, Richard Turke, and Thomas Curteis--and two commoners--John Essex (haberdasher) and John Sayer of Southwark--were assigned by the City to "survey, order, and govern the hospital in Southwark and all the lands, rents, revenues, and reparations belonging to the same" until the Feast of St. Michael the Archangel,

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[57] *CPR, Edward VI*, iv, pp. 130-131.

[58] *Supplement to the Memoranda*, pp. 15-19; Stow, *Survey*, p. 369.

[59] *Supplement to the Memoranda*, pp. 15-19; Stow, *Survey*, p. 369.

[60] *Supplement to the Memoranda*, pp. 21-23.

[61] *Supplement to the Memoranda*, p. 21.

[62] *CPR, Edward VI*, iv, pp. 133-135; G.L.R.O., H1/ST/E14, fols. 101-109; *Supplement to the Memoranda*, pp. 24-32. This Patent would later (January 1570) come into the possession of the masters of the Bridgehouse, possibly because the Bridgehouse was also granted a substantial piece of property by Letters Patent of Edward VI, and the masters may have wished to clarify questions regarding rights of property between themselves and the hospital. See note, in *Supplement to the Memoranda*, p. 24; C.L.R.O., Letter Book V, fol. 273; C.L.R.O., Rep. xvi, fol. 525.

1553.[63] Surveyors for repairs of Christ's Hospital included John Blondell, Thomas Eaton, and four previous governors of St. Bartholomew's Hospital: Stephen Cobb, Thomas Lodge, Thomas Bartlett, and Richard Grafton.[64] In addition, Thomas Row was selected to be the treasurer of Christ's Hospital, and William Chester the treasurer of St. Thomas's. Work on the buildings of Christ's was begun on 20 July, and later that month construction on the church at St. Thomas's was undertaken.[65]

It would be the responsibility of Row and Chester to see that their hospitals were eventually able to harbour and care for specific numbers of inmates: in the case of St. Thomas's, 300 sick and sore; and at Christ's Hospital, 500 poor and orphaned youths.[66] The number of inmates admitted at the opening of both hospitals was inevitably less than these figures, but impressive at such an early stage: 380 children to Christ's Hospital at its opening, and 260 aged and lame to St. Thomas's.[67]

In early October 1552, a general meeting was held in the counting house at Christ's Hospital, attended by Sir Martin Bowes and twenty-nine other leading citizens. At this meeting, agreement was reached as to who would serve as officers in Christ's and St. Thomas's. The number of beadles to patrol the City streets was also increased, as were their wages, as "their pains [were] greater than before." Their task was to weed out rogues, beggars, and "foreign" poor from their haunts. The City also initiated weekly pensions for 600 decayed householders.[68] On 23 November, children were admitted to Christ's, and soon afterwards, they and the officers of the new hospital were displayed to the whole City: "...on Christmas Day at after-noon...[all the members of the] house of the poor stood at the great conduit in

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[63] The aldermanic court would then remove two of the aldermen and one common councillor, and nominate one aldermen and one commoner to serve with the remaining alderman and commoner. After the alderman and commoner who had originally been appointed in 1552 had served two years, they too would be replaced. Thus was some continuity kept among the hospital surveyors. C.L.R.O., Rep. xii, pt. 2, fols. 272^{v}-273.

[64] Howes, "A Familiar and Friendly Discourse," p. 31.

[65] Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, ii, p. 76.

[66] Howes, "A Familiar and Friendly Discourse," pp. 29-31.

[67] Howes, "A Familiar and Friendly Discourse," p. 39; G.L., MS. 6, [n.p.].

[68] Howes, "A Familiar and Friendly Discourse," pp. 33-41.

Cheap in a row when the mayor came to Paul's at afternoon, and so home again, to be seen of the City."[69]

Perhaps their presence served to remind citizens of what had been accomplished, and also what still remained to be done. Expenses in making the hospitals habitable were heavy: initially, help was needed in defraying the costs of supplying wainscotted bedsteads, 1,000 featherbeds, 2,000 pairs of sheets with coverlets and blankets. "In secret," and publicly, many were moved to help: seemingly most generous was John Calthorpe, draper, a member of the general committee. He provided 1,000 marks toward the purchase of 500 featherbeds and pads, plus blankets and sheets.[70] But "rich gifts wax poor when givers prove unkind."[71] Calthorpe apparently regarded his assistance as a loan, rather than an outright gift, however, for at the end of 1561, he was put off by the Lord Mayor and the court of the aldermen in his plea to receive either payment for the beds, or the return of the furniture.[72]

At the king's command, linens belonging to the churches of London were collected and delivered to Christ's and St. Thomas's; the churches were permitted to retain only quantities of linen "sufficient for the communion table with towels and surplices for the ministers and clerks."[73] Another early project, consonant with early City attempts to regulate hygiene, was the "vaunting" of the "filthy and noisome" town ditch from Aldersgate in the east to Newgate, so near to Christ's. Christ's Hospital, in its first fiscal year, allocated £145 to having it filled in to avoid contagion to the hospital, benefiting from the largess of Calthrope and Sir William Chester, both of whom also underwrote the erecting of a brick wall between Christ's and the adjacent St. Bartholomew's Hospital.[74]

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[69] *Grey Friars' Chronicle*, p. 76; Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, ii, pp. 79-80.
[70] Howes, "A Familiar and Friendly Discourse," p. 31.
[71] *Hamlet*, Act 3, scene 1, line 103.
[72] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 88.
[73] Howes, "A Familiar and Friendly Discourse," pp. 31, 42-44; P.R.O., SP10/15/51.
[74] G.L., MS. 12819/1, fol. 12; Holinshed, *Chronicle*, iii, p. 1062; C.L.R.O., Journal xvi, fol. 203; McLean, *Humanism and the Rise of Science*, p. 208.

3. The Gift of Bridewell Palace

It was widely agreed that idle persons were particularly numerous and troublesome in the City.[75] Edward VI attributed their abundance to previous wars which had left disbanded soldiers nothing to do "rob and steal"; he also blamed officials for executing laws slackly, allowing offenders to escape punishment either with bribes or because the officials were overcome with "foolish pity."[76] Diatribes against vagrants, the ills they visited on society, and the inactivity of officials in prosecuting or deporting them were legion. However, perhaps given the notable failure of previous official royal and civic attempts at stemming the problems of vagrancy, ordinary citizens were willing to support a fresh approach along different lines. For example, Guy Wade, expressed his desires for a solution to the problem less through hyperbole than through practical means. On 23 December 1553, Wade made a gift of £50 to Christ's Hospital, stipulating that "the House of Occupations [must] be erected before midsummer next coming or else" the sum must be returned.[77]

Bishop Ridley again played a pivotal role in arranging provisions so that the poor should "lie no more abroad in the streets."[78] The aldermanic council and Ridley could agree that the palace of Bridewell, near Fleet Street in the ward of Farringdon Without, would "well serve to lodge Christ in, if He might find such good friends in the court to procure His cause." Ridley claimed to Cecil that the time had dawned to "be a suitor...in our good Master Christ's cause...[who] hath lain too long abroad...without lodging, in the streets of London, both hungry, naked, and cold. Now, thanks be to Almighty God! the citizens are willing to refresh him, and to give him both meat, drink, clothing, and firing."[79]

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[75] See, for example, C.L.R.O., Rep. x, fol. 174^{v}.

[76] Edward VI, "Discourse on Reform," in *Chronicle*, p. 164.

[77] G.L., MS. 12819/1, fol. 3^{v}. For a sampling of Edwardian literature against vagrants, see Charles James Ribton-Turner, *The History of Vagrants and Vagrancy* (London: 1887), pp. 88-89, 93.

[78] B.L., Harleian MS. 604, fol. 176.

[79] Stow, *Survey*, p. 352; Nicholas Ridley, *The Works of Nicholas Ridley, D.D., Sometime Lord Bishop of London, Martyr, 1555*, Henry Christmas, ed. (Parker Soc., Cambridge: 1841), p. 535; *T.E.D.*, ii, p. 312.

Bridewell Palace had been built in 1522 by Henry VIII to house the retinue of the Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V; while it had stood as Henry VIII's principal City residence, his son "had no pleasure in it...[as] there was no coming to it but through stinking lanes or over a filthy ditch which did so continually annoy the house...."[80] Edward VI wished to rid himself of the expense of maintaining the house, and it was the initial ambition of Ridley and William Cecil to prevent Bridewell from being sold to a consortium of courtiers. This they did, and afterwards they moved the king to make what would be the last great act of beneficence of his short life. A petition from the City to the king formally (and sententiously) urged him to grant the means whereby beggars could be removed from the "puddle of idleness...[and consequently be taught to] walk in that fresh field of exercise, which is the guider and begetter of all wealth, virtue, and honesty."[81]

Acting on the advice of Ridley and Sir George Barnes, the Lord Mayor, Edward VI assumed the title founder and patron of the hospitals, and gave to the City Bridewell Palace. To provide funding for Bridewell, the king also conceded to the City some £450 of annual land revenues from the Savoy. He further permitted the City to take lands in mortmain or without license to the yearly value of 4,000 marks.[82] The sum of 4,000 marks was decided upon, apparently quite publicly and impulsively, by the king himself at the moment he signed the deed. Now, as Holinshed would eulogise, Edward VI could count himself in the best tradition of royal benefactors.[83] Additional support for Bridewell was forthcoming from individual

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[80] *Grey Friars' Chronicle*, p. 30; Sydney Anglo, "The Imperial Alliance and the Entry of the Emperor Charles V into London: June 1522," in *The Guildhall Miscellany*, vol. 2, no. 4 (October 1962), p. 153; Howes, "A Familiar and Friendly Discourse," pp. 54-55.

[81] The supplication was delivered by a party whose members included Sir Martin Bowes, Rowland Hill, Andrew Judd, John Gresham, John Ayleph, Mr. William Chester, and Mr. Richard Grafton. *Supplement to the Memoranda*, pp. 36-37.

[82] Howes, "A Familiar and Friendly Discourse," pp. 52-56; Holinshed, *Chronicle*, iii, p. 1062; Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, ii, pt. 2, pp. 112-113; Jasper G. Ridley, *Nicholas Ridley: A Biography* (London: 1957), pp. 287-288.

[83] Holinshed, *Chronicle*, iii, p. 1062.

donors and those who earmarked monies in poor boxes; the biggest source was benevolences from the companies and halls.[84]

Bridewell was intended to be more than a prison: it would be a House of Occupation for all the poor in the London environs who lacked work. It would also function as a vocational training centre for the children of Christ's when they came of employable age, and a safe-house and work-centre for those released from the other hospitals.[85] Reform and redemption of itinerants would come through their labour and the imposition of a disciplinary regimen, presaging the concepts of rehabilitation of malefactors through penal servitude which would take root in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century European and American institutions.[86]

Yet by 1555, Ridley would acknowledge with some sadness that it was falling short of the noble aspirations of its founders. The Marian regime held a special grudge against Bridewell, the "great mote in their eyes" that impinged on the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical court by openly punishing moral transgressors.[87] The governors of Bridewell had their hands full in dealing with the flotsam of society sent to them, "forcing the lewd and naughty sorts to labour and work," and presently the nature of the institution inevitably shifted towards punitive responses, and only secondarily towards training its inmates for a future life of productivity.[88] Its increasing role as a lock-up made it hard for defenders to cite it as "a good school" in which the troubled and troublesome of society were guided towards useful lives.[89]

In fact, the purpose of Bridewell was the least well defined of that of any of the London hospitals. It was costly to administer, and its internal work schemes never translated into

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[84] Fifty-seven companies contributed £1540. Pledges ranged from £100 bequests from eight companies, £20 from the Barber-surgeons, and £2 from the Long Bowstring makers. Bottlemakers and Turners apparently did not participate. Howes, "A Familiar and Friendly Discourse," pp. 58-59

[85] Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, vii, pp. 559-560.

[86] Beier, *Masterless Men*, pp. 164-165; Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York: 1979), pp. 7-8, 128.

[87] C.L.R.O., Rep. xiii, pt. 2, fol. 456^{v}; P.R.O., SP11/9/8; Howes, "A Familiar and Friendly Discourse," p. 72.

[88] G.L., MS. 12806/1, fol. 9^{v}; Jordan, *The Charities of London*, p. 194.

[89] Pilkington, "The Burning of St. Paul's Church," in *Works*, p. 610.

institutional self-sufficiency.[90] Under Mary, it developed an unsavoury reputation, with allegations of inordinate corporal punishments, and when some of her advisers were not trying to shut it down, they were content to take up as many of its rooms as they could in which to store grain.[91] The practice of depositing unground "corn" in Bridewell continued into the reign of Elizabeth.[92] The numbers of unemployed loitering on London streets remained high while Bridewell struggled to cope with its charges; meanwhile, the financial backing pledged by the companies could at times prove awkward to collect.[93]

The indenture of the covenant between the king and the City regarding the possession and endowment of Bridewell was made on 12 June 1553.[94] In the indenture, the king retained for himself actual possession of the Savoy and the rents of those tenements nearest its precincts. The City undertook to pay its debts, and also to ensure the pensions of its former officials. Moreover, the City had to provide lodging and assistance to honest wayfarers and strangers who might formerly have applied to the Savoy.[95] The City was accorded discretionary powers to make ordinances for the good governance of the poor in Christ's, St. Thomas's, and Bridewell; the Corporation also was granted the rights to select governors and officers for the hospitals. The hospitals were exempted from payments of first-fruits and tenths.

The City was instructed to make judicious searches of alehouses, bowling alleys, cock-pits, and other suspect places within London and Middlesex where "ruffians, vagabonds, and masterless persons" might congregate: not only should these types be sent to Bridewell or other

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[90] Hadwin, "Problem of Poverty," p. 202. One of the proposed work-projects suggested "setting of handicraftsmen a work in making of hats and caps, and other things necessary for the common weal and for the good and profitable using and employing of the rents and revenues of the same house." C.L.R.O., Rep xiv, fol. 456. By 1562, governors were soliciting the help of local artisans to provide tools for the making of nails, pins, cloth, linen, and fleece. C.L.R.O., Rep. xv, fol. 117.

[91] Howes, "A Familiar and Friendly Discourse," p. 73; C.L.R.O., Rep. xiii, pt. 2, fol. 450; C.L.R.O., Rep. xiv, fols. 24^{v}, 39^{r}; Slack, "Social Policy and Constraints in Government," p. 112.

[92] S.B.H., HA1/2, fol. 20^{r}.

[93] C.L.R.O., Rep. xiii, pt. 2, fols. 389^{v}, 449^{v}.

[94] The Indenture was read, assented to, and sealed at a meeting of the aldermanic council on 26 June 1553: C.L.R.O., Rep. xiii, pt. 1, fols. 60, 63; C.L.R.O., Misc. MS. 58.16, fols. 1-12.

[95] These wayfarers, by agreement, would be sent to St. Thomas's. *Supplement to the Memoranda*, pp. 52-55.

punishments, but the governors could also stand in judgment of those who were masters of the game-houses or doss-houses frequented by chronic wrongdoers.[96] Letters Patent confirming the properties of the hospitals were issued on 26 June 1553. Bridewell would enjoy revenues from tenements and messuages of the Savoy, which lay within ten London parishes, as well as income from properties in Middlesex, Essex, Cambridgeshire, Kent, and Yorkshire. Bridewell would also have use of the utensils, implements, and furniture which remained in Bridewell and the Savoy. All these lands and goods would amount to no more than £450 *per annum*. The three hospitals would be called the Hospitals of King Edward VI of Christ, Bridewell, and St. Thomas the Apostle. The governors would be a body corporate, and the three hospitals would share a common seal.[97]

The five hospitals were fully established for barely a fortnight before the death of Edward VI on 6 July 1553. Their survival would immediately be placed in some doubt. The appraisal of the officials of the Marian regime of the works of faith and charity undertaken since the time of Henry VIII was harsh. Dr. Story's earlier warning taken from the text of *Ecclesiastes* 10:16, "Woe unto thee, Oh Land, when thy king is a child" would have seemed clear-sighted to those who viewed Edward VI's reign as a time of perversity.[98]

Story and other adherents of the old faith would have had little difficulty in cataloguing the errors now so pervasive in the realm, but some evils stood out with particular prominence. It was perhaps inevitable that the increasing popular esteem enjoyed by the hospitals of London, so new and "a perfect spectacle of true charity and godliness unto all Christendom," stung Mary and her courtiers. They were receptacles of reformed charity, experimenting with methods of poor relief repugnant to Catholics, not the least because they stood on properties

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[96] *Supplement to the Memoranda*, pp. 57-58.

[97] *CPR, Edward VI*, v, pp. 283-285; *Supplement to the Memoranda*, pp. 59-71; C.L.R,O., Misc. MS. 60.6, fols. 59-82; *The Chronicle of Queen Jane*, pp. 101-102; Inner Temple Library, MS. Petyt 47, fol. 416. See also C.L.R.O., Letter Book T, fol. 79^{v}; C.L.R.O., Rep. xv, fol. 1; C.L.R.O., Research Paper Box S.24.

[98] *Journal of the House of Commons, from 8 November 1547 to the first year of the reign of Edward VI to 2 March 1628 in the fourth year of the reign of Charles I*, T. Vardon and T.E. May, eds. (London: 1852), i, p. 5; A.G. Chester, *Hugh Latimer: Apostle to the English* (Philadelphia: 1954), p. 179.

formerly in the old Church's possession.[99] The continuance of the hospitals, and to some extent the popularity of the new queen in her capital, rested on how the new regime challenged the City's oversight of the new foundations.

4. Challenges to the Hospitals from the Marian Regime: 1553 - 1558

According to Protestant hermeneutical writings on Queen Mary I's troubled relations with the City, strains between herself and London's populace began even amidst the celebrations of her triumphal entry into the capital. Unlike her father or her half-sister, the new queen would seem at times backward in winning the loyalty of the metropolis: loyalty which any ruler needed to hold in reserve.[100] She would later take pains to stem rumours that "the queen loveth not the City," but mistrust simmered on both sides.[101] For the queen's part, according to Protestant propagandists, she never fully forsook doubts about the fidelity of London and Londoners toward herself and her regime: the City seemed the matrix of sedition, heterodox leanings, and obstruction toward Mary's corrective measures.[102]

The situation was less straightforward than controversialists on either side depicted it. Londoners, like people from elsewhere in England, were averse to accepting an unconstitutional regime. The victory of Mary in early August 1553 over a usurper entitled her to a reservoir of support from those who had avoided taking sides in her clash with Northumberland. Most citizens hoped her safe arrival would signal an end to internecine factional strife. Many in the kingdom and the capital were jubilant to see one so steadfast to the old faith take the crown. Other Londoners had grown accustomed to compliance with some sides of the reformed faith without having fully renounced allegiance to Catholicism.[103] Finally, there

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[99] Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, vii, pp. 559-560; Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, p. 622.

[100] Palliser, *The Age of Elizabeth*, p. 216.

[101] Drapers' Company, MB 6, p. 17, as quoted in Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, p. 555.

[102] For some evidence of the headway proponents of the reforms in religion had made in London by the mid-Tudor period, see Richard Rex, *Henry VIII and the English Reformation* (London: 1993), pp. 162-163.

[103] See, for example, *Original Letters Relative to the English Reformation*, 2 vols., H. Robinson, ed. (Parker Soc., Cambridge: 1846-1847), i, p. 76; Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, pp. 456, 527.

were some Londoners who were altogether wary of the rigidity of Mary's opinions, the regressiveness of her advisers, and the queen's personal animus toward virtually all of the important constitutional and religious changes worked since the fall of Wolsey. So for many of the anxious leaders of London, there was perhaps an emblematic quality in Queen Mary's fleeting show of petulance toward the children of the new Christ's Hospital who had been assembled along the route of the royal procession on 3 August 1553.

When the queen entered the City at Aldgate, she was welcomed by Sir George Barnes, the Lord Mayor. She and her immense retinue then moved through the crowded streets, eventually stopping at St. Botolph's Church before a "great stage covered with canvass."[104] All sources agree that Mary was greeted by an assemblage of "about a hundred poor little children..., all dressed in blue, with red caps upon their heads." These were the children of Christ's Hospital, seated with the hospital's governors and officers. The children were presented to their new queen so that she might "nourish and care for them."[105] One of the children, who by rather ironic tradition has been tentatively identified as Edward Campion, was coached to make an oration in Latin to "her majesty that she might take them under her care, such they say, being the custom in England at royal entries."[106] Some chroniclers (but not all) relate that the queen's reaction was sour: "when she came near unto them, she cast her eye another way and never stayed nor gave any countenance to them."[107] To the men who had devoted their political careers to securing the hospitals for the City, the truth was incontrovertible and disturbing, for the queen "did not like of the blue boys, but if they had been so many Grey Friars, she would have given them better countenance."[108]

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[104] Machyn, *Diary*, pp. 38-39; *The Chronicle of Queen Jane*, p. 14; Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, ii, pp. 93-94.

[105] *CSP, Sp.*, xi, p. 151.

[106] Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, ii, pp. 94-95; *CSP, Sp.*, xi, p. 151; William Trollope, *A History of the Royal Foundation of Christ's Hospital, with an account of the plan of education, the internal economy of the institution, and memoirs of eminent blues: preceded by a narrative of the rise, progress, and suppression of the convent of the grey friars in London* (London: 1834), p. 204.

[107] Howes, "A Familiar and Friendly Discourse," p. 64; *The Chronicle of Queen Jane*, p. 14. *CSP, Sp.*, xi, p. 151, makes no mention of any slight given by Queen Mary, nor does the East Anglian, eulogistic Robert Wingfield, *Vita Mariae Angliae Reginae*, Diarmaid MacCulloch, ed., *Camden Miscellany*, xxviii (1984), p. 271.

[108] Howes, "A Familiar and Friendly Discourse," p. 64.

Mary's stately progress through the streets of the City following the collapse of Northumberland's resistance was for many of her adherents a defining moment: light was thrown on her ability to rise to an occasion, to show bravery in public, to exhibit magnanimous behaviour. A similar moment came later in the queen's display of personal fortitude in the face of the Wyatt's rebellion and momentary worries over the loyalties of Londoners to her regime.[109] For those inclined to be critical of a Catholic sovereign, her entry into the City in 1553 was a re-introduction to her tactlessness and impatience with the innovations the ruling order of London had imposed during her half-brother's reign. Thus did her personal reaction to the assembly of poor children assume symbolic importance for present and future enemies of her regime, and recollections of her displeasure on the occasion augured times ahead that would be "sharp and dangerous."[110]

The reception of the queen into London held special importance after the *putsch* of Northumberland. While Londoners showed no real enthusiasm for the idea of changes in Henry VIII's Third Act of Succession, the leadership of the City had been shaken by complicity in Northumberland's plot to alter the succession in favour of his daughter-in-law, Lady Jane Grey.[111] Important civic leaders like Richard Grafton, Sir George Barnes, Sir Andrew Judd, Sir Richard Dobbes, and Thomas Offley were all to some degree implicated in the duke's schemes. These men also played important roles in the administration of the new hospitals, an association which would later not be overlooked.[112]

While so many of the leaders of the City were compromised in Northumberland's play for power in the closing days of Edward VI's reign, the citizenry remained deeply divided over attitudes towards Mary and ideals for which she stood. While many murmured against

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[109] *Chronicle of Queen Jane*, pp. 49-50; Anthony Fletcher, *Tudor Rebellions* (Harlow, Essex: 1983), pp. 73-75.

[110] Howes, "A Familiar and Friendly Discourse," p. 65.

[111] Machyn, *Diary*, pp. 35-36; *Grey Friars' Chronicle*, p. 79; Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, vi, p. 384; Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, pp. 520-528; Guy, *Tudor England*, p. 226.

[112] Kingdon, *Richard Grafton*, p. 58, note 1; Sharpe, *London and the Kingdom*, i, p. 453; *Chronicle of Queen Jane*, pp. 91-100; *Original Letters Relative to the English Reformation*, pp. 272-274.

the changes Mary would surely instigate, and while a few braver souls cried out against a meddlesome woman prepared to lead the kingdom back to Rome, substantial numbers of Londoners shared Mary's religious conservatism.[113] Mary's immediate task was to build on the support such people could offer; her failure to do so hindered the regime's effectiveness in winning willing converts to the old faith. Both the queen and the governors of London understood the political expedience of graciousness on such a public occasion as her entry into the City. Before the queen entered London, she was presented with £500 in gold coins by Sir Martin Bowes, another City leader with strong ties to the hospitals. Mary received him and other members of the City gratefully, "and caused the presenter to have great cheer in her house."[114]

However, unease between the court and the City government surfaced quickly. Bishop Ridley, who had earlier reassured City leaders that their projects of social relief gave glory to God, was imprisoned; others suffered his fate, or were allowed to slip into exile.[115] In Ridley's place, Edmund Bonner re-emerged.[116] The new bishop of London, together with Stephen Gardiner, the Lord Chancellor, began to challenge many of the accomplishments of the last reign. The hospitals of London were an obvious sore point for the new regime: they stood on despoiled Church property, and the totality of the City's jurisdiction over them represented to Mary and her advisers time-honoured prerogatives of the Church that had been wrongfully seized.[117]

The leaders of the City gauged the situation and reacted with caution. The new Lord Mayor who presented himself to the queen at Whitehall on 10 December 1553 was Thomas White, a philanthropist and champion of the hospitals. But significantly, he was also a devotee

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[113] *CSP, Sp.*, xi, pp. 134, 173-174.
[114] Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, ii, pp. 91-92.
[115] Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, vii, pp. 559-560; *Grey Friars' Chronicle*, p. 81.
[116] Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, ii, p. 96.
[117] Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, pp. 579, 622; Slack, "Social Policy and Constraints of Government," pp. 111-112.

of the old faith, representative of the conservative leanings shared by many in the City, and hopefully a pleasing selection to the queen for that reason.[118] Earlier the Corporation had been notified that the disorder it seemed powerless to correct might necessitate having "the Mayor to yield up his sword unto the Queen's Highness."[119] That was blunt notice that the amity between the Crown and City from the days of Edward VI had ended.

Restrictions on civic privileges began early. Public festivities like the wrestling matches and shooting competitions commonly held at Clerkenwell and Finsbury on St. Bartholomew's Day were canceled in the first year of the queen's reign and not reinstituted until 1557.[120] Occasions for disruptions of civic peace were kept at a minimum. Public assemblies were always a calculated risk in crowd control, and the court soon learned that London assemblies could be unreasonable and aggressive, even when the speaker offered the True Word of God. The singing of Mass at St. Bartholomew's nearly incited a riot on 11 August.[121] Trouble followed when a theologian of the queen's appointment, Dr. Gilbert Bourne, preached at Paul's Cross on 13 August 1553.[122] He was continually disrupted by "certain lewd and ill-disposed persons [who] made a hallowing and such, a-crying 'thou liest!'" City officers were unable to calm the crowd, and the affront to Bourne and the queen was compounded by the unwillingness of the people to disperse. The debacle ended ominously with Bourne being "pulled out of the pulpit by vagabonds, and one threw a dagger at him."[123]

The incident with Dr. Bourne helped the queen and her advisers reach several conclusions in the early days of her reign.[124] The officials of London, including the Lord Mayor, seemed powerless in the face of mass disobedience.[125] Crowds that had cheered her entry into

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[118] Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, p. 105.
[119] *Collection of State Papers, Left by William Cecil*, i, p. 169.
[120] Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, ii, pp. 101-102, 139.
[121] B.L., Harleian MS. 353, fol. 141^{r}.
[122] Grafton, *Chronicle*, ii, p. 536.
[123] Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, ii, pp. 97-99; *Grey Friars' Chronicle*, p. 83.
[124] Wingfield, *Vita Mariae Angliae Reginae*, pp. 272-273.
[125] C.L.R.O., Journal xvi, fols. 261^{v}-262^{r}.

the City had earlier displayed only passive resistance upon learning of the usurpation inspired by Northumberland, and their current display of impudence before a homilist of Mary's choice gave further powerful reasons for her mistrust.[126] Perhaps even more significantly, their insubordination came when they were presented with reflections on the faith which Mary held so dear: these same people had, after all, earlier thronged to listen to Ridley and other false apostles.[127] Surely it was the more than half-decade of saturation in the errors of the New Learning which now made Londoners so particularly brazen.[128]

Overturning the false ways of religious innovations was thus crucial not only for the salvation of the souls of the gullible; it was also a public policy aimed at restoring proper respect for authority. Hostility of the citizenry towards the queen and her faith was by no means universal; as her reign progressed, however, the supporters of her regime amongst the general population proved less vociferous than the critics.

So began the period of burdensome trials for Protestants inside London and beyond. Tendentious writers in the next generation saw a pattern in Marian attacks on Protestant encroachments: certainly they would spurn the assertion that any settlement of religion was arrived at by "common consent."[129] A slow process was begun to replace Protestant clergymen with Catholic priests. The visitor of Newgate, who in Edwardian times had read Scripture to inmates, was replaced with a priest who offered Mass instead.[130] The New Learn ing had made serious inroads, particularly in London, and despite the existence of many Catholics who delighted in the return to the old rites and teachings, the Marian regime comprehended that it had serious battles to fight in the capital.[131] Combat against heresy was opened on many fronts, with varying degrees of effectiveness. Suspect individuals were

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[126] C.L.R.O., Rep. xiii, fol. 65^{v}; Antonio de Guaras, *The Accession of Queen Mary* (London: 1892), p. 88.
[127] Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, vii, p. 407.
[128] See also, C.L.R.O., Rep. x, fol. 238^{r}; Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, ii, p. 114.
[129] *CSP, Sp.*, xi, pp. 216-219; Loades, *Mary Tudor*, pp. 195-196.
[130] S.B.H., HA1/1, fols. 76^{r}, 97^{v}, 102^{r}, 105^{r}; see also Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, p. 603.
[131] *Two London Chronicles*, p. 29; Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, ii, p. 101.

sought out, questionable institutions were examined, and ideas and writings were rebutted. The hospitals of London fell under suspicion in all these areas.

Mary I and the men who surrounded her could recollect little good that had sprung from the "unprofitable fraternity" of the reformers.[132] The regime began to proceed against individuals associated with the hospital who were found to be objectionable. Chief among these was Richard Grafton, former governor of St. Bartholomew's and presently residing and operating his printing press at Christ's Hospital, where he enjoyed a special eighty-year lease.[133]

Grafton had served as printer to Edward since 1546, and had published a modified version of Coverdale's English translation of the Bible, the 1549 Book of English Common Prayer, and the *Order of St. Bartholomew's Hospital* in 1552. Grafton's complicity in the ideological evils of the last regime was compounded in the eyes of the new royal government by his treasonous role in publishing Lady Jane Grey's Proclamation on 9 July 1553.[134] Grafton was therefore a ready quarry for the new regime's reprisals. He was removed from his Christ Church premises, and royal patronage of his printing entrepreneurship ceased.[135] Bishop Gardiner afterwards "clapped Mr. Grafton fast in the Fleet for two days because he suffered the children to learn the English Primer when they should learn the Latin Abseies."[136] Grafton was eventually able to resume his civic and professional career, but he never fully rose above the suspicions of royal officials. Later, when Grafton served as a governor of

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[132] *Narratives of the Reformation*, p. 181.

[133] S.B.H., HB1/1, fol. 268^{r}; *The Registers of Christ Church, Newgate: 1538-1754*, Willoughby A. Littledale, ed. (Harleian Society Registers, vol. xxi, London: 1895), pp. 4, 19; Kingdon, *Richard Grafton*, pp. 24-25, 35.

[134] Kingdon, *Richard Grafton*, pp. 22-23, 58, 101; *DNB*, viii, p. 118.

[135] Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, viii, pp. 438, 551-552.

[136] Howes, "A Familiar and Friendly Discourse," pp. 70-71. The old catechism was printed with an alphabet on the opening page, so that it was commonly referred to as an A.B.C., or Absey-book.

Bridewell, Dr. John Story watched over him to see that he was not remiss or lenient in having two young men whipped who had persisted in improperly construing and using the Bible.[137]

The Marian regime's harassment of Richard Grafton signified a larger reality. Grafton's earlier ties with the enemies of Mary, and his zest in advancing the cause of Protestantism made him a natural target for government prosecution. His career faltered, but it did not end. His importance to the City government and the administration of the hospitals continued; his prominence was highlighted by the role he played in organising the City's celebration to welcome Philip of Spain into London.[138]

The fortunes of the hospitals seemed resilient as well. They were threatened by the suspicions of the royal government under Mary, and the ties between governors like John Calthrope, Sir Richard Dobbes, Richard Grafton, and John Marsh with the ambitions of earlier Protestant regimes now clouded the good name of the hospitals.[139] But the effectiveness of the hospitals was not crippled. In truth, the regime could not afford to inflict much damage to the hospitals, because economic and social problems were reaching a critical stage in London in the mid-1550s.[140]

During the Marian period, the citizens of London demonstrated their awareness of the magnitude of the problems facing London: notwithstanding John Howes's claim that "devotion died when good men were enforced to flee into foreign countries for safety of their own lives and consciences," charitable giving tended to increase in times of greatest need.[141] The num-

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[137] G.L., MS. 12806/2, fol. 9^{r}; Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, viii, pp. 724-725; Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, pp. 623-624. Grafton's reputation was not fully rehabilitated even in Elizabeth's reign. Questions arose regarding the propriety of Grafton's transactions both at St. Thomas's Hospital and at Bridewell. At Christ's Hospital, Grafton and his servant John Howes were indebted for much of the 1560s over the rents of their abodes and the printing house. G.L., MS. 12806/2, fols 22^{v}, 26^{v}; MS. 12819/2, fols. 15^{v}, 19, 24, 27, 35^{v}, 40^{v}, 47^{v}, 54^{v}, 63; C.L.R.O., Rep. xiv, fol. 516^{r}; Rep. xv, fols. 2^{r-v}, 24^{v}; G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/3, fol. 22. See also below, Chapter IX, p. 286, and note 13 therein.

[138] Kingdon, *Richard Grafton*, pp. 63-66.

[139] Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, p. 479.

[140] Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, p. 621.

[141] Howes, "A Familiar and Friendly Discourse," p. 63; Grafton, *Chronicle*, ii, p. 525; Jordan, *Charities of London*, p. 95.

ber of testators in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury who remembered the hospitals actually doubled from 1550-1551 to 1554-1556.[142] The spread of infectious diseases and political tumults that churchmen like Edmund Bonner were apt to blame on meretricious leaders and teachings did not of course cease when links with Rome were re-established. The leaders of the Marian regime were as concerned as their predecessors had been with perennial problems of spiralling food prices, poverty, disease, and dislocation, as well as new difficulties caused by the abandonment of children on the streets of the City.[143]

The royal government tried to grapple with these problems. Many of its solutions were consistent with those proposed in the previous two reigns. It considered proposals aimed at assuring adequate grain supplies and directing City-wide searches for vagabonds and other malefactors. It sought to promote the giving of lands for the use of grammar schools, almshouses, and highways. The government produced legislation for the relief of poor people. And in keeping with its religious objectives, it sponsored the revitalisation of the fraternities and guilds abolished under Edward VI. In so doing, it sought, futilely, to bridge social distances and stir the ancient, dormant spirit of mutual charity and commensality. Significantly, in 1554 and 1555, the queen's council also assisted in the process which by September 1557 had united the five hospitals under one entity, which was City-government supervised, under the comptrollership of Sir Martin Bowes, formerly an official of Edward VI.[144]

The queen and those close to her also exhibited concern that charity should be properly upheld in the City and its environs. While Mary's resentment of improper acquisitions of

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[142] Howes, "A Familiar and Friendly Discourse," p. 63. Fifteen percent of the testators left St. Bartholomew's money between 1550 and 1551. By 1554-1556, by which time the other hospitals of London had been established, thirty percent of those who registered their wills remembered the hospitals. See Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, pp. 475, 480; Brigden, "Religion and Social Obligation," pp. 104-105.

[143] G.L., MS. 9531/12, fol. 372^{r-v}; S.B.H., HA1/1, fol. 156; Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, ii, pp. 105, 139; Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, vi, pp. 708-710; C.L.R.O., Rep. xii, fol. 171^{r}; Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, pp. 575, 621.

[144] C.L.R.O., Rep. xiii, pt. 1, fol. 229^{r-v}; Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, viii, pp. 301-303; *The Journal of the House of Commons*, [hereafter *CJ*], 152 vols. (London: 1803), i, pp. 29, 43; G.L., MS. 12806/1, fols. 2^{r}, 8^{v}; P.R.O., SP11/14/12, fol. 35; Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, pp. 581-583; Tittler, *The Reign of Mary I*, p. 57; Archer, *Pursuit of Stability*, pp. 94-95.

church properties made her cool towards an establishment like Christ's Hospital, she showed generosity and warmth in re-appointing her grandfather's creation of the Savoy. She made the refoundation of the Savoy a personal project, and following their mistress's example, the ladies of the court "stored [the Savoy] of new with beds, bedding, and other furniture, in very ample manner."[145]

Two of her main clerical advisers concerned themselves with the need for expanded charity and hospitality. As his nemesis Ridley had done before him, Bonner issued injunctions constructed to induce Londoners to "make their testament, or last will, and to remember the poor, and especially to solicit for the maintenance of the hospitals of the City of London...."[146] Bonner's ecclesiastical superior, Cardinal Pole, articulated traditional concerns for the Canterbury Diocese. His prescriptions reaffirmed the need for the maintenance of hospitality, parish collections for the poor, the establishment of decent schools and proper--and Catholic--schoolmasters, and that hospitals operating within parishes "be duly and truly observed and kept, and whether the charitable contributions of the same be done accordingly."[147] Pole appreciated the efforts of London's rulers in improving the network of hospitals, and lamented that the system in London lagged behind other continental models.[148]

Regardless of the official and personal anguish of the Marian government over the spread of poverty in London, City officials remained concerned with objections raised by men like Gardiner and Bonner regarding the continuation of secular, civic-run hospitals on lands and properties formerly held by the Church.[149] Gardiner openly expressed revulsion that the "sort of scurvy and lousy boys" of Christ's Hospital were now housed, fed, and taught in buildings once occupied by "godly, learned, and devout men that served God day and night."[150] In the

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[145] Stow, *Survey*, p. 397.

[146] *Visitation Articles*, ii, pp. 353, 368.

[147] *Visitation Articles*, ii, pp. 423-426.

[148] Slack, "Social Policy and Constraints," pp. 111-112; Wilhelm Schenk, *Reginald Pole, Cardinal of England* (London: 1950), p. 147.

[149] Howes, "A Familiar and Friendly Discourse," p. 71.

[150] *Narratives of the Reformation*, p. 183.

eyes of many reformers, Bonner seemed no more kindly disposed than the notorious Gardiner towards easing the suffering and pain of the poor in his see: the imprisoned Ridley, on the eve of his execution, even went so far as petitioning the queen when he learned that Bonner planned to rescind leases Ridley had earlier made to "divers poor men." Would she not be the patroness and benefactress of the poor?[151]

To later writers, the answer was an unequivocal no: Mary, Gardiner, and Bonner seemed more concerned with restoring to the ancient Church its wealth and prerogatives than furthering the good works begun in her half-brother's reign. It is nonetheless important to recall that authors like John Foxe and John Howes, who most consistently dwell on the hostility of the Marian regime towards the hospitals and the attempts to damage or dismantle them, were strongly biassed against Mary. There is no doubt that they accurately reflected the implacably antagonistic feelings shared by many governors of the hospitals towards the royal government: many within the City's ruling elite would have resented the intrusive bearing of a regime with which they differed on serious theological and political questions. And quite apart from their hostility towards Catholicism, Foxe and Howes reminded their generation of the widespread concern of the majority of Londoners under Mary I that no harm befall the hospitals.

Perhaps because the whole question of the restoration of property to the Church was so vast and potentially unsettling, the royal government never directly challenged the City's hold over the hospitals.[152] Instead, the rulers of the hospitals had to deal with smaller provocations, confronting the ambition of the Marian regime to eradicate all vestiges of the reformed dogma. The hospitals were to become "Catholic strongholds," replete with all the external symbols and theological underpinnings of the old faith.[153] Leaders of the City saw that the hospitals complied with new court dictates.

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[151] Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, vii, pp. 545-546.
[152] See Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, vii, pp. 34-35.
[153] Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, pp. 623-624.

Bishops Gardiner and Bonner were prepared to intervene directly when they perceived the need.[154] Bonner in particular pursued a vendetta against Bridewell, which he held had usurped the place of ecclesiastical courts.[155] The City did not acquire full possession of Bridewell until early on in 1556, and Protestants who survived the Marian period believed that had the queen's reign been longer, the campaign of slander and acrimony against the house would have assured its destruction.[156] As things stood, the City had to oppose the intentions of the Queen's household to store corn within Bridewell. The aldermanic court sought assurances that Bridewell would not be used as a granary for more than one season, "for the City may not forbear or lack it long, but use or occupy it themselves for and about their own necessities and affairs."[157]

Challenges to St. Bartholomew's and Christ's Hospitals were initially less direct than those against Bridewell. First on the agenda of the Marian government was the restoration to churches and chapels of the sacred images which had been effaced or sold in the iconoclastic days of the previous reign.[158] Local worship began to return to the pageantry of ancient Catholicism, for as Stephen Gardiner had once enjoined Edward VI, "Ceremonies serve to move men to God."[159] As the City moved to restore the rituals and outward symbols of the Catholic faith, the hospitals were called upon to cooperate. When the queen's commissioners devised new orders for religious processions within the capital, the children of Christ's hospital were commanded to participate.[160] Chapels were by order of Gardiner erected in St.

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[154] Howes, "A Familiar and Friendly Discourse," p. 71.

[155] Howes, "A Familiar and Friendly Discourse," pp. 72-73; C.L.R.O., Rep. xiii, fols. 463^{r}, 480^{v}, 509^{v}.

[156] *Grey Friars' Chronicle*, p. 96; Howes, "A Familiar and Friendly Discourse," pp. 72-73; C.L.R.O., Rep. xiv, fols. 25^{v}, 29^{v}.

[157] C.L.R.O., Rep. xiv, fol. 39.

[158] P.R.O., SP10/5/19; Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, ii, p. 83; *Visitation Articles*, ii, p. 342; Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, pp. 589-591.

[159] Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, vi, p. 91.

[160] Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, ii, p. 136; Machyn, *Diary*, p. 88.

Thomas's and Bridewell.[161] The hospitaller at Christ's Hospital now had to be a priest, and he would say Mass daily.[162]

The hospitals also bore some responsibility for replacing despoiled church items. St. Bartholomew's and Christ's were called upon to make restitution for altar stones and roods which had earlier been removed. St. Bartholomew's Hospital also ordered missals and other books for use in Latin services. It complied further with the will of the regime by procuring crosses, censers, vestments, and copes for the clergy at St. Bartholomew the Less, Newgate, and Christ Church.[163] Protestant personnel might be replaced with Catholics, as was the case when Richard Grafton had to surrender his printing premises to Robert Caly, who published Catholic works within the walls of Christ's.[164]

According to Foxe, the rulers of the hospital felt intimidated by having to live and work in such close quarters with people like Caly, who stood in opposition to much of the achievements and innovations effected since 1547. Caly was, it was believed, a spy on the gospellers. The hospital records yield no inkling of the discomfort experienced by the governors; it would, however, have been surprising if a printer with equally strong, but diametrically opposed, convictions to Richard Grafton did not raise decidedly un-ambiguous feelings by his presence.[165] It is important to note, however, that the ejection of Grafton was not a prelude to a wholesale purge on the officers and staffs of the various hospitals during the Marian period. No doubt many hospital officials were content, rather in the fashion of the Vicar of Bray, to conform to the dictates of the queen's regime; other individuals may have been protected by patrons in the

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[161] Howes, "A Familiar and Friendly Discourse," p. 71.

[162] Howes, "A Familiar and Friendly Discourse," p. 25; Machyn, *Diary*, p. 65.

[163] S.B.H., HB1/1, fols. 202^{v}, 203^{v}.

[164] C.L.R.O., Rep. xiii, pt. 2, fols. 332^{v}; S.B.H., HA1/1, fols. 91^{r}, 92^{r}, 98^{r}, 102^{v}; Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, pp. 589-591; Kingdon, *Richard Grafton*, p. 74. Grafton later returned to his property in Christ's Hospital, which he held until May 1571. Then, after a decade of being outstanding in payment of rents, he and the governors of the house agreed to terms in which the site of the printing house would become the new sick ward of Christ's. His delinquencies in rent payments to St. Bartholomew's extended even further back in time. S.B.H., HB1/1, fol. 128^{v}; G.L., MS. 12806/2, fols. 60^{v}, 74^{v}.

[165] Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, viii, pp. 438, 551, 552, 724, 792.

City government from the threat of removal. Whatever the case, there is no evidence that the Marian regime moved in a concerted way to dislodge the governing bodies and staff members of the London hospitals.

Hospital officials were even more wary of Dr. John Story than they were of Robert Caly. Story was granted a house within Christ's Hospital precincts; from there he proceeded with his investigations of damaged or mis-appropriated church images within London and Middlesex. He also conducted interrogations of religious suspects from his house. Clearly he was not to be antagonised, and the officials of Christ's, despite the house's straitened circumstances, spent £8 renovating his house. This would later prove a wise investment, but neither Christ's nor St. Bartholomew's escaped episcopal inquisitions or Story's watchful eye. Vigilance against enemies of the true faith prompted servants of Bishop Bonner to seize the books on astronomy of Davy Cromwell, a priest who died in St. Bartholomew's: his books however, were desired by others, including one Dr. Deyscam and a John Feld, who apparently purchased them. Officials at Christ's were compelled to see to the reformation of an apprentice, Thomas Green, who had been caught distributing the fallacious tract *Antichrist*. Story presided over his corporal punishment.[166]

The position of Christ's Hospital as not exclusively an orphanage, but also a school, was a delicate one. Particularly while the Marian regime shone the light of scrutiny on it, what was taught within its walls had to be unobjectionable, meeting Bonner's criterion that children everywhere be taught "whether it be English or Latin" to be sober, discreet, honest, and of virtuous living.[167] Gardiner attempted, by means forcible, to ensure that the children of Christ's would be grounded sufficiently in Latin and the tenets of the Catholic faith.[168]

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[166] Howes, "A Familiar and Friendly Discourse," pp. 67-68; Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, ii, p. 131; S.B.H., HA1/1, fols. 113^{v}-114^{v}; C.L.R.O., Rep. xiii, fol. 135; G.L., MS. 12819/1, fol. 123; Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, pp. 570, 623-624.

[167] *Visitation Articles*, ii, p. 351.

[168] Howes, "A Familiar and Friendly Discourse," pp. 70-71.

Christ's Hospital, however, was destined for further assaults. The Crown was interested in promoting the return of religious orders to England, and in re-establishing property which had rightfully been theirs in years past. Particularly after 1554, orders like the Grey Friars, Black Friars, and Carthusians were granted residences in Greenwich, the Priory of St. Bartholomew's, and the Savoy in London. In the case of the Franciscans and Carthusians, however, they anticipated resettling in their old houses in Grey Friars in London and Sheen, respectively.[169] It was therefore troubling to the leaders of the City that the queen and some of her closest advisers looked menacingly at the orphanage that was fully occupied from the earliest days of its existence. It was even more upsetting when two Grey Friars, Peto and Perin, began to speak out against Christ's Hospital and questioned the City's right to hold it. Re-acquiring the lands and properties of Christ's Hospital would have been particularly advantageous to the order, because, although the buildings had suffered defacements in the 1540s, the City had gone to trouble and expense to refurbish the house, so that it "stood whole and was not spoiled as the other houses were."[170]

Peto and Perin were persevering in their attempts to convince commissioners that Christ's Hospital ought to be returned to their order, and official sympathies clearly seemed to be running against the City's cause. At this moment of crisis, Protestants later would detect the hand of God, who "wrought in secret."[171]

While the leaders of the Grey Friars sought to "subvert" the fortunes of Christ's Hospital, the City won some influential and unexpected friends. Two of them were Spaniards who had come to England with King Philip, the Hapsburg prince who had recently become the unpopular consort to Mary I. Friar John was brought to view Christ's and the way its children

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[169] Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, ii, pp. 128, 134; Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanon*, vi, pt. 1, pp. 291-292; Claire Cross, *Church and People, 1450-1660: The Triumph of the Laity in the English Church* (Hassocks, Sussex: 1976), p. 108; E.M. Thompson, *The Carthusian Order in England* (London: 1930), pp. 503-509; Kingdon, *Richard Grafton*, p. 75.

[170] Stow, *Survey*, pp. 288, 335; *Grey Friars' Chronicle*, p. 54; Howes, "A Familiar and Friendly Discourse," pp. 29-30, 66, 69.

[171] Howes, "A Familiar and Friendly Discourse," p. 69.

were being kept, presumably so he could give a quick *pro forma* condemnation of the hospital. His reaction surprised his colleagues and probably himself. He was moved to tears by the sight of the poor children at table being served their meat. To the consternation of the other friars, he declared that "he had rather be a scullion in [Christ's Hospital's] kitchen than steward to the king."[172] Another serendipitous champion of Christ's was Philip's confessor, Alfonsus. He often spoke well of the work done at Christ's, and "had good liking of the training up of these children."[173] Neither John nor Alfonsus would be caught up in the machinations of the Grey Friars, and Friar John was especially sedulous in thwarting any moves to gain royal assent for the suppression of the hospital.[174]

Rulers of the hospital did not passively await its destruction, either. They made contact with some officials of the queen, who were "made friends [of Christ's] by friends, and not without consideration." Dr. Story may have been regarded as an unwanted tenant. Still, his fears that "if the friars should be restored into the place of the children, that then they would bring his house into question for it was parcel of the Friars which he was not willing to part from" ultimately worked to the hospital's advantage. Similarly, and perhaps with more luck than design, the hospital had extended the lease of a house with two gardens to the confessor to the queen, the Bishop of Chichester. He, together with other friends of the house made by its governors, was situated to counter criticisms of Christ's made at court.[175]

In the end, the endeavours of the Grey Friars to re-claim their house failed.[176] The friends the governors had won for Christ's who were influential at court undeniably helped stave off moves against the orphanage, but other factors rescued the hospital. Probably foremost was the brevity of the Marian regime, which lasted barely five years. The queen and her staunchest advisers sought some sort of rehabilitation of monasticism and the restoration of

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[172] Howes, "A Familiar and Friendly Discourse," p. 66.
[173] Howes, "A Familiar and Friendly Discourse," p. 67.
[174] Howes, "A Familiar and Friendly Discourse," p. 69; Kingdon, *Richard Grafton*, p. 88.
[175] Howes, "A Familiar and Friendly Discourse," pp. 67-68.
[176] Howes, "A Familiar and Friendly Discourse," p. 69.

property and real estate to the church, and given more time, they might have moved on this thorny issue. In the time the regime had, however, the growing disenchantment of the citizens with the queen and her government was so evident that when her servant, Richard Daye, applied for a lease from St. Bartholomew's Hospital, he acknowledged that as one in the employ of the queen, "he is no more beloved than the Queen's highness is in the City."[177]

The queen's low measure of approval stood in contrast with the regard in which the City generally held the hospitals. The agenda of her regime--the re-imposition of Catholic faith and worship, prosecution of the war with France, and the persecution of heretics--meant that the attention and resources of the City administration often deviated from assisting the poor, and this brought on accusations that the City fathers were indifferent or even hostile to the poor.[178] And while the rulers of the City continued to be men like Thomas White, Thomas Offley, and Thomas Leigh, who were all strongly committed to the survival of the hospitals, the days of godly, imaginative, responsive City governance seemed but a distant memory.[179] Protestants during and after the reign of Mary I regarded the period as a sore test of their will, faith, and strength: in Ridley's words, who could dispute "the darkness that Satan now bringeth upon the Church of England?"[180]

In Elizabeth's reign, writers like Foxe, Grafton, and Howes were keen to vilify every aspect of the Marian regime; they found receptive audiences among those who harboured repugnant memories of the burning of Protestant co-religionists at places like Smithfield. Given the proclivities of these writers, bald statements that Mary and her advisers sought the complete destruction of the hospitals must be regarded essentially as hyperbole. The fact stands that the hospitals outlasted Mary's reign, and with relatively marginal residue of tangible disturbance. These writers do show, however, that the leaders of the City cooperated

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[177] S.B.H., HA1/1, fol. 127^{v}.

[178] Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, p. 621.

[179] For example, see G.L., MS. 12806/1, fols. 2^{r}, 9^{r}, 15^{v}; Howes, "A Familiar and Friendly Discourse," p. 10; Machyn, *Diary*, p. 125; Stow, *Survey*, pp. 470-471; Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, ii, p. 90.

[180] Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, vii, p. 430.

only reluctantly with the Marian regime over matters of ideological dispute, or where the autonomy of the Corporation in shaping and directing social policies was affected.

But the leaders of the New Faith were not altogether dispirited.[181] Perhaps men like Thomas Mountain intuitively felt enterprises of Protestant piety like the hospitals of London would survive the regime, even if individual believers paid for their faith with the crown of martyrdom. Mountain had, after 1555, fled to Antwerp to avoid the long arm of Marian persecution.[182] When he was in the clutches of his opponents, however, Mountain brazenly reminded Stephen Gardiner of "many notable things worthy of perpetual memory" begun under Edward VI, chief among them being the erection of "the many fair hospitals." Those hospitals cared just as surely for the spiritual needs of their inmates as they saw to their physical wants: Christ Hospital taught orphans and fatherless children "to know their duty and obedience both to God and man," and at both St. Bartholomew's and St. Thomas's, people with every kind of disability were admitted, and "they have always with them an honest minister to comfort them" and teach them to bear their afflictions with patience and dignity. So when Gardiner and others like him slighted the good work done at the hospitals in London, they not only denigrated the godly purposes of the founders, they also affronted the civic honour of the Londoners who would continue to support the hospitals. It was therefore with undoubted courage, and probably considerable relish, that Mountain would pose his rhetorical question--or taunt--to Gardiner after he had recited the valuable services provided at the hospitals: "Are not all these good works, my lord?"[183]

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[181] Howes, "A Familiar and Friendly Discourse," p. 63.

[182] Christopher Haigh, *English Reformations: Religion, Politics, and Society under the Tudors* (Oxford: 1993), p. 229.

[183] *Narratives of the Reformation*, p. 181.

CHAPTER VIII

SAINT THOMAS'S HOSPITAL: Part I

1. Southwark and the Hospital of St. Thomas

At the end of March 1550, the borough of Southwark, Surrey, was incorporated into the City of greater London.[1] Some two months later the Lord Mayor and Sir John Ayliffe, master of Blackwell Hall and newly-appointed alderman of Bridge Ward Without, surveyed the twenty-sixth ward from horseback, after which they met with "a certain number of honest persons of the borough at the Bridgehouse."[2] The City had been exerting growing influence over Southwark at least since the close of the Lancastrian period.[3] The present extension of the commonalty's formal powers south of the River Thames stood as striking evidence of London's unremitting demographic and physical expansion: the inclusion of Southwark in the franchise of the City represented official acknowledgement of the reality that London was fast outgrowing its medieval perimeters.[4]

Southwark grew alongside London, and by the beginning of James I's reign it contained ten percent of London's population and was counted as the second largest urban area in the kingdom. Nonetheless, for the latter half of the sixteenth century, and the first half of the seventeenth, its demographic growth rate was somewhat slower than London's.[5] Surveys of the records of rate-payers in the early Stuart period reveal that Southwark householders were in general younger than their urban counterparts; further information points to a high incidence of population turnovers, with newcomers staying in the area only a brief time before returning

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[1] Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, ii, p. 36.

[2] Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, ii, p. 40.

[3] Caroline M. Barron, "Ralph Holland and the London Radicals, 1438-1444," in *The Medieval Town: A Reader in English Urban History, 1200-1540*, Richard Holt and Gervase Rosser, eds. (Harlow, Essex: 1990), p. 181; *VCH: Surrey*, i, pp. 395-396.

[4] Jordan, *Charities of London*, p. 16.

[5] Boulton, *Neighbourhood and Society*, pp. 20-21, 289.

home or elsewhere.[6] Perhaps as a result of having a relatively transient populace, Dr. Jeremy Boulton has suggested that residents of Southwark often did not indicate the levels of sentimental attachment toward home or neighbourhood that were regularly manifested by dwellers in other districts of London.[7] Neither did Southwark avert the general problems afflicting London: riverside areas such as the Embankment and Paris Gardens were perennially susceptible to flooding, and the Boroughside, around St. Saviour's Parish, overcame stagnation early in the century to become Southwark's most densely populated region by the century's end. By then, ward leaders were concerned with overcrowding, congestion, and the multiplication of teeming back alleys. The High Street in the Boroughside was the wealthiest district of Southwark: by 1590 it was crammed with houses and storefronts of disparate sizes and quality. Many of the homes in this prime area lacked "basic social amenities" like kitchens.[8]

The vitality of Southwark mirrored London's own resilience, just as its blemishes reflected--and were in part a consequence of--the harsher aspects of London's maturation. By the mid-century, Southwark was on its way to becoming an important centre for the leather trade; it was also something of an entertainment hub, with bear-gardens, cockpits, and, in time, playhouses.[9] Many of the residents of the ward were craftsmen and semi-skilled workers; they provided services to the great households along the Strand and in the West End, and were also employed by trading concerns within the walled City. Their cottages and tenements were clustered along the river banks.[10]

The amenities Southwark offered its residents and visitors included countless hostels and taverns, one of which was the Tabard, directly south of St. Thomas's on the High Street. The

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[6] Boulton, *Neighbourhood and Society*, pp. 33, 207-208.

[7] Jeremy Boulton, "Neighbourhood Migration in Early Modern London," in *Migration and Society in Early-Modern England*, Peter Clark and David Souden, eds. (London: 1987), pp. 114-137.

[8] Boulton, *Neighbourhood and Society*, pp. 23, 170-171, 192-205.

[9] Hoskins, *The Age of Plunder*, p. 95; *The Times London History Atlas*, Hugh Clout, ed. (London: 1991), p. 59; Palliser, *The Age of Elizabeth*, pp. 211-212; Jones, *William Turner*, p. 155.

[10] *The Times London History Atlas*, pp. 60-61.

Tabard had been the starting-point for Chaucer's pilgrims.[11] These dens were obviously potential trouble-spots in the local scene, and manorial and parish officials regularly disciplined proprietors of inns, victualling houses, and tap rooms.[12] The proximity of such haunts to St. Thomas's would be a temptation more than one hospital patient and employee could not rise above: the reports of the hospital rulers assumed an almost picaresque air when they recounted the donnybrooks of roving patients and staff. The propensity of one sister to "run to the tavern" incurred complaints of dereliction of duty from the matron, and threats of punishment and dismissal, from the hospital masters, if she did not curtail her visits and mend her ways; and she was but one of many hospital tipplers.[13]

The borough of Southwark was served by the large church of St. Mary Overy, formerly a priory of canons regular, and by four parish churches: St. Saviour's, St. George the Martyr, St. Olave, and St. Thomas the Apostle within the hospital. These churches fell within the diocese of Winchester.[14] The parish church of St. Thomas was, by the terms of the Letters Patent of Edward VI, commissioned for "divine services, sacraments, and sacramentals there to be celebrated and ministered" to all hospital patients, officers and workers, and residents of the compound. Two ministers would dispense the sacraments, and two "women or apt sisters" would serve the poor of the parish.[15]

Governors of the hospital exercised powers over the parish church, perhaps in anticipation of the salutary role proper religious services should play in restoring the moral and spiritual fibre of indigent patients. Governors had the prerogative of "abating" the church monies paid by individual tenants when they had fallen on hard times.[16] Hospital rulers procured a communion table, chalice, supplies, and vestments for the parish, motivated in the

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[11] Stow, *Survey*, pp. xix, 427.
[12] Boulton, *Neighbourhood and Society*, p. 270.
[13] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fols. 70, 148; H1/ST/A1/2, fol. 56; H1/ST/A1/3, fol. 74^{v}.
[14] Stow, *Survey*, pp. 427, 437; G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 67; H1/ST/A1/3, fol. 36.
[15] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/E14, fols. 95-97.
[16] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 172.

late 1550s and early 1560s by the changes in the rituals and canons initiated by the Marian and Elizabethan regimes. Furthermore, they dismissed and appointed ministers, provided them with lodgings, and selected church wardens "for the good order to be kept in the church and also to take order for ordinary sermons according to the Queen's Majesty's injunctions in that behalf."[17]

At the northern boundary of the new ward stood the Bridgehouse; it served as a granary, and the hospital drew some of its wheat supplies from there, as well as from Bridewell Hospital.[18] Important residences were situated in Southwark: the king maintained the elegant Southwark (formerly Suffolk) Place, and the bishops of Winchester and Rochester kept official homes there.[19] The bishops of Winchester were responsible for the licensing of the district's famous and insalubrious public bathhouses, which by the beginning of the sixteenth century had become Bankside brothels.[20] At least since the time of Henry II, regulations were devised to moderate the behaviour of those who ran or worked in the brothels, and twice in the sixteenth century, in 1506 and 1546, bishops of Winchester would be compelled by royal edict to close their profitable stews temporarily until outbreaks of the plague and epidemics of venereal disease abated.[21]

Royal and City governments of the latter half of the sixteenth century would tighten moral codes when considerations of public order so warranted. Certain folk recreations and customs, such as cockfighting, wrestling, and the holding of rowdy fairs like the one on St.

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[17] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fols. 72, 106, 108, 109, 112, 113, 131; H1/ST/A1/2, fols. 37^{v}, 71^{v}; H1/ST/D1/1, fol. 13.

[18] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fols. 13, 122^{r}, 129; H1/ST/A24/1, fols. 99^{v}-100. The hospital also made claims in 1564 to the rights of £8 in yearly income from the Bridgehouse. See H1/ST/A1/2, fol. 7^{v}.

[19] Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, ii, p. 28; Stow, *Survey*, p. 360.

[20] E.J. Burford, *Bawds and Lodgings: A History of the London Bankside Brothels* (London: 1976), pp. 114-115; Geoffrey May, *Social Control of Sex Expression* (New York: 1931), p. 132.

[21] Stow, *Survey*, pp. 360-362; Jones, *William Turner*, p. 155; Rosemary Weinstein, "Early Tudor London," in *Henry VIII: A European Court in England*, David Starkey, ed. (New York: 1991), pp. 16-17; Beier and Finlay, "The Making of the Metropolis," p. 22; P. Clark, *The English Alehouse: A Social History, 1200-1830* (London: 1983), pp. 148-149; R. Ashton, "Popular Entertainment and Social Control in Later Elizabethan and Early Stuart London," in *London Journal*, 9 (1983), pp. 13-16.

Bartholomew's Day, as well as traditions associated with ancient Catholic feasts and rituals like maypoles and churchales were banned or restricted. Similarly, the keeping or frequenting of unlicensed alehouses and bordellos was sporadically attacked throughout the period. Critics like John Cheke charged that residual superstitions exposed themselves in outbursts of drunkenness, public disorder, and lasciviousness. And the dangers posed to public health and order and the godly discipline of Protestant society--throughout the kingdom, and particularly in London--were manifest.[22]

As the surgeon William Clowes would conclude in the late 1570s, so too did officials earlier in the century presume a link between the "filthy lust" and the infections transmitted through these casual encounters at disreputable City and Southwark commercial establishments. This became especially problematic as vagrants and persons of "better disposition" met at "lewd alehouses" and mingled over food, drink, and sex. The dramatic spread of venereal diseases would throughout the middle and later parts of the sixteenth century bring patients to St. Bartholomew's, St. Thomas's, lazarhouses, and outhouses of both Christ's and St. Bartholomew's scattered along the outskirts of the metropolis.[23]

Southwark was directly connected to London by London Bridge, as well as by numerous wherry links.[24] Even after the City purchased the borough from the king, however, Southwark would remain in effect an outskirt of London, despite its official inclusion into the Corporation. Thus, while for the first six days of February 1554, the rebel Sir Thomas Wyatt held Southwark--with little visible resistance from its inhabitants--and made a bulwark at the

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[22] Guy, *Tudor England*, pp. 219-220; Imogen Luxton, "The Reformation and Popular Culture," in *Church and Society in England: Henry VIII to James I*, Felicity M. Heal and Rosemary O'Day, eds. (London: 1977), pp. 69-71; Margaret Spufford, "Puritanism and Social Control?," in *Order and Disorder in Early Modern England*, Anthony Fletcher and J. Stevenson, eds. (Cambridge: 1985), pp. 41-57; Scarisbrick, *The Reformation and the English People*, p. 42; John Strype, *The Life of the Learned Sir John Cheke, Knight* (Oxford: 1821), pp. 189-218.

[23] Clowes, *A Short and Profitable Treatise*, [1579], sigs. Bii-Biv; Pelling, "Appearance and Reality," pp. 97-99.

[24] For an attempt on the part of hospital officials to prohibit poor people from entering the City by boat, see G.L., MS. 12806/2, fol. 37.

Bridge foot, there was no hint in contemporary opinion that London had been breached, just threatened.[25]

Even as the population of London overflowed into Southwark, the twenty-sixth ward continued to be regarded primarily as an entry-way into London, and only technically as an integral part of the City. As with most areas along the outer edges of the metropolis, Southwark was a place watched over with special intensity by officials entrusted with maintaining order.[26] Punishments meted out to lawbreakers were often public and especially fierce in suburban and transpontine areas: Smithfield was the sight of numerous burnings, boilings, and hangings throughout the medieval and early-modern period, all within eyeshot of St. Bartholomew's Hospital. In 1549, the hospital even made a small profit from the "breaking of the ground for four Spaniards which suffered in Smithfield and were buried there."[27] In Southwark, stocks, pillories, and gibbets were set up, to give public example that justice awaited all those who skirted the king's laws--just as surely to traitors as to lesser-fry, like Thomas the baker, who was whipped and pilloried in Southwark for baking two-penny wheat loaves at less than thirteen ounces.[28] Punishments for those lax in sexual mores were also swift and harsh: instances of promiscuity and depravity, particularly in the Edwardian period, seemed commonplace, and transgressors were prosecuted by civic officials for the disease and moral rot they were convicted of passing on.[29]

Southwark was notorious as a haunt for miscreants; in medieval times it was also a refuge for criminals fleeing writs issued by City officials.[30] So directly after the Lord Mayor processed through the streets of Southwark, a common cryer proclaimed new vigilance and re-

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[25] *The Chronicle of Queen Jane*, pp. 43-46; *Grey Friars' Chronicle*, pp. 86-87.

[26] See G.L., MS. 12806/2, fol. 28.

[27] S.B.H., HB1/1, fol. 47^{v}.

[28] Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, ii, pp. 18, 55; Beier, *Problem of the Poor*, pp. 33-34.

[29] *Two London Chronicles*, p. 45; Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, p. 472; Pelling, "Appearance and Reality," pp. 104-105.

[30] Gamini Salgado, *The Elizabethan Underworld* (New York: 1992), pp. 39-40.

doubled efforts to expel evildoers and vagabonds from Southwark and its environs.[31] And, as was the case in many other medieval and early-modern suburbs, its distance from the heart of the City made Southwark a suitable place for the repositories of urban society's unwanted or dangerous: the sick and the prisoners.[32] Clearly there was no easy remedy for easing the problems of crime and vagrancy within Southwark, and well into the 1560s, City and hospital officials coordinated policies to keep the undesirables currently gathered in Southwark from gaining easy access to inner London.[33]

Five jails or ward prisons were located in Southwark, the best-known being the Clink, the King's Bench, and the Marshalsea, situated towards the bottom of Southwark's High Street, below the hospital. The latter two prisons were not transferred to the Corporation in the one-thousand-mark transaction of 1550, nor was St. Thomas's Hospital.[34] According to John Stow, St. Thomas's Hospital was among the most notable antiquities inside Southwark.[35] Within a year of having taken possession of the borough, the City was investigating "all the lands belonging to the Hospital in Southwark, with the defalcations and allowances due to the poor folk."[36] Richard Gresham, Rowland Hill, William Garrard, and John Ayliffe, as representatives of the aldermanic council, negotiated aspects of the purchase of the hospital with the Lord Chancellor and the king's council.[37]

In 1552, the City paid the Crown £2479 10*s* 10*d* for both St. Thomas's and Christ's Hospitals, all but £3 10*d* of which was covered by a benevolence granted by the citizenry.[38] The clear yearly value of the properties, lands, and rentals of the hospital was fixed at £154

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[31] Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, ii, p. 38.

[32] Derek J. Keene, "Suburban Growth," in *The Plans and Topography of Medieval Towns in England and Wales*, M.W. Barley, ed. (Council for British Archaeology, Research Report 14, 1976), p. 43.

[33] G.L., MS. 12806/2, fol. 16^{r}.

[34] Stow, *Survey*, pp. xix, 369; *Times London History Atlas*, p. 58.

[35] Stow, *Survey*, pp. 359-360.

[36] *APC*, iii, p. 242; Kingdon, *Richard Grafton*, p. 43.

[37] C.L.R.O., Rep. xii, pt. ii, fols. 309^{r}, 310^{v}.

[38] B.L., Harleian MS. 604, fol. 176 (item 147); *Supplement to the Memoranda Relating to the Royal Hospitals*, pp. 32-33; Stow, *Survey*, p. 369; Youings, *Sixteenth Century England*, p. 266. The payment in the Letters Patent of Edward VI, 13 August 1551, is stated at £2461 2*s* 6*d*. G.L.R.O., H1/ST/E14, fol. 101.

17*s* 1*d*; in addition, the house was licensed to receive lands, manors, tenements, and other properties and rentals in mortmain to the yearly value of £46.[39] The Corporation then appointed three aldermen and two common councillors to serve as governors.[40] Edward VI, in confirming the transfer of the hospital to the City, willed that it should be "called the King's Hospital in Southwark."[41] This name never gained common acceptance: the hospital was always known as St. Thomas's, though saintly intercessions for the hospital and its parish church seemed to have passed discreetly from St. Thomas à Becket to St. Thomas the Apostle.[42]

The properties of the hospital, which provided the hospital with its largest source of yearly revenue, eventually included lands and manors which formerly belonged to the Savoy.[43] From the original land grant, the hospital drew annual rent from numerous appurtenances and tenements in London and in the provinces. Among its more notable tenants were the companies of the Skinners, Clothworkers, Drapers, and Goldsmiths, the churchwardens of St. Michael in Wood Street and St. Nicholas Shambles, and the vice-canons of St. Paul's Cathedral.[44] The lands and tenements purchased by the commonalty for St. Thomas's consisted of 190 tenements scattered throughout Southwark and Bermondsey.[45] In the hospital's first two full years of operation, income from rents amounted to £346 18*s* 11*d*, rising from £163 15*s* 7*d* at Michaelmas 1552 to £183 3*s* 4*d* a year later.[46] Part of the endowments of the Savoy Hospital was transferred to the City principally for the use of St. Thomas's and Bridewell hospitals.[47]

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[39] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/E14, fols. 93, 99, 101-109; Howes, "A Familiar and Friendly Discourse," pp. 75-77.

[40] C.L.R.O., Rep. xii, pt. ii, fols. 472^{v}-473.

[41] Stow, *Survey*, p. 369.

[42] Strype, *Memorials*, i, pt. 1, p. 532; G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/3, fol. 36; H1/ST/E14, fols. 89, 95; Eilidh M. McInnes, *St. Thomas' Hospital* (London: 1963), p. 24.

[43] G.L., MS. 12806/1, fol. 59^{r}.

[44] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/E14, fols. 102-106; S.B.H., HA1/1, fol. 1^{v}.

[45] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/E14, fols. 71-85.

[46] G.L., MS. 12819/1, fol. 9^{v}.

[47] G.L., MS. 12819/1, fols. 58^{v}-59^{v}, 61, 62^{r}-63^{r}; C.L.R.O., MS. 60.6, fols. 60-75; Stow, *Survey*, p. 369; C.L.R.O., Rep. xiii, pt. i, fols. 60, 63, 66^{v}; Howes, "A Familiar and Friendly Discourse," pp. 74-75.

These arrangements were in time shown to be inadequate. In 1558 the Court of the Common Council predicted "great and inevitable reproach and slander...[would] shortly ensue to the said City" if the ruling elite of London "should, as God forbid, for lack of substance and godly maintenance, be suffered [to allow the hospitals] to decay and not be maintained in such a charitable wise as they hitherto have been since the time of their foundation and erection."[48] Agreements for the support of these houses were re-thought in 1557, when Sir Martin Bowes presided as Comptroller General over the General Council of Christ's, St. Thomas's, St. Bartholomew's, and Bridewell hospitals. The Council then re-directed the revenues of Blackwell Hall to Christ's Hospital, which would also be sustained by civic collections, and most of the remaining endowments of the Savoy went to St. Thomas's: both transferrals were acknowledgement that neither Christ's nor St. Thomas's had hitherto had "any direct or plain order for [their] maintenance." The total worth of the endowments of St. Thomas's now stood at approximately £15,000.[49] Within the City and its suburbs, St. Thomas's gained some sixty-three tenements.[50] Holdings in eight counties, all of which had belonged to the Savoy, now added to the revenues of St. Thomas's. Two significant holdings were the manors of Bewick in Yorkshire and Shoreditch in Hackney. Six properties were in Essex, four in Cambridgeshire, three each in Kent and Middlesex, two in Buckinghamshire, and one each in Hertfordshire and Derbyshire.[51]

Possession of the holdings of the Savoy was contingent upon the payment of lifetime pensions to that institution's former officers and employees, fulfilling a covenant made earlier between King Edward VI and the Corporation.[52] From the beginning of the ledgers of the treasurers of St. Thomas's in 1562 until the audit of June 1573, receipts are listed for the annual payments. The number of individuals receiving these emoluments declined from seven-

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[48] C.L.R.O., Journal xvii, fol. 39^{v}; C.L.R.O., MS. 61.6, fol. 5^{r-v}.
[49] G.L., MS. 12806/1, fol. 9^{v}; Jordan, *Charities of London*, pp. 190-191.
[50] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/E14, fols. 55-59.
[51] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/E14, fols. 49-54.
[52] Howes, "A Friendly and Familiar Discourse," p. 53.

teen in 1563 to nine in 1572: they ranged from one of the house's former chaplains to its organ maker.[53]

When the hospital re-opened in 1553, it took in 260 "aged, sore, and sick persons."[54] In late 1551, a blind woman who "hath long time been in the hospital in Southwark" was removed to St. Bartholomew's, to be kept there until the new hospital was ready to receive patients.[55] Some patients had been in residence before the negotiations between City and Crown had concluded: in June 1552, the surgeons of St. Bartholomew's had been sent to St. Thomas's to examine a diseased man, "and after, they to take such order therein as may be for the help of the poor man."[56] In 1553, the hospital also hired keepers, each of whom would be responsible for the care of fifteen inmates. Operating expenses for both Christ's and St. Thomas's, as well as pensions for 500 impoverished householders, and the salaries of the hospitaller, five surgeons, four schoolmasters, and other officials and servants of both hospitals amounted to £3240 15*s* 4*d*.[57] Included in this sum were payments by officials at both Christ's and St. Thomas's to the keepers of the six lazar houses which adjoined the City, for which the custodians ensured that the poor lepers kept there would come no closer than three miles from the City's edges.[58] Further collections among the citizenry, who were implored to consider themselves but poor instruments in God's ineffable designs to succour the poor, plus "legacies and other gifts given by sundry charitable persons" covered all but £196 19*s* 8*d* of this total. This shortfall was for the most part absorbed by the "governors of the said houses out of their own purses, which daily travail for the good order of them."[59]

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[53] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A24/1, fols. 102, 105^{v}, 106, 110^{v}, 114^{v}, 119, 126^{v}, 131^{v}, 135^{v}, 140, 140^{v}, 143$^{(a)}$, 143$^{(a-v)}$, 146; H1/ST/A24/1, fols. 110^{v}, 153, 155.

[54] *Supplement to the Memoranda*, pp. 33-34.

[55] S.B.H., HA1/1, fol. 24^{v}.

[56] S.B.H., HA1/1, fol. 49^{v}.

[57] *Supplement to the Memoranda*, pp. 33-34.

[58] *Supplement to the Memoranda*, p. 34; G.L., MS. 12819/1, fols. 25^{r}-25^{v}.

[59] C.L.R.O., Journal xvi, fol. 256^{v}; *Supplement to the Memoranda*, pp. 33-35; Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, p. 482.

The hospital compound was situated near Thieves' Lane and Kent Street, on the east side of the High Street of Southwark which stretched south beyond London Bridge.[60] The early history of St. Thomas's in Southwark followed a pattern common to many medieval foundations. St. Thomas's Hospital was originally called the Almerie, or the "house of alms for converts and poor children." It was founded by Richard, Prior of Bermondsey in 1213, after a fire destroyed an older hospital structure, reputedly founded by St. Thomas of Canterbury, within the precincts of the monastery of St. Mary Overy.[61] The infirmary of the hospital was a long, rectangular hall, and its patients could hear daily mass from their beds, which were arranged so that they might see the chapel situated in the east end of the hall.[62] Largely through the generosity of Richard Whittington, the hospital had its own maternity wing.[63]

Care offered at St. Thomas's before the mid-Tudor restructuring was apparently primitive: inmates slept on piles of straw and the medical services offered were limited.[64] Only rarely was mention made of professional health care being offered at St. Thomas's. One reference has been detected from the fifteenth century in which the practitioner Thomas Thorneton was commissioned to offer leechcraft and other forms of treatment to the poor of St. Thomas's, St. Bartholomew's, and the prisons of Newgate and Ludgate.[65] And as with other hospitals, discipline of the religious staff presented problems at times. Visitation rights were maintained by the bishops of Winchester, who insisted that the master of the hospital should keep a close watch over the brethren and sisters, who themselves should be obliged to follow the rule of St. Augustine.[66]

Although the new hospital made considerable use of the monastic buildings which were not torn down at the time of the Dissolution, repairs to the properties, rental estates, and

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[60] Stow, *Survey*, p. 368; G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/2, fol. 88^{v}.

[61] Stow, *Survey*, p. 368; *VCH: London*, i, p. 538; F.G. Parsons, *The History of St. Thomas's Hospital*, 3 vols. (London: 1932), i, pp. 16-18.

[62] Carlin, "Medieval English Hospitals," p. 28.

[63] Grafton, *Chronicle*, i, pp. 499-500.

[64] McInnes, *St. Thomas's Hospital*, p. 17.

[65] P.R.O, P.C.C., Logge 2, as cited in Rawcliffe, "The Hospitals of Later Medieval London," p. 8.

[66] B.L., Stowe MS. 942, fol. 330, *VCH: London*, i, p. 539.

hospital buildings of St. Thomas's occupied the earliest attentions of the first governors after the refoundation.[67] As befitted an institution which would bear a heavy load in dealing with the metropolis's ill and helpless poor, the hospital and its outbuildings were continually renovated over the following thirty years.

There would necessarily be an expanded number of structures in which the patients would receive particular types of care or services. By the beginning of 1581, hospital accounts record nine wards, all bearing either royal or biblical names. Each ward accommodated both dieters and medical patients.[68] Some fifteen years previous to this, scattered references had been made to wards with more prosaic, functional nomenclature: a women's ward, which was separated from the kitchen by a brick wall, and a sweat ward. A dorter for men is also mentioned; in all probability it was one of the remaining monastic buildings which retained its old name and function. The Sweat Ward was newly built between March 1566 and September 1567, and was designed with its own privy and lodgings above the ground floor for the sisters.[69]

Access to different parts of the hospital appears to have been restricted at certain times, presumably for reasons of security or because of alterations and construction projects. In December 1562, doors that led to the garden, the King's ward, and the leads were all nailed up.[70] Smaller buildings served different purposes which made the hospital enclave relatively self-sufficient: by the early 1570s the compound included a surgery house, counting house, bake house, buttery, bathing house, a wheat loft, paint house, court house, wash house, store house, common kitchens, chapel, well, cross-chamber, a wainscoted great hall hung with painted cloths and brightened through glass windows, paved courtyard with a cross in it, in

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[67] G.L., M.S. 12819/1, fols. 54^{v}-57^{r}.

[68] The wards were the King's, Jonas's, Queen's, Magdalene's, Job's, Lazar, Judith's, Susanne's, and Noah's Ark. On Sunday, 5 January 1581, 130 patients were housed and fed in all the wards. G.L.R.O., H1/ST/D1/2 [no folio number].

[69] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/D33/1, fols. 6, 38^{v}, 41, 45, 46^{v}, 51^{v}, 126^{r}-127^{v}; H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 81. Mention is also made in March 1566 of a Swann's Ward. G.L.R.O., H1/ST/D33/1, fol. 11.

[70] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 134.

addition to on-site housing for the physician, matron (whose chamber was painted yellow-ochre), sisters, parish priest, a glover, and the surgeon.[71]

Other buildings, to which no names are given and no definite functions ascribed, are mentioned intermittently.[72] The lodgings of the matron were also used as a refectory for herself and the sisters, and the room above her kitchen was used to help store the hospital's supply of corn.[73] Having the matron and sisters eat and drink together no doubt was meant to foster discipline and conviviality. It was also an economy device, for by house ordinance of 9 September 1566, bread and drink were to be procured exclusively from the hospital buttery, "that the profit thereof may grow to this house."[74]

Scattered references give small hints as to activities within the hospital's walls. The cross, re-made in July 1570, was where misbehaving inmates of the hospital were punished.[75] Burial of patients and employees took place within the grounds of the parish church of the hospital, where a cemetery had existed since the thirteenth century. In October 1567, Dennis Carden was hired to dig graves "as soon as they are needed."[76] In April 1568, the hospital precincts were partially enclosed within a new brick wall, and could be entered from the High Street through a great gate.[77] At least one other gate, located near the King's Ward, existed.[78]

These gates served the obvious purposes of keeping undesirables out and restricting the flow of applicants who would come before the court of the hospital. The walls segregated the community of the sick and contagious from the outside world, both to create an enclosed

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[71] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/D33/1, fols. 4, 8^{v}, 10^{v}, 11, 12^{v}, 15^{v}, 16, 17^{v}, 18^{v}, 19, 23, 26^{v}, 34^{v}, 36^{v}, 103, 108, 123^{v}; H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 134; H1/ST/A1/2, fols. 40, 42, 50^{v}; H1/ST/A1/3, fol. 38.

[72] For instance, G.L.R.O., H1/ST/D33/1, fol. 28, lists a "little house in the back yard."

[73] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 128; H1/ST/A1/2, fols. 40, 47^{v}.

[74] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/2, fols. 40, 47^{v}.

[75] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/2, fol. 76^{v}; H1/ST/A1/3, fol. 35.

[76] B.L., Stowe MS. 942, fols. 2-4; G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/2, fol. 71^{v}. Grave-digging was either a part-time job for Carden, or a humble beginning to a culinary career, as three years later he is cited as the cook of the hospital. G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/3, fol. 40^{v}.

[77] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/D33/1, fol. 66^{v}.

[78] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/2, fol. 27^{v}.

atmosphere conducive to healing, and so that infection would not be spread abroad.[79] Halting the transmission of contaminants was certainly the goal during times of general epidemic. The death rate of the City rose by nearly one-quarter during the catastrophic Elizabethan visitation of the plague in 1563, and a virtual quarantine was self-imposed on St. Thomas's between July and August, with only sisters being permitted outside to purchase necessities for the patients of their wards.[80]

The keeper of the gate saw that it functioned like any of the curfew gates along London's City wall: from Easter to Michaelmas it shut at 10 in the evening and opened at 4 in the morning, and the rest of the year it closed one hour earlier and opened one hour later.[81] The porter's job was strategic: he and the beadles ought to be men of decent character, since they were held accountable for ensuring that squalor and disorder did not penetrate the hospital.[82] The freedom of inmates to leave the hospital grounds was strictly rationed by the court and officers like the hospitaller and the matron, who might at their discretion allow the poor "to go abroad for needful business."[83] The movements of the sisters were similarly kept under the watchful eye of the matron.[84] Patients who left the hospital without appropriate notification and permission were subject to immediate dismissal; patients who ran away would not be re-admitted.[85]

The portals of the hospital were also places of busy commerce. St. Thomas's profited from allowing vendors and members of guilds like the Leather Sellers to set up stalls at these

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[79] Rubin, *Charity and Community*, p. 51.

[80] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 157; C.L.R.O., Rep. xv, fols. 263^{r}, 277^{v}-279^{r}; Journal, xviii, fols. 123^{v}, 142^{r}; Rappaport, *Worlds Within Worlds*, pp. 70-72; Ian Sutherland, "When was the Great Plague? Mortality in London, 1563-1665," in D.V. Glass and R. Reville, eds., *Population and Social Change* (London: 1972), p. 303, Table 4. The hospital's efforts constituted part of the larger response implemented by City officials, who belatedly called for restrictions on the outdoor movements of plague victims, crosses to be placed on the doors of the infected, and parish-chamber collections for the afflicted. See Slack, "Metropolitan Government in Crisis," pp. 62, 66; Slack, *The Impact of the Plague*, p. 205.

[81] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/2, fol. 41^{v}.

[82] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 46; H1/ST/A1/2, fol. 14^{v}.

[83] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/2, fol. 34^{v}.

[84] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 56.

[85] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 133; H1/ST/A1/2, fol. 17^{v}.

passages.[86] A box for the receipt of casual donations was also situated at the hospital's entryways.[87] Rentals dunned from tradesmen and purveyors stationed there apparently did not always match the takings from the boxes, however. In 1571, when hospital officials surmised that access to the poor man's box was blocked by William Manley, a butcher (and himself a poor man granted concessionary rights by the governors in 1566), he was evicted *post haste*.[88]

2. Procedures for the Entry of Patients

A persistent concern for the governors of St. Thomas's Hospital from the time of its re-opening through to the 1570s was how to deal with the numbers of impoverished sick who sought refuge and healing within its walls. Throughout much of the medieval period, it had been a suburban hospital of middling size: from the end of the thirteenth century to the eve of the Dissolution, the number of patients seldom exceeded forty.[89]

When the hospital was reconstituted under Edward VI, it immediately assumed care of some 260 patients. Governors laboured hard to reduce this number: by the autumn of 1558, the General Court of the hospitals officially limited the number of patients at St. Thomas's to one hundred, a command repeated with more fervour by the aldermanic court in March 1561.[90] While there were usually fewer than two hundred residents by the time the hospital began its own regular patient-counts in the mid-1560s, governors of the hospital nonetheless lamented at the end of the decade that "this house hath been overcharged [with patients] and that the estate of the house is behind hand...."[91] Despite the endowments received upon its foundation, and the supplemental income it derived after 1557 from the properties of the

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[86] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 49; H1/ST/A1/2, fols. 2, 27^{v}.
[87] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A24/1, fols. 108^{v}, 109.
[88] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A24/1, fol. 138; H1/ST/A1/2, fol. 48; H1/ST/A1/3, fols. 46, 49^{v}.
[89] Jordan, *Charities of London*, pp. 190-191; Carlin, "Medieval English Hospitals," p. 26.
[90] G.L., MS. 12806/1, fol. 17^{v}; C.L.R.O., Rep. xiv, fol. 465.
[91] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/3, fol. 18^{v}.

Savoy Hospital, the hospital was physically and materially constrained to devise policies to restrict admissions.[92]

In general, there were three ways to be admitted to the hospital. Most commonplace was a general admission, in which applicants appeared before the hospital gates and sought to enter. A second way involved bonds of patronage between a ward leader or someone of social standing and a person seeking entry; in these cases the benefactors exercised powers to have individuals admitted without explicitly committing themselves to defraying the costs of treatment and board. A third procedure saw backers, such as parish vestries, livery company, relatives, friends, or employers, offering the hospital compensation for taking in a patient; a subcategory of this classification might be those patients who could offer some money towards their own maintenance.

The majority of the patients admitted to St. Thomas's had no official sponsorship, nor had they the financial backing of family, friends, or patrons. They came "out of the streets" with differing needs, and might be admitted freely or with certain stipulations.[93] Some sought temporary shelter, with no indication that they demanded medical attention. Throughout the 1560s, the hospital received night lodgers, much as the hospitals of the medieval period had done; their admission might be restricted temporarily if the hospital ran short of space, or if discipline were proving a problem.[94] In mid-July 1563, when the plague epidemic was at its height, the hospitaller was commanded not to receive night lodgers until at least the following September, by which time there might be more space--and restored calm--within St. Thomas's.[95] Ordinarily, night lodgers would be received by the hospitaller in the early hours of the evening, and, in addition to their meat and drink, might be granted 7*d* by the steward.[96]

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[92] Stow, *Survey*, p. 369; Howes, "A Familiar and Friendly Discourse," pp. 74-77; Jordan, *Charities of London*, pp. 190-191.

[93] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 17.

[94] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 157.

[95] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 157; E.A. Wrigley and R.S. Schofield, *Population History of England, 1541-1871: A Reconstruction* (London: 1981), pp. 332-340.

[96] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/2, fols. 65, 83^{v}.

Casual recipients of relief like this might, however, easily be suspected of idleness or itinerancy. Rulers of the hospital displayed concern that those whom they restored to health, or those who were granted shelter, might either return to "molest" the house, or set about begging on the City's streets. The experiment with London's hospitals produced some criticism that the readiness of London's citizens and multitudinous eleemosynary institutions (churches, hospitals, and livery companies) to dispense charity had encouraged ruffians and ne'er-do-wells to flock from England's provinces to the capital.[97] Carping like this was virtually impossible to deflect, but hospital officials had to tread warily lest it seem that they were nurturing and eventually turning out beggars and thieves. Occasionally, the governors established pensions "toward the relievement...[of those who] useth [themselves] honestly, and not in no wise to beg abroad."[98] In 1559, the hospital allowed a departing widow a "rebate" of 20*s* "in consideration of her poverty," suggesting that despite her slim means, she had earlier contributed to her own relief.[99]

This is not to say that all poor inmates were necessarily devoid of entrepreneurial skills: some of them could obviously shift for themselves. Several night lodgers made pocket-money by selling "linens [and] other stuff" to the sisters, although these transactions necessitated the approval of the matron and hospitaller after October 1566.[100] Early in 1563, the officers of the hospital had agreed that a place should be appointed within the grounds "to punish the sturdy and transgressors."[101] Hospitallers made lists of the names of those received as night lodgers, and held the lists in readiness for the time when their superiors might call for them.[102]

It would seem that the inclination of the governors of St. Thomas's was to send suspect persons directly on to Bridewell, or to put them in the custody of the beadles of Bridewell.

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[97] C.L.R.O., Journal xix, fol. 164^{v}.
[98] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 10.
[99] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 43.
[100] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/2, fol. 49^{v}.
[101] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 136^{r}.
[102] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 175.

Failing this, the hospital might instruct one of its beadles to set one of its more truculent former patients "one mile out of the town" so that he would disturb neither the house nor the City again.[103] Children, presumably those without parents or guardians, were sent to Christ's Hospital.[104] In December 1567, however, the court at St. Thomas's declared that night lodgers would only be remanded at Bridewell "by warrant from the aldermen and governors of Bridewell under their hands for the same or by other warrants of higher authority."[105] The shifting of inmates between the two institutions was not all one-sided: Bridewell sometimes sent patients to St. Thomas's. But after February 1557 all persons sent from Bridewell to St. Thomas's were subjected to special examinations by hospital surgeons to ascertain that there was sufficient cause for admittance.[106] Furthermore, after 1568, all patients cured at St. Thomas's who had been sent in from Bridewell were, by order of the governors, to be returned there "without any entreaty or suit to be made to the contrary."[107]

Procedures for admission of patients were refined continually in the two decades after the re-foundation. An important start in October 1560 was the ruling that poor people should be admitted only on Court Days, which were scheduled every Monday (except on Holy Days, when they were moved to Wednesdays) at eight in the morning. Formal discharge of patients was also handled at these meetings.[108] From the second half of the 1560s onwards, hospital registers of patients admitted and discharged made specific note of the number of patients sent in by warrant, either from other hospitals, City leaders, or the governors themselves.[109] Masters of the hospital were admonished that they should not be so moved by pity as to send sick individuals for admittance at any other time. The exception to the rule was for the feeble

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[103] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 151.
[104] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fols. 7-8.
[105] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/2, fol. 77^{v}.
[106] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 9.
[107] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/2, fol. 85; Archer, *Pursuit of Stability*, p. 155.
[108] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fols. 62, 98. Court days at St. Thomas's had first been held on Wednesdays. G.L., MS. 12806/1, fol. 5.
[109] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/2 and H1/ST/A1/3, *passim*.

and ailing persons who came to the hospital gates and were unable to remove themselves: for them the hospitaller could grant temporary admittance until the next court day, when he should present those persons to the governors assembled.[110]

These discretionary powers were somewhat modified two years later, when the hospitallers were forbidden to admit any poor into the hospital without the consent of either the president of the house, or of at least two almoners.[111] By the close of the 1560s, hospitallers were empowered to admit patients only if they held a warrant.[112] The problem of individuals depositing ailing or impotent persons at the gates of the hospital in the dead of night persisted into the 1570s. Those caught in the act were questioned as to where they had come from, perhaps implying that in some instances the hospital was being burdened with the total care and maintenance of persons with no native or professional affiliations with London, and who were brought to the City solely to be abandoned outside of St. Thomas's.[113]

Those admitted under usual hospital procedures might well have to face further vettings. The hospital was always on guard lest its reputation be sullied by harbouring unmarried pregnant women, for St. Thomas's was "a house erected for the relief of honest persons and not of harlots to be maintained therein."[114] Thus while the court might give relief to an expectant poor woman, it most likely did so on the presumption that she was 'honest'; otherwise, she would probably have been summarily sent to Bridewell for correction.[115]

The hospital's rejection of unwed mothers contradicted its earlier history as a haven for women in difficult circumstances. St. Thomas's had admitted unmarried pregnant women in the fifteenth century, and their plight was treated with discretion and sensitivity.[116] But times

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[110] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 62.
[111] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fols. 97, 102.
[112] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/3, fol. 22^{r}.
[113] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/3, fol. 41^{v}.
[114] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 95.
[115] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 87; H1/ST/A1/2, fol. 140.
[116] Carlin, "Medieval English Hospitals," p. 33; *The Historical Collections of a Citizen of London in the Fifteenth Century*, James Gairdner, ed., Camden Soc., New Series, vol. xvii (London: 1876), pp. viii-ix.

had changed, and the governors were eager to distance themselves and their institution from what they certainly viewed as the misguided policies of the past. The governors had only to remember the mortifying visitation reports of 1535, when St. Thomas's had been stigmatized as a "bawdy house."[117] Moreover, the penchant of post-Reformation social critics to dwell on increased instances of promiscuity and illegitimacy in the metropolis, and their insistence that these acts be met with condign punishments, must also have made officers of the house reluctant to be perceived as catering to or even harbouring blatant transgressors.[118]

Pregnant women were at times inadvertently admitted, and of course women sometimes conceived while in residence. The former was the case with Ellen Gascoyning on 5 January 1560. Within a month of her coming to the hospital, she bore a child, and named Peter Todd as its father. Todd was "brought before the face of the whole court, and upon his examination he confessed that he had had the use of her body...." He was thereafter sent to Bridewell and punished "for his offense committed contrary to God's will and commandment." This episode was evidently almost as chastening to the hospital officials as it must have been traumatic to the unfortunate parents, for the governors ordered that henceforth no women would be admitted without the matron bringing her before a surgeon for a gynaecological examination to determine if she were with child.[119] Pregnant women would be dismissed, or might be sent on to Bridewell. Suspicion and hostility on the part of hospital governors towards single pregnant women, and the concomitant harm they could do to discipline amongst the inmates and to the good name of the institution, would linger for years to come.[120]

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[117] *LPFD*, ix, pt. i, no. 44; *ibid.*, xi, no. 168.

[118] Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, v, pp. 729-730; *Two London Chronicles*, p. 45; Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, ii, p. 36; Houlbrooke, *Church Courts and the People*, pp. 85-87; Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, p. 472; Peter Laslett, *The World We Have Lost: England Before the Industrial Age* (New York: 1984), pp. 155-156.

[119] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 54.

[120] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fols. 25^{v}, 46^{r}, 95^{r}; G.L., MS 12806/2, fol. 27; Archer, *Pursuit of Stability*, p. 155.

3. Patronage and Sponsorship of Patients

Individuals who entered St. Thomas's as patients with the assistance of powerful men, but who had no assurances of financial support from them, were few. Men intimately connected with the administration of the London hospitals, like Richard Grafton, Andrew Judd, John Sayer, Richard Buckland, and John Essex, sometimes used their authority to facilitate the admission of individuals, but the records are silent regarding what, if any, bonds existed between governor and applicant. Very possibly, their motives were relatively impersonal: conceivably they might have been responding to pressures applied by parish vestrymen or ward leaders, or supplications from family members and friends.

In any case, governors acting personally and directly to see specific men and women admitted entirely at the expense of the institution appears to have been limited almost exclusively to the earliest five years of St. Thomas's history.[121] Both Sir Thomas Lodge and Sir John White assumed personal financial responsibility for their clients: they are listed as providing weekly or bi-weekly pensions of 2*s* 8*d* for two maids they independently sent in each in the autumn months of 1563.[122] James Bacon, treasurer in 1566, established an annuity of 50*s* 4*d* for Elizabeth Churchman; if she died before the funds had been fully paid out, the residue would revert to the house.[123] Thomas Pratt, the surgeon of St. Thomas's in 1562, limited himself to acting as an intercessor for sponsors of the diseased William Moore and the hospital, and once the hospital agreed to admit Moore, Pratt was charged with conveying the sponsors' weekly offering of 20*d* to the hospital court.[124]

Governors sometimes banded together to provide support for invalids who had no backers: thus in March 1557, five governors assured John Sayer, the hospital undertreasurer, that

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[121] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fols. 16, 17, 18.
[122] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A24/1, fols. 104, 107.
[123] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/2, fol. 52^{v}.
[124] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 100.

10*s* would be paid while a poor child was relieved at the hospital for four months.[125] Three years later, the governors allotted 17*s* to the hospitaller for the relief of Jane Donning.[126]

Assistance might also be extended to the dependents of patients. In 1567, for example, the court responded to the "earnest request" of two men to provide apparel worth 6*s* 5*d* to Joan Blunt, the daughter of a sick widow. It would seem that the child was not being kept at the hospital with her mother.[127] When a woman suffering from the pox was admitted, governor William Allen allotted her children 6*d* a week for their maintenance.[128] The hospital sometimes took in the children of destitute patients, and made arrangements to have them sent to nurse, or removed to Christ's Hospital.[129] The children of a resident who committed suicide within the hospital were placed under the tutelage of the curate of St. Thomas's parish, ironically the man rumoured to have driven the children's father to his destruction.[130] The problems posed by incurable patients were especially poignant. Bed space was usually in short supply, especially during winter months, and at times governors scrambled to provide for those who were beyond saving: however, there were patients known to be incurable who were admitted anyway.[131] Hospital orders of January 1571 directed the almoners to "peruse all such persons as have been long continuers within this hospital, and [the] incurable to be discharged at the discretion of the said almoners."[132]

Another dilemma for hospital officials was where to place patients whose illnesses did not respond to treatments, and who were doomed to waste away slowly without their being capable of caring for themselves. If their condition did not permit their living out their last days at home, or if they had no one to tend them, one alternative was for governors to arrange

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[125] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 15.
[126] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 66.
[127] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/2, fol. 60^{v}.
[128] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 13.
[129] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A4/1, fols. 155, 162; H1/ST/D1/1, fol. 35^{v}.
[130] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fols. 120-121.
[131] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A4/1, fol. 74.
[132] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/3, fol. 46.

their admission to one of the City's lazarhouses; the governors might then provide for their maintenance.[133] Some governors were obviously more prone than their brethren to be "moved with pity for sick individuals," or perhaps more susceptible to the pressures of third parties to have them admitted: their soft hearts or malleable natures could result in overcrowding and undue stress on house finances and ultimately on the ability of hospital to ensure reasonable standards of health care and internal order. Hence, in 1560, governors were prohibited from sending prospective patients for admittance on any day other than Mondays, the regularly scheduled court day.[134]

Hospital governors would on occasion oversee the shunting of a patient from one hospital to another, and persons already in residence might win the backing of a hospital officer when a prolonged stay at St. Thomas's was sought.[135] This was the case in May 1567, when the hospitaller successfully petitioned that the court of the hospital grant continued residence and support to a poor child already living in the hospital compound.[136]

Other pleas for admissions often entailed conditions or hinted at earlier acts of beneficence towards the hospital. Thus, when on 2 December 1566 the governors succumbed to the "earnest suit and request of the deputy of the borough and of the parishioners of St. Bride's in Fleet Street" and admitted Mary Walker, they committed themselves only for six months. After that time, the patient would be removed by her supporters.[137]

Forms of sponsorship thus might also involve benefactors guaranteeing the hospital that a patient would not end up being a permanent burden. If a cure for the patient's malady seemed unlikely, hospital officers would be reassured with promises such as that made by two men of the parish of St. Giles, who pledged that they would remove Christian Catrolle should it become evident that "he cannot be made whole."[138]

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[133] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fols. 14, 17.
[134] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 62; Archer, *Pursuit of Stability*, p. 156.
[135] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 18.
[136] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/2, fol. 64.
[137] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/2, fol. 52^{v}.
[138] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/2, fol. 78^{v}. See also *ibid.*, fol. 12^{v} and H1/ST/A1/1, fols. 159, 164.

In other cases, the hospital asked for specific sums from those who promised to re-claim individuals once a cure had been effected.[139] When St. Thomas's accepted Alice Stringer from a carpenter who vowed to pay 12*d* towards her relief, it further elicited the guarantee from him that he would "promise...[to] look for the carrier of Gloucester, called _____ Ford, that brought her to this City to carry her away to her father that this house might be unburdened."[140] A haberdasher and a girdler, both from St. Mildred's Parish in London, both promised that if Isabel Wilcox, who was admitted on 16 May 1569, were not cured within a year, they would see that she paid 40*s* a year thereafter. They were not held to this, however, for Isabel was dead within a month.[141] Benefactors had sometimes to be reminded of their earlier promises: Mr. Becket and Mr. Bartholomew were warned to remove Alice Flowers from the hospital, as they had committed themselves to do when she had been granted admittance.[142]

Hospital officials fought a long and hard battle against those who avoided living up to their initial promises, either to support the ailing or to take in the healed. The court sometimes took a hard line against deadbeats: in September 1569 it ordered that one Abbott be discharged "out of the hospital without that they who sued to have him in will bear the charges of his diet after his leg shall be taken off."[143]

The hospital was able to come to less drastic arrangements--if not uniformly in an amicable fashion--with other recalcitrant payers. Henry Evath paid £5 4*s* in overdue relief money for Katherine Cockan, who had been a patient in St. Thomas's for eighteen months.[144] A man from Lancaster also acknowledged his debt of £3 6*s* 8*d* to St. Thomas's "for the keeping of a poor woman."[145] Hospital officials were far less tolerant of John Collins of Golding Lane: the steward of the hospital ordered his arrest for an outstanding obligation of 40 marks.

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[139] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/3, fols. 21, 36.
[140] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/3, fol. 49^{r}.
[141] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/3, fol. 15.
[142] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/3, fol. 50.
[143] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/3, fol. 22.
[144] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/3, fol. 38.
[145] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 50.

In August 1562, the hospital collected £10 from four men who had each promised 50*s* for the debt of Collins; it is not known whether this finally exculpated Collins.[146]

Generally, the hospital managed to reach arrangements with those providing some support. Indeed, in some few cases, the patients themselves contributed towards their own maintenance. At the most basic level, people might contribute towards their board.[147] A former nun, Marian Smith, gave the hospital 20*s*, which was half-a-year of her ecclesiastical pension, for its services.[148] Others clearly were in a position to do more. Mr. Waste, a beer brewer, submitted a suit before the court of the governors to determine what he should pay "for the obtaining of his health."[149] The capacity to pay for at least a portion of one's own care and board doubtlessly helped reduce the hospital's responsibilities, and in the case of a woman admitted in February 1564, her offering of 40*s* paved the way for the authorities to disregard their own dicta against re-admission of patients.[150]

The correlation between gifts to the hospital and the entry of persons befriended by wealthy and powerful patrons could be direct, as was evinced early in 1572, when Sir John d'Ley made a £20 legacy to the hospital "in consideration of admitting Thomas Curtis...to be cured."[151] Lord Montague provided 10*s* "for the treatment of a poor innocent, Stephen Madcock," who would be retrieved by Montague's servant Thomas Phillips and returned to Sussex.[152] The dowager Lady Champion was adroit in evoking memories of her late husband Richard, a draper, former governor, Lord Mayor of London in 1565, and "a good benefactor unto this hospital," to lend the needed *gravitas* to her petition that her retainer Jane Newland be permitted to live at the hospital. Recollections of her husband's generosity were indeed sweet for the hospital, and Lady Champion timed her request judiciously, for it was delivered

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[146] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fols. 118, 180.
[147] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A24/1, fol. 144^{v}.
[148] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 109.
[149] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 24.
[150] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 162.
[151] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/3, fol. 53.
[152] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/3, fol. 3^{v}.

on 13 December 1568, precisely as the scrutiner handed the court Sir Richard's £100 *memento mori*.[153]

This entry of 13 December 1568 is elusive regarding Mistress Newland's status within the hospital: was she a patient, or did she "abide" at St. Thomas's as corrodians had once done? Isolated cases suggest that at least occasionally some people were admitted as residents without necessarily requiring medical care. Patients were sometimes admitted "for respite," supplemented by nourishment, and, in at least one man's case, intensive washing.[154] Admission of such patients probably signified a widening awareness, at least in general terms, of the many factors which Sir Thomas Eliot claimed could affect one's health and complexion ("air, meat, and drink; sleep and watch; moving and rest; emptiness and replètion, and affections of the mind"), and a recognition of the salutary environment and regimen the hospital tried to impose to restore its inmates' fitness.[155]

Dismissal of patients no longer in need of professional care, but who needed extended periods of recovery, was occasionally deferred. This was the case with "a man whose leg is taken off;" he was permitted further rest and lodging from early May 1563 until Whitsun.[156] Agnes Williamson, the blind daughter of a clothworker, was taken in by the hospital for the remainder of her life, with no hint at her entry that she would need more than a safe and protective environment to cope with her disability.[157] William Woodward was also blind, having lost his vision "in the wars in Ireland...[in which he had been] stricken...with gun shot; he was granted a weekly pension of 6*d* for one year. What is not mentioned is whether the "charity of this hospital" included medicines or treatments to restore his vision, for it is known that in

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[153] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/3, fol. 6^{v}; H1/ST/A24/1, fol. 129; C.L.R.O., Rep. xiv, fol. 391^{v}; Stow, *Survey*, p. 471.

[154] For example: G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A4/1, fols. 68, 70, 72, 80, 82, 167; H1/ST/A4/1, fols. 33^{v}, 67^{v}.

[155] Thomas Eliot, *The Castel of Health*, fol. 1; Jones, *William Turner*, p. 98.

[156] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A4/1, fol. 151.

[157] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/2, fol. 57.

other instances the hospital did attempt to cure patients of blindness and once even promised rewards for the pains hospital surgeons took in the care of a particular poor blind woman.[158]

Marion Smith, in 1560, promised the hospital four marks from her yearly pension of £4 "to the use of the poor;" in return, she would live within the hospital and "have the diet of the house."[159] Five hospital governors approved of the gift of Elizabeth Friend in 1562, when she turned over all her goods to St. Thomas's in return for "her living and comfort."[160] In accepting another woman lodger in January 1563, the hospital's sole responsibility seems to have been keeping her sober.[161] Similarly, the stay of Dorothy Freach in March of the same year appears to have involved little above room and board--toward which friends granted £3 6*s* 8*d*--while she awaited a "room [to be] voided in St. Katherine's for her that the queen's majesty hath of her special grace given her next avoidment."[162] The combination of the favour of Queen Elizabeth I, the realisation that her stay would be limited in duration, and the financial contributions of Dorothy Freach's friends must have pre-determined that space would be made available to her.

Clearly, having high connections, in addition to friends willing to spend money, together went very much to the applicant's advantage. Even deploying the august name of the archbishop of Canterbury was not, however, in itself, impressive enough to warrant his servant's having a protégé freely admitted: John Johnson of Lambeth had in 1571 to assure the house that he would provide a weekly allowance of 12*d* towards the care of George Cooper.[163]

Applicants like Cooper were far more numerous. His affiliations with the highest echelons of society may have made him unique among applicants, but the fact that he had

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[158] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 34; H1/ST/A1/2, fol. 77; H1/ST/A3, fol. 33. On 10 February 1566, the hospital also acknowledged receipt of 53*s* 4*d* from Richard Williamson "towards the finding of one Anne Williamson which is blind." G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A24/1, fol. 121^{v}.

[159] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 63.

[160] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 122.

[161] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A4/1, fol. 136.

[162] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 55.

[163] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/3, fol. 52^{v}.

someone who was willing to underwrite at least some of the costs of his stay in the hospital was certainly what ultimately permitted the governors to countenance his admission. The records of patient admissions become progressively more detailed in the decades after the hospital's refoundation, but at no point before the mid-1570s do they specify how many patients were admitted with no financial backing whatsoever, or how many had pledges of assistance to entice governors. The governors took keen interest in the terms on which the latter group was admitted. Hospital records bear ample evidence that terms were carefully established regarding the size of the pledges made by patrons, the duration that these pledges would be paid out. And frequently, notes were made regarding the faithfulness with which these pledges were, or were not, honoured.

The attention governors paid to the admission of those who could offer some material support during their stay brings to light several realities. These patients, whose needs were doubtless very real, nonetheless represented opportunities for the hospital to do the work it was commissioned to do without putting further strains on its limited resources. If there were occasions (which, it should be said, are nowhere mentioned in the hospital's records) when these patients displaced poor people who had no influential friends or financial assistance, that was a regrettable but probably inevitable concession to straightened finances. Nor was this situation peculiar to St. Thomas's: St. Bartholomew's minute books also made note of servants admitted at the behest of masters who would pay maintenance fees.[164]

Overall, the fact that so many men and women could call on the support of friends and organisations in their moments of need does shine a glimmer of light on a kinder and gentler side of Tudor London. The support and devotion Londoners lavished on the reconstruction and maintenance of their hospitals, a source of great pride emphasized by virtually every civic chronicler of the century, was in many ways borne out most personally in the simple testaments of compassion citizens showed for their fellows, and the confidence they reposed in

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[164] Archer, *Pursuit of Stability*, p. 156; S.B.H., HA1/2, fol. 53.

their hospitals. Support of individual patients in St. Thomas's came from many sources: corporations like the livery companies, the court of the hospital, individual governors, parish vestries and communities, combinations of neighbours or kin, and individuals no doubt hard-pressed to support loved ones or friends.

Often, support for a patient arose not from sentiment, or even links of patronage, but of demonstrable, practical obligation. After all, it only seemed fitting that the tailor John Busse should make at least the minimal provision of 20*d* "towards the healing of the poor woman's head, which he did break." Similarly, the hospital called on Raffe Podmore to remit 5*s* towards the treatment of his apprentice, whom he had earlier punished in an "unorderly" and presumably excessive fashion.[165]

The obligation of close family members to provide support for members admitted to St. Thomas's was strong, but only infrequently realized. The importance of family ties remained robust throughout the sixteenth century, but many of the poor seeking treatment and relief at the hospital would presumably have been either bereft of living kin, without family members in the London vicinity, or else had family members in no position to render help. Between June 1562 and July 1564, hospital records show twenty-seven allowances being given by individuals in return for their dependents receiving care at St. Thomas's. Of these cases, only three are listed as husbands or siblings making provisions for their relations.[166] Similarly, of the agreements reached between November 1565 and July 1568, none of the seven men and women subsidized by others were assisted by family members.[167]

In one anomalous case, the hospital chose to demand that family obligations be met, notwithstanding the geographic distance between patient and relatives. In February 1557, the hospital resolved to send a letter to a Mr. Bellcher "in favour of Alice Atkins, his daughter,

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[165] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 151.

[166] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fols. 115, 116, 119, 122, 125, 126, 129, 138, 139, 142, 147, 153, 157, 158, 167, 169, 170, 172, 175, 179.

[167] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/2, fols. 29, 30^{v}, 39^{v}, 40, 60, 86^{v}.

for her deliverance out of this hospital." The hospital's quandary, it would appear, was in deciding which was the appropriate correspondent: the Mr. Bellcher who was clerk of Christ's College (no doubt either Christ Church or Corpus Christi), or William Bellcher, the clothier of Oxford. While the hospital did its detective work, the poor Alice appears to have been retained in semi-honourable confinement until her father came up with the means to gain her release.[168]

In general, most relatives were more assiduous. A number of agreements set down in the governor's minutes books give testimony to familial devotion and concern. Alice Hewett, a resident in St. Martin's in the Vintry, was stricken with the morbus in 1565, and her husband Thomas, a waterman, pledged himself to paying 12*d* a week until his wife was cured.[169] Thomas White, a tailor from St. Botolph's Parish in East Smithfield, came to a similar arrangement in the Spring of 1571, binding himself for £5 that he would make weekly payments of 14*d* as long as his mother, Faith, remained in the hospital.[170]

The size of the guarantees depended, quite naturally, on the circumstances of the person undertaking the pledge. Individuals who had more to offer the hospital in the way of compensation for their ward's care and maintenance were sometimes able to elicit more generous terms from the governors: for example, Christopher Dixon, an innkeeper in Southwark, tendered the hospital a promissory note of £20 when it received his son. If the hospital's doctors cured the boy of the disease he was "presently grieved with," then the father would cede to the hospital a freehold tenement and an orchard worth 20*s* 6*d p.a.*, in addition to an outright payment of £10. In return for this, the hospital promised on 26 September 1569 to ensure that

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[168] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 11. In 1562, the hospital would delay the dismissal of Alexander Bell until William Lord, draper, who had been paying 20*d* a week toward Bell's recuperation from the pox, offered compensation for what was past due for the five weeks preceding 31 August. See H1/ST/A1/1, fols. 103, 122; also H1/ST/A1/2, fol. 54.

[169] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/2, fol. 21.

[170] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/3, fol. 51.

if the young man (for whom no Christian name was given) survived until he was fourteen, "then...he shall be put into some occupation by the governors."[171]

Of the non-relations who made provisions for sick and poor persons, direct links between the giver and the recipient could be economic and fraternal, or they could be based on ties of neighbourhood and parish. Portions of company annuities were occasionally made over from particular recipients to the hospital in return for admittance.[172] Members of guilds and trades often concerned themselves with the welfare of their confreres. A joiner from Beccles, Suffolk, won admission for a brother tradesman, John Pickett, troubled with a sore leg. In addition to providing St. Thomas's with £5 in ready money, the joiner also promised goods worth £6 6*s* 8*d*, and "sufficient apparel [for Pickett] for one whole year...[including] a new frieze gown to be delivered out of hand."[173]

Craftsmen also assumed responsibility for the recovery of their subordinates, bearing witness to the moral as well as pecuniary obligations entailed in taking on servants and apprentices. Thus, a clothworker assured the hospital that he would faithfully pay 22*d* a week while his apprentice recovered from the pox at St. Thomas's; part of the terms included the promise that the adolescent would be taken back into his master's household when his health was restored.[174] Ten years later, in 1567, Thomas Bartlett, a merchant tailor, made a comparable pledge for his similarly-stricken servant, Stephen Crossman; Bartlett's donation, however, was in the lump sum of twenty shillings.[175]

Financial support from parish communities was frequent. Aldermanic deputies, churchwardens, and parish curates negotiated terms by which charges were admitted: they too might be asked, as was Mr. Harmon, the curate of St. Saviours's Church, to give the board of

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[171] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/3, fols. 21, 22^{v}.

[172] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 26.

[173] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/2, fol. 66^{v}. The items enumerated on 30 June 1567 for the use of the hospital were one featherbed, and two each of pillows, pillowcases, blankets, sheets, as well as one bolster and coverlet. Pickett was taken into the hospital in the middle of the next month.

[174] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fols. 18, 19.

[175] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/2, fol. 77^{v}.

governors promises--reinforced by a binding fee, such as the 40*s* levied on Harmon--that when the patient left St. Thomas's, he or she "shall not trouble the City nor the suburbs again." Interestingly, all cases similar to this were from parishes within Southwark, perhaps suggesting that their proximity to the hospital may have made pleas from officials of nearby parishes more immediate and for that maybe more compelling.[176] Less frequently, the whole parish might agree to sustain an impotent fellow communicant, as occurred at St. Andrew's Undershaft in the case of Margaret Merriman in May 1570.[177]

Without doubt, the overwhelming source of support for distressed and ill persons was their friends and neighbours. Hospital account books are filled with instances of people being brought to St. Thomas's by those with whom they had no ties of blood or employment. Those who brought their friends and neighbours then worked out terms by which the hospital would keep them: usually these stipulations involved pledges of weekly, or at least regular, support, and sometimes assurances that the patient would be looked after he or she had been dismissed from St. Thomas's. The backing and support of friends often seemed to provide the extra bit of prodding needed for admittance: as in so many other cases, once the friends of Francis Palmer had made an initial gesture of goodwill "for the use of the poor," the presiding governors felt free to instruct the treasurer to compose an order for Palmer's residence "as shall seem to [the treasurer's] wisdom."[178]

4. The Contributions of Patients to Daily Life at St. Thomas's

Governors presiding over assemblies on Court Days might strike bargains with those seeking admission. Gillian Welles, for instance, gained the approval of the governors to serve *pro bono* as a sister "till the time she be whole of her sore leg."[179] Would-be patients might

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[176] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/2, fols. 12^{v}, 41^{v}; H1/ST/A1/3, fols. 24, 52.
[177] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/3, fol. 31.
[178] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 43.
[179] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 70; see also *ibid.*, fol. 115.

pledge future service to the hospital in return for relief and medical attention. So it was for Agnes Parett, who in April 1562 was admitted with a sore head, but who nonetheless was well enough that she was "contented to serve as a sister as making of beds, washing, and such others."[180] In the same month, Alice Swedon was named a sister "in consideration of her surgery" and granted an annual stipend of 20*s*: did "her surgery" indicate that she possessed special healing skills, or had she too once been a patient?[181] It seems probable that Swedon had been a patient, for the year before she became a sister, three sisters were promised 20*s* *p.a.* "until [when?] they be whole," while the ailing Rose Dackes was promised that once she became well she would hold the position of matron. Her recompense would be meat, drink, and clothing for three years.[182]

Sisters with a particularly heavy burden were sometimes permitted to enlist the assistance of patients. In June 1563, Sister Agnes Gaywood retained charge of her own ward while she took on Mother Joan's, another sister recently discharged. She was charged with keeping both wards "clean and sweet," and was compensated with an increased yearly remuneration, from 33*s* 4*d* to 40*s*. Apparently the governors anticipated her task might become too onerous for one person, especially since London was then gripped by the plague. They therefore conceded that "if it chance the said wards to be furnished with more poor people than the said Gaywood is well able to keep, then the matron may appoint one of the poor to help the said Agnes at her discretion."[183]

The hospital was obviously short-staffed during the difficult middle months of 1563, and over the course of the next year the governing body recalled and rewarded "the pains taken in the sickness time" as inmates and employees tried to fill gaps; thus, Sir William Dowen, curate of the parish of St. Thomas's, was awarded 5*s* for efforts made in the absence of the

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[180] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 101.
[181] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 100.
[182] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 84.
[183] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 154.

hospitaller, and Robert Baker, one of the poor, became something of an eponymous hero as he took over the operation of the hospital's ovens.[184]

Patients who noticed a specific need among the ranks of hospital employees might demonstrate their initiative and apply for the post: Richard Swain, "one of the poor of this house," became a salaried hospital porter in this manner.[185] This did not set a happy precedent, however. Swain showed himself to be a malicious gossip, rumoring that the curate of St. Thomas's parish had been responsible for the suicide of the baker: Swain's pleas for clemency were spurned, and he was dismissed and sent to Bridewell.[186] Others used their trade skills to come to arrangements with the hospital. In consideration of the work a former patient did on hospital-owned tenements, an un-named tiler was permitted to have his diet (*2d per diem*) of the house, and for any professional services he rendered St. Thomas's in the future, he would be compensated with *6d* a day.[187]

Whatever job a patient might be competent to perform was generally deferred until the patient recovered his or her health. Then, two purposes might be served: when, for example, a "sick and diseased" man was admitted on 14 September 1562 upon promise of later working as a sawyer for the hospital, St. Thomas's was guaranteed the labour of a presumably skilled craftsman who might repay some of the expenses the house assumed for his care, and the man could depend upon at least temporary, assured employment.[188] The hospital tended to set the terms of the indenture: John Fordell, "being sick and sore," promised to serve St. Thomas's as a tiler for two years after he had regained his health. For that period, he was to be given meat and drink, and afterwards, "as his diligence pleaseth the masters, the said John is to be better enterprised."[189]

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[184] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fols. 169, 181.
[185] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 20.
[186] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fols. 119-121.
[187] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 126; see also *ibid.*, fols. 114, 116.
[188] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 123.
[189] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 71.

Given its slim resources, the hospital was eager to make what use it reasonably could of its more fit patients. The finances of the hospital naturally fluctuated over the years, and in 1557, for example, there was obviously some difficulty meeting expenses: "considering there is no kind of stuff to set him a work," the governors took the unusual step of permitting the hospital's weaver to procure outside work while maintaining his stall within the compound. In return, he relinquished his salary. Other arrangements were patterned after this.[190] Another way to reduce costs was to engage the more fit patients in work. Not all its patients were bedridden or incapacitated, and for those with the stamina, the governors devised schemes to occupy residents to the mutual profit of the hospital and the individuals.

Evidence suggests that the hospital hired some of its strongest male patients in the spring months of 1569, when "poor men" were set to work "in the cleansing of the town ditch." Two hospital officers were involved in supervising the project.[191] At the end of the following year, the court of the governors placed "two or three of the strongest men of the poor of this hospital at the appointment of the hospitaller." These men would work with one of the hospital beadles, watching "diligently one hour before night to see if they can find any person or persons that shall bring any poor, sick, and impotent persons to charge this hospital withal." Their task was to apprehend those thwarting the admissions procedures established by the hospital court.[192] These, however, were untypically large, ambitious projects: more commonplace were the smaller and lighter undertakings carried on indefinitely within the hospital walls.

Presumably, some of the work undertaken by patients and lowly staff members like the sisters was intended as a tonic against idleness, and the dissension and gossip that too much free time could breed: positive evidence does suggest that work projects responded to needs

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[190] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fols. 16, 23.

[191] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/3, fol. 14. Vagabonds were also put to work on this project; the governors of Christ's Hospital were encharged with watching over them. G.L., MS. 12806/2, fol. 40.

[192] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/3, fol. 41^{v}.

within the community, and sometimes yielded revenue for the house. Sisters, child patients, and some of the older residents were engaged in making products used by St. Thomas's; what was not used internally was apparently sold abroad.[193] The making of sheets was a common and crucial task, and in 1566 sisters were ordered to stitch letters on each item so that they could be identified by a particular ward.[194] Four years later, one of the governors was commissioned to provide St. Thomas's with "so much flax as he shall think meet and convenient for the same that the poor may be set to work."[195] By the mid-1560s, money was being raised on average three times a year from the handiwork of the poor: the sums seldom exceeded 20*s* over the four-month period, and they were handled by both the matron and the hospitaller.[196]

If, as was likely, these projects like spinning flax and grinding corn were chiefly intended to make St. Thomas's a "hive of industry" in which patients were schooled in the virtues of hard work and sustaining discipline, they were not fully successful. Patient stays in the hospital have been estimated to average two to three months in the second half of the century, probably too short a period to register lasting reform of manners and morals. And, secondly, the fact that hospital officers had so frequently to repeat instructions setting patients to work suggests, in Dr. Ian Archer's words, a "series of false starts" rather than a thorough, continuous programme aimed at improving the behaviour and habits of inmates.[197]

Patients who gave assistance to hospital craftsmen might expect, as was for example the case with a poor man in February 1563, compensation either in increased food allowances or in money, and perhaps both.[198] Part of the initial examination when men and women were admitted included, by the mid-1560s, determining if and how they might be set to work within the hospital. After establishing their aptitude, men and women were to be made to work so

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[193] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/3, fol. 51^{v}; H1/ST/A24/1, fol. 144^{v}.
[194] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/2, fol. 49^{v}.
[195] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/3, fols. 32, 36.
[196] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/2, fols. 13, 23^{v}, 27, 44^{v}, 57, 70, 71^{v}, 78^{v}, 83, 86^{v}.
[197] Archer, *Pursuit of Stability*, p. 155; G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/4, fol. 137; C.L.R.O., Rep. xviii, fols. 310^{v}, 368^{r}.
[198] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 140.

that the hours they spent within the hospital were not wasted in idleness. According to rules established in May 1565, all would be compensated for their labours; however, the hospitaller would hold the stipends of the men, and the matron those of the women, until their dismissal, when the "governors may distribute according to their godly discretion in that behalf."[199] Two years later, the court of the governors ruled that poor men and boys given jobs within the hospital would be allowed "the third part of the profit of their labour."[200] It remains unclear whether the remaining two-thirds of their remunerations was automatically applied toward their maintenance, or if it were remitted to them upon their departure.

Certainly there was a reluctance on the part of hospital officials to see too much money fall into the hands of inmates while they remained within the confines of the hospital, as such a situation could precipitate problems in control, discipline, and morale. The matron and the hospitaller were both charged with taking careful note of what personal effects individuals brought with them upon admittance.[201] In 1570, the hospital profited from the sale of garments to the poor, perhaps selling them a combination of clothes taken from their dead cohorts and goods that were the handiwork of the sisters and inmates.[202]

It was the responsibility of the matron to check the purses of those who "departed out of this present life" while in residence at the hospital: so, for instance, between late September and late November 1563, hospital petty cash accounts were buoyed by 5*s* from the cash belongings of three poor men and old Mother Baker.[203] The hospital also asked inmates to give what little they could to help with costs.[204] From October 1568 to April 1571, for example, money was gathered "of the poor," generally twice annually, with the yield of individual collections ranging from 12*s* to 20*s*. Small sums of money derived from fines and offerings

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[199] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/2, fols. 13^{v}, 80^{v}.
[200] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/2, fol. 69^{v}.
[201] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 47.
[202] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 38^{v}.
[203] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A24/1, fols. 104, 144^{v}. See also, H1/ST/A1/3, fol. 35^{v}.
[204] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 3.

paid into the court box were included in these collections, as were proceeds from the sale of work completed by the patients.[205]

Hospital officials could at times be influenced by what a prospective inmate was able to bring to the house. Elizabeth Sharpe presented the hospital with an inventory "of all [her] goods and implements," and this gained her admittance, once it was established that she would make a deed of gift "so that these things will remain at St. Thomas's" after her death.[206] In all cases, hospital officials and servants were admonished neither to buy any of the patients' personal effects themselves, nor lend any of the patients money without the consent of the hospitaller or the matron, "for if they do, they shall not be paid it again."[207]

The covenant which existed between Londoners and their hospitals is vividly recreated in this legion of small transactions.[208] While they yield little specific information about either patron or patient, and are generally silent regarding either the motivation of the sponsor or the gratitude of the recipient, these entries are telling in their implications concerning Londoners' perception of the accessibility of St. Thomas's.

The hospital was not yet so large and impersonal an institution that it disdained negotiating the terms by which individual patients were admitted; nor was there as yet any standardisation of fees or charges. Honest and presumably humble Londoners appeared directly before the governors, in most cases dispensing with the mediations of vestrymen, ward leaders, or social patrons. The thrust of their negotiations was seldom couched in the formal rhetoric of, for instance, a will, where compassion shown to a poor person was commonly held analogous

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[205] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/3, fols. 2, 14^{v}, 25^{v}, 38^{v}, 46^{r}, 47^{r}, 51^{v}; H1/ST/A24/1, fols. 112, 116, 128^{v}. Between 1 June and 28 July 1562, the hospital renter collected £3 12*s* 9*d* from the poor. See H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 118.

[206] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/3, fol. 35^{v}.

[207] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 47.

[208] See, for instance, G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fols. 24, 43, 100, 105, 109, 112, 113, 116, 119, 122, 125, 126, 138, 139, 142, 147, 153, 158, 169, 172, 175, 179; H1/ST/A1/2, fols. 29^{r}, 30^{v}, 39^{v}, 40^{r}, 60^{r}, 84^{r}, 86^{v}, 89^{v}, 90^{v}; H1/ST/A1/3, fols. 2^{v}, 7^{v}, 8^{r}, 21^{r}, 30^{v}, 42^{r}, 43^{r}, 52^{r}, 53^{r}.

to kindness done to Christ himself. Instead there was a practicality evident in their dealings, empathy and godliness notwithstanding: a neighbour helped a sick brother to find an environment where he or she could receive professional treatment, and afterwards promised that the larger community would not be burdened with his or her care as the process of healing continued after the patient's release.

CHAPTER IX

SAINT THOMAS'S HOSPITAL: Part II

1. The Government and Administration of St. Thomas's

As with all the City's hospitals, the men who ruled as governors of St. Thomas's Hospital were drawn from the ranks of the Aldermanic Court and the Court of the Common Council. Elections were held in the Counting House at Christ's Hospital on or near St. Matthew's Day (the 21st of September) of each year, and after 1556 were conducted jointly for the rulers of Christ's, St. Bartholomew's, St. Thomas's, and Bridewell hospitals. Three of the governors would be aldermen, and twelve would be common councillors, plus one who would serve as the hospital's treasurer. The most senior of the aldermen, a grey cloak, filled the post of president. The normal length of a term of service was two years.[1] The elections were presently validated by the aldermanic and common councils, and new governors entered their offices on the Feast of the Annunciation. The two City courts ratified the elections of officers to each of the hospitals. Elections were staggered in a two-year cycle, so that each year half of the governing body was replaced while the other half remained to ensure continuity.[2]

The responsibilities of the various governors were clarified in orders set at the end of 1561. The second senior alderman was to be the hospital surveyor, and the junior alderman was assigned the role of almoner. The treasurer, who was the oldest commoner, received revenues from both the scrutiner and the renter. From these funds he was to provide for the diet of the inmates, and with the supervision of three members of the court, he could allocate

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[1] *The Order of the Hospitals of King Henry VIII and King Edward VI, viz., St. Bartholomew's, Christs, Bridewell, and St. Thomas's: By the Mayor, Commonalty, and Citizens of London, Governors of the Possessions, Revenues, and Goods of the Said Hospitals* (London: 1557[?]), in *Supplement to the Memoranda Relating to the Royal Hospitals*, pp. 78-79; *Handbook of Dates for Students of English History*, C.R. Cheney, ed., Royal Historical Society Guides and Handbooks, no. 4 (London: 1945; reprint 1991), p. 56.

[2] C.L.R.O., Rep. xiv, 72^{v}-73^{r}; G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fols. 85-86; *Supplement to the Memoranda*, pp. 80-81.

money for "necessities of the house and its reparations." The stipends for officers of the house, and all regular payments, were issued quarterly. After the treasurer, two commoners were selected (always by seniority) as renter and surveyor: in addition to their pecuniary responsibilities, both were expected to check strife in the houses of any renters. Four commoners served as almoners, two of whom needed to be present at any court in which patients were admitted; almoners each served on two-week shifts of duty. Almoners also dealt with the mundane aspects of running the institution, seeing that it had what fuel and food it needed, and that tradesmen dealt equitably with the hospital. And last, two commoners, served as scrutiners. They were to pore over wills to "enquire at the death of every good man if he have given any money to the house or no." Just as importantly, scrutiners were ordered to see that any bequests made to the hospital eventually found their way into the bursaries of St. Thomas's.[3]

Any important or extraordinary hospital transactions were to be executed only with the knowledge and consent of the president and two aldermen. Governors formally limited the access of house employees to sensitive sessions of the court: beadles and other officers (with the necessary exception of the court clerk) were "suffered to be or remain within the court house [only] so long time as the Court shall continue for that they shall be privy to [the governors'] talk."[4] For posts like house steward, where the integrity of the individual was important, as was the ability of office holder to inform the governors of internal problems, the more senior rulers might exercise implicit powers of patronage, and have their own servants or clients appointed.[5]

Governors met formally at St. Thomas's to review hospital affairs usually weekly, occasionally fortnightly. Between 1557 and 1573, the governors of St. Thomas's presided over a wide range of business, and in the course of their deliberations, they made significant

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[3] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fols. 89-90, 100.
[4] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fols. 89-90, 100.
[5] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 39.

alterations in the way in which the house was ruled. Nonetheless, a number of themes ran consistently through their dealings over this period. The governors meant to set the tone for the hospital. While they presided over what must have seemed to them an unduly high number of rowdy employees and implacably disruptive patients, at the root of their agenda was the desire to project to outside observers the image of a hospital ruled rationally, compassionately, and above all else, in an orderly manner. They therefore spent a significant portion of their energies legislating and enforcing procedural and disciplinary measures aimed at keeping, or at least restoring, internal order. Necessarily, the business concerns of the hospital also intruded on their time.

Given their social status and the dignity of the offices they assumed, hospital governors were expected to "endeavor [them]selves with all [their] wisdom and powers faithfully and diligently to serve in this vocation and calling, which is an office of high trust and worship, for ye are called to be the faithful and true distributors and disposers of the goods of Almighty God to his poor and needy members." The mission of the system of hospitals in the capital "most highly doth advance and beautify the common weal of this realm, and chiefly...this City of London." Their calling as officers of the hospital was clear: they were "faithfully to travail...that this work may have his perfection and that the needy number committed to your charge be diligently and wholesomely provided for. And for your care towards these poor and needy members of Christ, you shall be rewarded at his hand, and receive his blessings in this world, and in the world to come the joys everlasting."[6]

The high principles the governors were presumed to espouse were ultimately translated into methods of practical application. Governors spent considerable amounts of time making regulations concerning the behaviour of inmates, servants, and officers, but they imposed disciplinary measures on themselves, also.[7] Formal business was attended to on court days, and

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[6] *Supplement to the Memoranda*, p. 80.
[7] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/3, fol. 39.

having the requisite number of governors present then was essential. Tardiness and absenteeism evidently became enough of a problem by the autumn of 1560 to occasion basic ground-rules. Masters of the hospital had to arrive for the court by 8AM; latecomers would pay a fee of 4*d* into the box for the poor kept in the court room. Those who missed court days altogether, and could produce no "reasonable excuse," would be fined 12*d*.[8] Almoners were penalised in a similar way when they missed important financial transactions.[9] One task of the court clerk was to read minutes of past meetings to governors who had been absent.[10]

A stronger ordinance forbade governors to remove "any manner of stuff or provisions" out of St. Thomas's without the consent of the full governing body.[11] Important hospital documents were kept in a locked "chest of evidence," to which three governors were each to have a key at any given time.[12] Significant papers, including court rolls, were wrongly in the hands of Richard Grafton in September 1569, and the court of St. Thomas's called on the Lord Mayor to retrieve them for the house.[13]

A much more prolonged conflict among the governors had arisen earlier, however. In June 1562, house treasurer John Sayers, an active agent of the hospital in its earliest years, was summoned by the governors and repeatedly asked to render his accounts of St. Thomas's "from the erection of the house."[14] Further disputes developed between Sayers and the court over leases which he held, and the manner in which he conducted hospital affairs.[15] Within a year, a bond of recognizance was taken out against Sayers, and the aldermanic court intended

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[8] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 62. For punitive measures taken against late and absent governors, see *ibid.*, fols. 65, 66; H1/ST/A1/3, fols. 68, 69, 71.

[9] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/3, fol. 16.

[10] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/2, fol. 71^{v}.

[11] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/3, fol. 50.

[12] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/2, fol. 69^{v}.

[13] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/3, fol. 22. Apparently, this was a continuation of larger disputes that existed between Grafton and the City regarding his management of City concerns like the purchase of wood and coal, and his stewardship of Bridewell. See C.L.R.O., Rep. xiv, fols. 516-517; Rep. xv, 2^{r-v}, 24^{v}.

[14] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fols. 110, 112, 113.

[15] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fols. 130, 142, 143, 144, 145, 149, 161.

to involve itself in the examination of his probity; nonetheless, the unhappy imbroglio seems to have ended inconclusively.[16]

The clouds of doubt which hovered over Sayers's and Grafton's reputations as governors and men of integrity stood in marked contrast to the manifest generosity of most other rulers. Individual governors were frequently noted as providers of goods for the house; others covered hospital debts from their own purses.[17] When in March 1557 St. Thomas's found itself "indebted and much behind for lack of money," and hence incapable of furnishing necessary relief to the poor, eight governors made personal loans, headed by the president, Sir William Chester.[18] Loans to the hospital were more often than not repaid, and they continued occasionally until late in 1570, at which time grants of £5 from all newly-elected governors apparently became *de rigueur*.[19]

In recognition of the pains individual governors had taken for the benefit of the hospital, the court occasionally offered special concessions. At different times, hospital governors were allowed to purchase items from the hospital, including piles of timber and pieces of furniture and utensils.[20] In the extraordinary case of Thomas Pierson, one of the governors, his diligence on behalf of St. Thomas's won him the right to take what wood he needed from the hospital's carpentry so that he might build a lodge in his garden; the size of the lodge was specified, and Pierson was charged with the costs of transportation.[21] In acknowledgement of John Ayliffe's gift to the hospital of a house and garden with rents of 20*s p.a.*, the court in turn granted Ayliffe a thirty-year lease on a house and garden near the hospital.[22]

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[16] C.L.R.O., Rep. xv, fols. 137^{r}-139^{v}; G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 157.

[17] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fols. 30, 147.

[18] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 15; H1/ST/A24/1, fol. 134^{v}.

[19] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A24/1, fols. 139, 146; H1/ST/A1/1, fols. 40, 76; H1/ST/A1/2, fol. 79^{v}; H1/ST/A1/3, fols. 22^{r}, 37^{r}, 39^{v}. For repayment of loans from individual governors to St. Thomas's, see H1/ST/A24/1, fols. 140^{r}, 143$^{(a)r\text{-}v}$.

[20] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A24/1, fol. 117^{v}; H1/ST/A1/3, fol. 51.

[21] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/2, fol. 63.

[22] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 81; see also *ibid.*, fol. 135.

Governors were expected to immerse themselves in the gamut of hospital business, large and small matters alike. The burdens were many and could be heavy, as the court recognized when it consented to Nicholas Woodruff's petition that he be excused from the office of treasurer when the next general court of the City hospitals met at Christ's Hospital in September 1571.[23] Some dealings went beyond the ken of the governors, and for matters too important or complicated to be handled by themselves alone, they hired attorneys to represent the interests of the institution.[24]

Their positions as aldermen and common councillors meant the great political bodies of the Corporation remained informed of the problems, needs, and accomplishments of St. Thomas's and the other hospitals. Rulers of St. Thomas's regularly conferred with the governors of the other City hospitals, over policies treating reception of patients or their transferal from one house to another, or over institutions like the Bridgehouse or City properties over which their houses's interests merged or collided.[25]

They also acted as liaisons between the livery companies and the hospital court. They officially received and recorded legacies to the hospital. They attended, or sent delegates to, manorial courts.[26] Much attention was paid to the intricacies of the terms by which hospital properties were leased or sold. Governors occasionally took pains to satisfy important figures like the earls of Leicester and Warwick, both of whom sought for a servant's preferment in a lease of arable land on the hospital's manor of Hinton in Cambridgeshire.[27] On an earlier occasion, the court of the governors acted as a trustee for the orphaned children of John Dixon, merchant taylor of London, and in the interests of his son and daughter, the hospital

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[23] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/3, fol. 38.

[24] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/2, fol. 7^{v}. For example, see also H1/ST/A1/3, fol. 2.

[25] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/2, fol. 55; H1/ST/A1/3, fol. 24.

[26] For instance, manorial courts were held by the hospital's governors at Denham and in Kent. G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/2, fol. 24^{v}; H1/ST/A1/3, fol. 53^{v}.

[27] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/2, fols. 73^{v}, 74^{v}.

managed his estate and rented out Dixon's lands and tenements for the seven years following 1564.[28]

Coping with wards evidently posed little burden for the hospital; fractious tenants, though, proved time-consuming and vexing nuisances. Governors also maintained sporadic vigilance over the hospital's transactions with craftsmen, victualers, and tradesmen. Finding the funds needed to run the institution and the salaries which were drawn by employees demanded the constant attention of the governors: it sometimes also required their personal generosity. Finally, the governors did show interest in the fate of hospital patients. After ruling on the admission of virtually all of the patients, hospital governors would on occasion involve themselves in questions regarding the diet, health regime, and methods of treatment administered.

2. The Discipline of the Staff and Patients of St. Thomas's

It was when the clerks of the court of the governors registered accounts of the interactions of hospital rulers, employees, and inmates that the minute books of St. Thomas's become most rich. From the distance of four centuries, characters like Brice, the cook with a lewd and evil demeanour, the lecherous hospitaller, shrewish matron, obstreperous servants, and flighty sisters seem almost Chaucerian, and their antics provide an amusing diversion from the more tedious aspects of daily life in the hospital.[29] For their superiors, however, difficult employees were hardly a source of unalloyed mirth: the mission of the hospital was to cure patients in an atmosphere of godly compassion and decorum, and its governors could not brook subordinates who detracted from that mission. Patients were intended to learn from the examples set by those who ministered to them, and employees who fought or misbehaved could prove disastrous role-models.

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[28] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 168.
[29] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fols. 15, 26, 46, 59, 73, 85; H1/ST/A1/2, fol. 22.

Two of the more demanding obligations of the governors were to keep order and discipline among hospital patients and tenants. Disputes among patients, employees, and tenants were almost daily occurrences, and it was up to governors to make peace when "variance [over] contentious words" had arisen.[30] Governors must have felt frustrated that internal discord made the ideal of a godly community in which physical healing was carried out in a humane and harmonious environment appear distant. Sir William Hewitt, the president of the house in 1562, in frustration pleaded that fighting parties become "friends and lovers as it becometh the servants of God."[31]

Rules promulgated forbidding marriage dinners within the hospital for the poor, which in the past had occasioned inconveniences and disorder, and the wearing of garb which did not contravene statutes of apparel both indicate that rules could be specific and strict.[32] Adherence to broader laws which regulated gambling, the transporting and imbibing of alcoholic beverages, the frequenting of alehouses, churchgoing, and appropriate behaviour on the Sabbath was obviously patchier: the court found itself having several times to repeat, among other things, the connection it saw fit to draw between attendance of church services on Sundays and the enjoyment of dinner and supper the same day.[33]

These problems seemed endemic and threatened to disrupt the order and efficiency of the hospital if they were left to fester. Periodically, though, a situation arose which was serious or macabre enough to warrant quick and decisive action. In most cases, these situations revolved around some charges of sexual incontinence. A notable exception was the case of John Haberdasher, one of the poor, who was dismissed in September 1562 for having taken upon himself to "write certain things within the house by the procurement of such as was none of the house without consent to the hindrance of the poor within the same house. And also for that he went

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[30] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/2, fol. 6^{v}; see also *ibid.*, fol. 8; H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 130.

[31] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 94.

[32] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fols. 110, 115.

[33] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/2, fols. 34^{v}, 42^{r}, 52^{v}, 56^{v}; H1/ST/A1/3, fol. 7^{v}, 74^{v}; Archer, *Pursuit of Stability*, p. 155..

out abroad without license, and tarried out of the house an whole night and two days at the least."[34] But far more exotic was the story of Mother God in March 1561: she stood accused of theft and witchcraft, and was commanded to give a demonstration of her powers before the governors' court. Tantalisingly, no further references give hints of the potency of her black arts, the governors' reactions, nor the fate of Mother God.[35] Perhaps she disappeared, giving the governors an unanticipated demonstration of her powers.

Tales of hospital infighting and of employees with bad manners and morals could, when spread abroad, provide grist in the mills of the critics of the hospitals. The governors sought the "conservation of unity and concord [in] this house," and they looked specifically to the hospitaller and matron to achieve their ideals. At times, however, these two officers quarreled amongst themselves and neglected or misused those who worked under their supervision. In May 1557, the governors ordered "quietness to rest between them and all malice to be depressed and put away." The matron in particular was reproved to "be more familiar and to [keep] company with the whole sisters..., and no more to misuse them with taunting words but with all leniety and gentleness to win them as becometh a matron to do in her office."[36] While the job of the hospitaller formally entailed more responsibility, extant records give little reason to doubt that the matron's task entailed longer hours and probably more aggravation: she and the sisters had decidedly more contact with the patients than other employees, and must have contended regularly with stress and tension.

The post of matron was often sought by widows, and governors insisted that the incumbent be able to preside over her charges in a maternal, as well as professional, way.[37] This bonding did not always materialise, however. Governors were sometimes bombarded by the matron with lists of "crimes" committed by sisters, and occasionally the sisters retaliated:

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[34] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 123.

[35] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 71. The case would presumably have been transferred to the common law courts.

[36] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 22.

[37] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 113.

when the matron accused one sister of petty thefts from her ward, other sisters retorted that the matron "doth spend wood and coal in her chamber with other faults which she doth commit contrary to the ordinances of this house."[38] Understandably, the hospital would afterwards stipulate that the matron would hold her position only as long as she "behaves herself according to her office and duty."[39]

Other responsibilities of the matron included "placing" a sister in a given area of the hospital upon her hiring, taking an inventory of the implements of each new sister, seeing that adequate supplies of household commodities were kept in reserve, that the personal effects of patients, living and dead, were properly handled, and that the sisters were looked after.[40] And the matron had the onerous obligation of being held accountable at virtually all times for the whereabouts and good conduct of the sisters; however, when in 1561 the discretion of the matron was questioned, the powers of giving the sisters "leave to go abroad" was transferred to the hospitaller.[41]

The sisters had many responsibilities beyond the care of patients. They were charged with selling small ale (at 12*d* per barrel) and bread (at 13*d* per dozen) from the buttery.[42] Under the direction of the hospital physician, they were responsible for the purchase of some of the victuals of the sick and dieters.[43] The sisters also undertook a variety of menial tasks, chiefly sewing and cleaning. Their offenses, as registered in the governors' minute books, varied from venial to grave. Sisters were frequently asked to leave if they were suspected of having love interests within the house, if their suitors were undesirable--as was the situation when Jane Carpenter "assured herself...with Thomas Taylor who had been in prison in Newgate and was burned in the hand"--or when they became engaged.[44] Other offenses ranged

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[38] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fols. 32, 33.
[39] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 53.
[40] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fols. 34, 143; H1/ST/A1/2, fols. 8^{v}, 10^{v}.
[41] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 70.
[42] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/2, fol. 10.
[43] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/2, fol. 76.
[44] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 102; H1/ST/A1/3, fol. 33^{v}.

from what must have been outbursts of youthful high spirits, to brawling, to more ominous instances where individual sisters "misused or misbehaved themselves": most seriously in the case of Joan Thornton, who before her dismissal withstood "twelves strippes well laid on, for the misusing of her body contrary unto the law of God."[45]

Still, with men and women living within confined and confining quarters, with so little privacy and so much forced intimacy, it is not surprising that moral problems did crop up: assignations within the hospital were probably inevitable, whatever precautions were taken. The matron was charged with receiving all visitors and callers first, to determine the nature and propriety of their business. The sisters were likewise compelled, upon pain of dismissal, to report all surreptitious meetings.[46] The hospital made special note of a decree in January 1557 that "from henceforth there shall no man and his wife be permitted to remain within the hospital, but the weaker party still to continue in this house, the stronger person to be discharged thereof."[47] Two months later, "the good wife Tillsley" was rejected as a sister, "forasmuch as it is against the ordinance of this hospital that is no man and his wife shall not both inhabit at once within this house."[48] Some, however, managed to evade this dictum, and a few flouted it with the complicity of hospital governors, as when a husband and wife and their three children were admitted in May 1562.[49] Exception was also apparently made for the spouses of employees, at least if they sought entrance as patients: the wife of Dennis Carden, the hospital cook in late 1570, was "brought abed...[at a] convenient place within this hospital...for the space of one month."[50]

Intra-mural romances were actively discouraged, for both patients and vulnerable employees like the sisters. "Such sisters as be not contracted" were prohibited from keeping

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[45] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/2, fols. 28^{r}, 80^{v}, 86; H1/ST/A1/3, fol. 36^{v}.
[46] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 37.
[47] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 5^{v}.
[48] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 14.
[49] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 105; see also *ibid.*, fol. 165.
[50] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/3, fol. 40^{v}.

company with anyone without the express consent of the matron; those sisters found to be engaged to be married risked immediate severance.[51] When Clement Starkey was accused of being in love with one of the sisters, hospital officials looked askance; probably with good reason in his case, since he was regarded as an incorrigible, having earlier been punished for "committing ordure in the sweat ward."[52] Other cases of sexual misconduct were more transparent: in February 1563, a woman was sent to Bridewell for having let William Stone, a servant at the Sign of the Saracen's Head, "begat her with child."[53] In 1567, John Marten was whipped at the cross for having "misused his body with a poor innocent of the house called Thomas Holden, and for robbing gardens."[54]

It must have seemed especially damaging to the good name--and smooth running--of the hospital when the miscreants proved to be employees of the hospital. It would not seem too drastic an assumption, for instance, to surmise that the dismissal and removal of Margaret Hall, a sister, to Bridewell, had to do with a sexual transgression.[55] The job of policing the sisters was as never-ending as monitoring over-active patients. A clean sweep was made of several sisters in January 1560 when it was discovered that two of them were pregnant, and several others in the King's Ward were engaged. Their dismissal was preceded by an investigation by the hospitaller and steward.[56]

Admission or dismissal of sisters was ultimately the responsibility of the court of governors.[57] Little is known of the background of the sisters. Presumably, most were young women compelled to work to earn their living or to help support family members. Some sisters may have been more mature women, as perhaps Elizabeth Baker was: she was sent to St. Thomas's by Sir Christopher Draper, the former Lord Mayor, to serve as a sister from

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[51] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 46; see also *ibid.*, fol. 167.
[52] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fols. 160, 167.
[53] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 140.
[54] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/2, fol. 76^{v}.
[55] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 14.
[56] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 52.
[57] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 76.

February 1569 "until the next Lady Day, then to remain as one of the poor."[58] It would seem that Elizabeth Baker was nearing the end of her most active years; Alice Armitage, however, came to serve as a sister "in recompense of her surgery." Her term as a sister was set for three years, and in addition to her room, board, and clothing, she would be paid 10*s* a year, roughly half what other sisters could command.[59]

The position of hospitaller entailed pastoral cares as well as supervisory responsibilities. Yearly salaries of hospitallers rose from £6 7*s* 8*d* to £13 6*s* 8*d* between 1557 and 1570.[60] For their salaries, hospitallers oversaw repairs made to hospital tenements, kept track of hospital monies spent by the steward, "serve[d] the billets [pieces of kindling wood] as well as the coals for the poor," and brought infractions of hospital ordinances to the attention of the governors.[61] In at least two cases, the wives of hospitallers were employed in the buttery of the hospital.[62] Hospitallers collected alms for the poor of the hospital, and they sometimes dispensed them too.[63]

According to rules established in the mid-1560s, hospitallers could serve in office for the duration of their lives. They were expected to "daily read to and teach the poor...the lame, sick, and diseased...the common service and administration as set forth by the Queen's grace." They were also expected to minister to all servants of the hospital, and particularly "to all the sisters lodging within." Finally, the hospitaller ought to "bury the dead from time to time when and so often as ever shall there within the same hospital fortune to decease."[64]

Improper behaviour among hospital employees was not, of course, limited to the much-maligned sisters. Richard Grafton charged the hospitaller with lascivious behaviour in 1557: talk of his peccadilloes was bringing "all kinds of suspicion" on the house. The rebuke he

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[58] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/3, fol. 9.
[59] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 18.
[60] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fols. 35, 159; H1/ST/A1/2, fol. 68; H1/ST/A1/3, fols. 18, 30.
[61] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fols. 110, 140; H1/ST/A1/2, fol. 33^{v}; H1/ST/A1/3, fols. 37, 47^{v}.
[62] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/3, fol. 73^{v}.
[63] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fols. 109, 124; H1/ST/A1/3, fols. 8^{v}, 26^{r}, 38^{v}, 40^{v}; H1/ST/A24/1, fol. 112.
[64] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 178; H1/ST/A1/2, fol. 15.

earned was similar to the many delivered to more lowly employees: while the errant hospitaller was spared instant dismissal, he was admonished to avoid the company of women, and to change his deportment so that he brought no further reproaches to the hospital.[65] Both employees and patients suspected of improper trysts ran the risk of summary ejection, as a couple that were "assured together in the way of marriage" swiftly learned to their cost.[66]

3. Patient Numbers and the Business Concerns of the Hospital

Perhaps the most serious responsibility hospital governors entrusted to the hospitaller, matron, and sisters, was maintaining continual accounts of the number of patients. Hospital governors were apparently passing on some of the pressure they received from above: John Sayers informed the aldermanic court on 27 March 1561 that the number of patients at St. Thomas's was approximately 140. The court ordered the number to be reduced to 100 "either by death or otherwise." This figure appeared to refer exclusively to patients, and not to dieters. To help the hospital with its heavy patient-load, St. Bartholomew's Hospital was ordered to disburse £100 to St. Thomas's, and in May of the same year, the aldermen themselves extended £100 in prest money.[67] Later, the aldermanic court instructed the treasurer of Christ's Hospital to disburse £20 to St. Thomas's "for a season."[68] Subsequent payments from both St. Bartholomew's and Christ's hospitals were made at the Lord Mayor's commands in 1567.[69]

By the mid-1560s, hospital officials were growing increasingly conscious of the number of patients, and how many could be admitted at a given time.[70] Systematic accounts of the total numbers of patients and dieters in the hospital began in September 1566, when there were

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[65] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 22.
[66] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fols. 59-60. See also, for example, *ibid.*, fols. 70, 102.
[67] C.L.R.O., Rep. xiv, fols. 465^{r}, 478^{v}.
[68] C.L.R.O., Rep. xv, fol. 130.
[69] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A24/1, fol. 124.
[70] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A24/1, fol. 186.

111 dieters and patients in all the wards including the Sweat Ward. Of that number, about thirty were dieters. In general the proportion of dieters could range from one-third to one-half the total number of inmates.[71] Previous to this, counts of patients admitted and released had been recorded since 1557, with a conspicuous hiatus from July 1563 to January 1564 as the whole City reeled from the ravages of the plague.[72] The hospital clerk was ordered to record all counts of the "sick harboured within the hospital, and to present every ward in writing."[73] Despite periodic reiterations of the strictures against admitting too many patients, hospital inmates generally exceeded the maximum prescribed number, even after the capacity had been revised to 120 patients in July 1569.[74] Between 1568 and 1570, in fact, the total number of patients was more than once double the limit.[75] In general, the number of inmates and dieters tended to rise during the harshest winter months.[76]

The hospital had for some time sought to restrict the re-admission of patients once cured in the house: apparently a cure gained at St. Thomas's was meant to last a lifetime![77] After 1566, the court began to allot time-limits of one year for patients to be brought back to health, and required surveys from one of the junior almoners to determine if patients lingered about the premises after having attained their cures.[78]

Hospital rulers kept almost as sharp an eye on the house's property interests as they did on the progress of the patients. The governors impelled the court clerk to keep a register book of all leases, fines, rentals, and duties; they also demanded regular inventories and audits, and accounts of which properties were decayed and what types of refurbishment were called for.[79]

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[71] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/2, fol. 48^{v}.

[72] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fols. 157, 160; H1/ST/A1/2, fols. 50 and following; H1/ST/A1/3, *passim*.

[73] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/2, fol. 71^{v}.

[74] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/3, fol. 18^{v}.

[75] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/2, fol. 47^{v}; H1/ST/A1/3, fols. 9^{r}, 11^{r}, 11^{v}, 12^{v}, 25^{v}, 26^{v}; Archer, *Pursuit of Stability*, p. 156.

[76] See Appendix I, pp. 365-368, below.

[77] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 54.

[78] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/2, fol. 47^{v}; H1/ST/A1/3, fol. 16.

[79] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 71; H1/ST/A1/2, fols. 38^{r}, 58^{r-v}; H1/ST/A1/3, fol. 7^{v}.

When the governors had the time, they travelled to view the condition of the holdings of St. Thomas's or to keep manorial courts; they might also make use of their time while travelling to purchase provisions for the hospital at local fairs, like the one held at Stourbridge.[80] Otherwise, they sent trusted lieutenants.[81]

The office of hospital renter demanded reliability and integrity from its holders. Perhaps given these requirements, governors sometimes appointed their own servants to fill the job; they could attest to the ethical qualities of men under their employ, and at the same time they could strengthen the bonds of patronage between themselves and particularly able servants by securing their promotion in the network of hospitals. John Howes, the servant of Richard Grafton and later a notable apologist of the system of hospitals in London, was renter in the early 1560s: he was recognized as a good choice, too, for he was "not only...a profitable officer but also a beneficial officer unto the house, declaring unto the masters such things as heretofore hath not been known unto them for the profit of the house."[82] At the close of Howes's tenure, Richard Reason was also admitted to serve as the rent gatherer of the lands of the Savoy then held by St. Thomas's. His master was Thomas Pierson, one of the governors, who stood as surety for Reason.[83] Christopher Sands began serving as hospital renter in late October 1562, when he was allotted £4 a year. Evidently his position was significant enough--or his service sufficiently commendable--that his widow, Beatrix, was permitted to retain a chamber over the Great Hall in 1566.[84]

The prolific and complex relations between hospital officials and tenants signalled the position St. Thomas's, as well as the Bridgehouse and the other City hospitals, was beginning to assume as a significant corporate metropolitan property-holder.[85] Hospital governors made

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[80] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/2, fols. 25, 86.
[81] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/3, fol. 29.
[82] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fols. 97, 152.
[83] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 133.
[84] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 128; H1/ST/A1/2, fol. 42.
[85] Archer, "Governors and Governed in Late Sixteenth-Century London," p. 62.

annual surveys of its land and property holdings, both in the City and in the provinces.[86] At the most basic level, the records of the renter and other property agents of the hospital revealed the terms of leases, detailing the nature, duration, and worth of the lease, and sometimes they uncovered mitigating circumstances--frequently poverty--which prompted rulers to "abate" rents temporarily.[87] Almost as numerous were calls to tenants tardy in their payments.[88]

Hospital renters were cautious in permitting sub-leasing of properties, particularly regarding property holdings within the hospital close, lest the hospital become locked into arrangements with undesirables.[89] William Hench, of Newington Parish, Surrey, had "divers and sundry times molested and troubled the governors of this hospital with a void lease," in Blackman Street. Pursuing this matter, he took unsuccessful legal action against St. Thomas's. He himself was later brought before the King's Bench on charges he had defamed Sir William Hewitt and other governors with "slanderous words," but it appears his friends, who were servants of the Queen, acted as arbitrators for him in this matter.[90]

Raucous and dishonest tenants were all too plentiful, notwithstanding the wishes of the governors for "good order and godly rule" of its charges. Hospital rulers kept a paternalistic eye trained on their tenants, in 1563 going so far as ordering a man to leave his house, as "he will not pay the woman which keepeth his child according to his promise."[91] Ultimately, though, the house's most obstructive tenants--like the Mr. Leyton who kept "evil rule and when he is drunken he beateth his wife unreasonably,"--were given notice to remove themselves from hospital property.[92]

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[86] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/2, fol. 65^{v}.
[87] For example, see G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fols. 86, 164, 170, 173.
[88] See, for instance, G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fols. 79, 111; H1/ST/A1/3, fols. 43^{r}, 44^{v}-45^{r}.
[89] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fols. 15-16, 19, 51, 53, 60, 87.
[90] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/2, fols. 12^{v}, 37^{v}, 41^{r}, 69^{v}.
[91] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 138.
[92] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 133; see also *ibid.*, 132.

When considering the erection of new tenements, hospital governors showed clear preference for the "sort and patterns" of the new tenements built by aldermen Sir John Gresham and Sir Andrew Judd: houses were to be 31 feet in length, 34 feet in breadth, and "cellared through and at the two ends of the house the stairs to be conveyed in the yard and the house substantially timbered."[93] Some evidence suggests that agreements for leases might have been informally consummated by the new lessee making a contribution to the poor man's box traditionally kept in the court chamber.[94] John Simple, a glover from Southwark, found an additional way to assist the poor of the hospital. When he was granted a lease for a house and garden in November 1560, he agreed that he would teach the children of the house his handicraft, so that one day "they shall be able to get their own funding by their occupation." Nonetheless, Simple still put 3*d* into the box of the poor, "in testimony of the grant."[95]

4. The Care of Patients and Terms of Dismissal

For the welfare of the patients, the safety of Southwark and the City, and the good name of the foundation, patients of St. Thomas's Hospital were restricted by officers like the matron and hospitaller in their freedom to come and go from the house. For similar reasons, the governors and officers of the hospital sometimes set the terms by which a patient obtained his or her release. In matters regarding the freedom of movement of patients, the hospitaller was in charge of distributing lead tokens to the poor when they were commissioned to leave the hospital compound; when they returned, they would present the token to the porter on duty, so that he would know of their sanctioned privilege to leave and return to St. Thomas's.[96]

Inmates of the sweat ward were subject to the most stringent restrictions: in January 1561, the sisters of the sweat ward were ordered to prohibit their patients from going "abroad

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[93] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fols. 55, 57.
[94] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A24/1, fol. 113; H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 120; H1/ST/A1/2, fol. 87.
[95] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 65.
[96] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 174.

in the streets before such time as they be perfectly whole and cured of their diseases, and if they go without license before they be made whole, they shall not be received in the house again."[97] Admittance to the sweat ward was selective, and hospital governors expressed concern that waste and trash produced within that ward be properly disposed. Patients could not be admitted either to the sweat ward or into the hospital bath without the approval of the surgeons; the sisters were also cautioned "from henceforth [to] suffer nor lay any dust or rubbish in the Churchyard, but that they shall bring it in to the back yard within the hospital whereas before it hath layed."[98] Governors paid attention to methods of sanitation within the compound, at various times giving instructions regarding the general removal of human and material waste, repairs to be made to the well, the location of tenants' lavatories, the casing of the hospital's sewer, and the cleansing of the pit of the common privy.[99]

The governors' court subsidized care for individuals treated and nursed outside the hospital. William Baymand was granted 5*s* at his departure for use in restorative baths, because he "otherwise cannot be healed by the council of the physicians which is appointed within seven days."[100] The hospital spent money to provide patients with splints, stilts, and wooden limbs so that mobility might be restored.[101] People outside of the hospital were sometimes given health-care assignments by the hospital, as when the task of healing Roger Weal was transferred from the older to the younger Wood by order of the governors.[102] In another unusual case, the masters of the hospital turned to someone with no identifiably professional qualifications to heal a patient. An inmate named Hacker had resided at the hospital some three years, after which time he was sent to William Parker of Lydgate for a cure: hospital officials "promised to consider [Parker's] pains."[103] In 1562, Mother Edwin had promised to return 13*s* 4*d* to

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[97] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 69.
[98] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fols. 76, 110.
[99] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fols. 60, 63, 105, 106, 109, 146; H1/ST/A1/2, fols. 37^{v}, 51^{v}.
[100] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 162.
[101] For instance, see G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fols. 139, 164; H1/ST/D1/1, fol. 19.
[102] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/2, fol. 63^{v}.
[103] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 160.

the hospital should her cure for Peter Heyes, a "boy that is burstin," proved ineffectual. She used a "sustyan truss" in her cure, which apparently was successful.[104]

In two rare instances, hospital residents John Brice and Robert (or Richard) Morris both held sway briefly in cases involving sore heads. Brice, apparently self-appointed savant, cured "honestly...six children of their sore heads." When this was brought to the attention of the governors, he was promised four nobles; he was also encouraged to "learn [*i.e.* teach] some women of this house to understand his medicine."[105] And between 1564 and 1565, Robert Morris cured several people of scald heads, at 16*d* a patient. It is possible that Morris was the same person as Richard More, a Kentish man who in 1561 and 1562 was providing lodging and treatments for four male children sponsored by alderman Lodge and St. Thomas's.[106] Some of his work may have been done at the hospital, however, for in 1566 mention was made of a privy "in the house where Morris did work" presently reserved for the surgeons.[107]

The art practiced by Morris had a doubly winning appeal to hospital officials, for not only was he skillful in treating the infectious malady, but he offered a guarantee of the quality of his work, pledging that should "the heads fortune to break out again he [would] stand to the healing of them without any more payment of money."[108] Scald head in children was regarded basically as a "minor parasitic condition caused by fungi or mites." Frequent mention of it in the records of St. Thomas's reflected the "central concern" the ailment posed to local authorities and the London hospitals.[109] Methods and means for treating scald heads received more detailed notice in the records of St. Thomas's than any other single infirmity. Payment books noted outlays for salves, medicines for children's heads, and three pounds of tow purchased

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[104] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fols. 142, 157, 164, 167.
[105] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fols. 40, 41.
[106] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fols. 86, 92; see also *ibid.*, fol. 112.
[107] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/D33/1, fol. 29.
[108] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 163; H1/ST/A1/2, fols. 5^{v}, 27^{r}, 31^{v}, 33^{r}.
[109] Pelling, "Appearance and Reality," p. 102.

for the surgeons (possibly used in the making of splints).[110] Two pungent medicinal treatments were noted for treatment of initial and recurrent cases of scald head.[111]

Between July 1557 and March 1569, eight men were listed as surgeons of St. Thomas's.[112] Some of the overarching attributes the rulers might look for in these men were adherence to duty, "well and honest" behaviour, and diligence. Patience and tolerance were presumably also desirable, for when the surgeons petitioned the governors in November 1557 for the "bettering of their fees, it is determined upon understanding the state of this [ho]spital [that] they shall be respected and considered in that behalf."[113]

More information is extant regarding the salary of Thomas Colffe, hospital apothecary during the latter half of the 1560s and the early 1570s. In 1566 he received 20*s p.a.*, increased in 1571 to £7.[114] Colffe's office involved more that the "perusing and oversight of all such drugs and poticary wares as doth belong unto the surgeons of this house." The apothecary was also instructed to report to the rulers "any thing that is not good and lawful to be occupied about the poor of this house."[115] On 30 April 1571, the governors ordered Colffe to provide "all such stuff good and lawful" only at the command of the hospital physician, Henry Bull.[116] Bull, cited as a *medicum*, was appointed to his office on 21 October 1566 at an annual salary of £13 6*s* 8*d* as well as rent-free rights to a house within or near the hospital compound. The physician was expected to "minister unto the poor harboured within the said hospital so often

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[110] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/D1/1, fols. 2, 19, 22.

[111] See Appendix II, p. 369, below.

[112] John Andrewsey died on 17 July 1557; Thomas Pratt (admitted 26 October 1560); Robert Surbutte (admitted for one year, 14 October 1566); Richard Wood (21 April 1567); John Briggs (admitted without stipend until it was determined whether he was "meet for the office, 21 April 1567); Edmund Hill (admitted 9 June 1567, commissioned to heal sore heads for 8*d* per patient, with relapses to be handled without charge); Gregory Joy (admitted 7 March 1569, after the recent death of John Surbutte), William Gayle (replaced John Briggs, 28 March 1569); Oliver Warbeck (replaced Gregory Joy, 2 May 1569). G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fols. 29^{r}, 62^{r}; H1/ST/A1/2, fols. 50^{r}, 61^{v}, 67^{r}; H1/ST/A1/3, fols. 10^{v}, 12^{r}, 14^{r}.

[113] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 33.

[114] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/2, fol. 50; H1/ST/A1/3, fol. 53.

[115] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/2, fol. 50.

[116] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/3, fol. 53.

as need shall require, both at the discretion of the said Henry Bull and also at the instructions of the surgeons for their speedy remedy in healing the poor."[117]

Careful note was made in hospital registers of the type, amount, and cost of foodstuffs and potables allotted to the patients and the dieters. At the core of any diet were bread and beer: for the week of 8 December 1565, 641 people consumed 53 dozen and two loaves and five barrels and seven gallons of beer; almost two years later the number of persons receiving food and drink had risen to 771; in May 1569, 527 ate and drank within the hospital; and in late June 1572, 484 people finished off 40 dozen and nine loaves and six barrels and 25 gallons of beer.[118] Other food items identified in the records included oatmeal, red and white herrings, salt fish, butter, Essex cheese, rye bread, mutton legs and loins, and beef "of the best, without bones and especially without the marrow."[119]

In the spring of 1569, the physician and surgeons of St. Thomas's forbade the sisters or the matron to purchase any of the following consumables: shell fish, oysters, mussels, cockles, crayfish, eggs, "nor no kind of inwards of beasts as sheeps' gethcers [guts?], nor trypes, nor garlic nor onions, nor apples, nor custards, nor no kind of pudding made of blood, nor no kind of fresh fish, as eels, pychard, nor fresh herring, nor spratt, nor no kinds of fowls of the river."[120] The allotment for dieters was 2*d* a day for each person, and in 1565 it was ordained that dieters would receive diet money as well as bread and drink at eight in the morning during the Summer, and an hour later in the Winter.[121] Some of the needier patients were at times excused from compulsory fasting days.[122] Five years later, the limit for beer was set at three pints a day for each dieter during the Summer months, with a quart being drunk at dinner and

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[117] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/2, fol. 50^{v}.

[118] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/D1/2, fols. 5^{r}, 48^{r}, 118^{v}, 219^{v}.

[119] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/D1/1, fol. 4^{v}, 15^{v}; H1/ST/A1/1, fols. 13, 124, 135, 148, 160; H1/ST/A1/2, fol. 19^{r-v}; H1/ST/A1/3, fol. 32.

[120] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/3, fol. 12.

[121] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/D1/2, fol. 13; H1/ST/A1/2, fol. 13.

[122] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/D1/1, fol. 126.

a pint at supper; for the remainder of the year, the ordinary allowance was only a quart a day.[123]

Expenses incurred in feeding and housing the patients and dieters at St. Thomas's were considerable, and the governors actively bargained with purveyors to win the most reasonable prices for the house. Hospital rulers were wary of being cheated: colliers, bricklayers, brewers, butchers, millers, and bakers doing business with St. Thomas's were often warned to "deliver full measure" of goods, and the prescribed weights, sizes, costs, and measures were of all goods were re-evaluated each year. The quality and price of goods and services provided the hospital were further ensured by the frequent scrutiny of hospital governors.[124] Furthermore, applicants for positions like the baker of the hospital might be required to demonstrate their professional abilities for the governors before they were employed.[125]

Provisions were made for several patients in residence at the Lock, including two women who stayed there until the time of their churching, and another woman who was made to work "diligently and painfully" until she was well enough to be released to gainful employment; the hospital also made payments to the midwife at the Lock.[126] In another instance, St. Thomas's provided a monthly pension to the keeper of the Lock for Elizabeth, a poor woman, until more permanent arrangements could be made.[127] For Margaret Davies, a place was found at Bethlem Hospital.[128] Money was also sent to lazar houses for the cure of patients.[129]

The future of patients when they finally left the gates of the hospital was of considerable concern to the governors, for reasons, as previously noted, which hinged on pragmatism as well as compassion. Beyond ensuring that "those poor, lame, and impotent persons going and

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[123] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/3, fol. 34.

[124] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/D1/1, fols. 15^{r}, 41^{v}; H1/ST/A24/1, fol. 99^{v}; H1/ST/A1/1, fols. 17, 27, 28, 47, 62, 87, 98, 99, 108, 122, 126, 129, 139, 141, 143, 159, 160, 165, 170, 177, 182, 183; H1/ST/A1/2, fol. 19; H1/ST/A1/3, fols. 14^{r}, 35^{r}, 42^{v}.

[125] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 124.

[126] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fols. 142, 144, 145, 147.

[127] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/2, fol. 16^{v}.

[128] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/2, fol. 8^{v}.

[129] For example, G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 164.

inhabiting in and about this City might be better relieved," the governors of the hospital had a larger responsibility to the City to assist other officials in prohibiting "all vagabonds and sturdy beggars [from] loitering and being about this City and the suburbs."[130]

The policies of the hospitals conformed with City regulations constructed to delimit begging and remove "foreign" beggars altogether.[131] In common with Christ's and St. Bartholomew's, St. Thomas's devised passports ensuring that the poor released from the hospital on their own recognizances were pointed to a definite destination, and not merely set adrift. The form was addressed to any mayors, bailiffs, constables, or local authorities who might challenge the former patient as he or she moved to their appointed place.[132] The document read:

> Know ye that _____ was discharged out of the hospital of St. Thomas the Apostle within the Borough of Southwark by the governors of the same. And by them was assigned to depart unto the _____ of _____ in the county of _____ within _____ days next ensuing the date of these presents. And there to exhibit this present passport unto the head officer or officers in that place appointed, that they may take further order for _____ demeanour.

In February 1567, the beadle of the hospital was ordered to accompany all persons discharged from the house by means of a passport "unto the gate of this City which lieth next unto the port or place unto the country whereunto the same passport extendeth."[133] Patients who were discharged and later found begging or loitering on the streets of the City were to be brought before the court of the governors, and sent by warrant to Bridewell.[134]

For some patients, particularly younger ones, restored to health in St. Thomas's, the hospital was able to make significant provision for their futures. At least fifteen boys and young men were sent off as apprentices to local craftsmen. The hospital governors took an

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[130] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/2, fol. 81^{v}.
[131] C.L.R.O., Journal xvii, fol. 310.
[132] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 1; H1/ST/A89/1, fol. 1.
[133] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/2, fol. 57.
[134] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 66.

active role in determining the length of these indentures, what stipend these children might expect, and how well the apprentice would be fed, clothed, and taught. The governors reassured John Sivenell, smith, that if the sore leg of his new apprentice William Bavens flared up again, Sivenell would not incur expense in Bavens's treatments.[135]

When young women were engaged as servants, the hospital usually included terms in the covenants with the craftsmen which allowed for abrogation of the agreement should the craftsmen "correct or misuse [the servant] contrary to the order of the said covenant."[136] This happened with Elizabeth Tylesworth in December 1564; her parents claimed that she was treated contrary to the established terms of agreement made five years earlier, and so they were able to buy out her tenure from Agnes Short, the baker's widow.[137] Occasionally, craftsmen and tradesmen needed some modest inducements to take on a servant or apprentice: since the hospital wished Randall Britton to keep Kathryn Uprobart as his servant for her natural life, they sweetened the proposition by giving Britton two pairs of sheets and a bolster which had belonged to Edward Uprobart, who had died in the Sweat Ward.[138] The house profited indirectly from some of these arrangements: when former patients did work in the hospital as apprentices, they were sometimes paid a reduced *per diem* wage. The rates charged by Owen Johnson and James Lynch, respectively a tiler and a carpenter, were contractually reduced for St. Thomas's Hospital, in acknowledgement of the role hospital governors played in obtaining the freedom of the City for both men.[139]

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[135] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fols. 13, 44, 46, 55, 69, 99; H1/ST/A1/2, fols. 3^{v}, 10^{v}, 14^{r}, 37^{r}; H1/ST/A1/3, fol. 46^{v}; H1/ST/E103/1, fol. 23^{v}.

[136] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 171; H1/ST/A1/2, fols. 2^{r}, 3^{v}, 15^{r-v}, 52^{r}; H1/ST/A1/3, fol. 2^{v}.

[137] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 45; H1/ST/A1/2, fol. 7^{v}.

[138] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/2, fol. 4.

[139] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 64; H1/ST/A1/3, fol. 38^{v}.

5. Legacies to the Hospital and the Finances of St. Thomas's

As civic projects, the hospitals of London all relied to varying extents on the generosity of freemen for support. Even though the finances of St. Thomas's rested primarily on the health of its land and property revenues, gifts of money, goods, and property all supplemented the regular income of the hospital. The beneficence of the citizenry also demonstrated the value Londoners placed on the works of the hospital, in maintaining order and cleanliness on the streets, in ensuring social deference between the givers and receivers of charity, in bringing the charitable practices of London more closely in line with those practiced in the great metropolitan areas of continental Europe, and in increasing the spiritually satisfying effects drawn from acts of Christian compassion.

The larger sources of revenue for the hospital included the profits from land and property rentals, pensions and relief payments for particular patients, legacies and bequests, casual receipts such as the sale of wood, coal, wheat, and items made within the hospital and its kitchens and distilleries, and the fees of the manorial courts that hospital governors presided over *ex officio*.[140] As an independent source of hospital revenue, sums derived from the rentals of land and property accounted for a median average of 70% of St. Thomas's income between 1562 and 1572.[141]

When hospital treasurers began systematic, annual accounts of the financial situation of St. Thomas's in March of 1562, the total income of the house averaged roughly at £900 per year, a figure maintained until 1566, the entire length of James Bacon's tenure as treasurer.[142] From 1566 until 1570, income derived from lands and properties both of the Savoy and St. Thomas's rose significantly: house revenues ranged from approximately £1600 in 1566 to a

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[140] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A24/1, fols. 99-147.
[141] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A24/1, fols. 99-147.
[142] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A24/1, fols. 101^{r}, 104^{v}, 109^{v}, 113^{v}.

low of £1084 17*s* 9*d* in 1569.[143] Income in both 1571 and 1572 was considerably lower: £753 19*s* 4*d* and £824 16*s* 10*d*, respectively.[144]

A survey of the treasurers's ledgers reveals that the income of the hospital, and especially money gained from rentals, was erratic. Consequently, this made the responsibility of the treasurers arduous, as they tried to match outlays for patients, dieters, pensions, and salaries, with yearly income. Weekly expenditures of the hospital in December 1559 were on average slightly over £10, and this figure rose over the next two decades.[145] Between March of 1562 and June 1573, the hospital ran deficits in five of its fiscal years: 1562, 1563, 1568, 1570, and 1572.[146] In 1569, the accounts came close to balancing, with a negligible deficit of 10*d*.[147] Nonetheless, by 1571, the house was beginning to accumulate debt not effaceable within the subsequent fiscal year.[148]

Monies received through bequests and donations certainly helped to minimise shortfalls. During the 1560s and early 1570s, the hospital was assisted by several benevolences which came from the proceeds of a collection box for the poor maintained by the Bishop of London and the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's Cathedral.[149] At the direction of the Lord Mayor, companies like the tallow chandlers and the tilers made levies of their members in support of St. Thomas's; the hospital also received payment from the warden of the Leathersellers, at least part of which may have been compensation for stalls used by company members on the hospital's premises.[150]

While St. Thomas's did not benefit from the volume of financial support amongst the citizenry that Christ's Hospital enjoyed, legacies were still a valuable supplement, particularly

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[143] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A24/1, fols. 118^{v}, 125^{v}, 130^{v}, 134^{v}, 139^{v}.
[144] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A24/1, fols. 142^{r}, 144^{v}.
[145] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/D1/1, fols. 8^{r}-9^{v}.
[146] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A24/1, fols. 102^{r}, 106^{r}, 131^{v}, 140^{v}, 146^{v}.
[147] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A24/1, fol. 135^{v}.
[148] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A24/1, fols. 143$^{(a\ v)}$, 146^{v}.
[149] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A24/1, fols. 113^{r}, 144^{v}.
[150] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A24/1, fols. 108^{v}, 133^{v}; H1/ST/A1/2, fol. 60^{v}.

after the mid-1560s. In common with the other hospitals, the officers of St. Thomas's, particularly the treasurer and scrutiner, were to be vigilant over any matters pertaining to the hospital when wills were probated. They were also to see that legacies toward the hospital were ultimately honoured by executors.[151] The terms of some wills were slow to reach fruition, sometimes by the design of the testator, other times by the sloth of the heirs. The widow Elizabeth Hely organised her gift of £25 so that it would be paid off over a decade, £5 every two years.[152] The arrangements of William Barnes, grocer, included yearly payments of 40*s* to the hospital over the next twelve years.[153] In cases like these, hospital officials took careful note of the executors of the wills, and sometimes the hospital reached special agreements with them. When the widow of Edward Banks, alderman, negotiated with the scrutiners in June 1567, she was granted a respite until the following Michaelmas to begin payment of her husband's bequest of £50.[154] In other accords like that, scrutiners would "give forth their acquaintance" to the executors, and then dictate or consent to the timetable for payments.[155]

Prominent among the ranks of givers were aldermen and former governors of the house. The gift of Sir Martin Bowes afforded each of the hospitals an equal share in a yearly annuity of £20; the steward of St. Thomas's went to the treasury at "Christopher's Church" so that the terms of Bowes's grant could be noted in the common book of the hospital.[156] Among the City and hospital rulers who left sizable remembrances were William Cheyer, Richard Goldstone, Sir Richard and Lady Gresham, Lady Ayliffe, Humphrey Baskerfeld, Sir William Hewitt, Sir Roger Martin, Sir John White, Sir Richard Champion, and Robert Harding.[157]

Joined to the more conspicuous benefactors like the City's elite were many less notable souls who no less ardently wished to perpetuate the good work done at St. Thomas's.

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[151] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 53.
[152] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 42.
[153] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/2, fol. 77.
[154] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/2, fol. 66; H1/ST/A24/1, fol. 122^{v}.
[155] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/2, fol. 66, 67, 68.
[156] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/3, fol. 8^{v}, 28^{v}; H1/ST/A24/1, fol. 122.
[157] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 144; H1/ST/A1/3, fol. 39^{v}; H1/ST/A24/1, fols. 103^{r}, 112^{v}, 122^{v}, 128^{v}, 129^{r}, 138^{v}.

Occasionally, a person outside the immediate area of London made provisions for the hospital, possibly in recognition of the help it provided a relative or friend. In the case of Elizabeth Freude, a copy of her will was brought to the court from her burial place of Waltham Cross in Hertfordshire.[158]

In most instances, it remains impossible to ascribe definite motives for bequests beyond general concepts of civic pride and duty, parochial obligations, *noblesse oblige*, and Christian empathy. Certainly the several "good men" and "good widows unknown" who left modest sums to St. Thomas's had no interest in garnering immortal reputations by linking their names with charitable organisations.[159] More likely, anonymous donors, along with the many widows and craftsmen who gave what they could spare of themselves and their progeny, sought simply to assist effective and sensible organs of civic poor relief which had reached maturity in their generation, and which would continue in their praiseworthy missions long after the donors themselves had been forgotten.[160]

In many respects, the extant records of St. Thomas's Hospital offer fuller and more varied views of the ordinary challenges facing a metropolitan hospital than do those of St. Bartholomew's or Christ's. They reveal how closely the problems of Southwark impinged on the Corporation. Certainly, by the last quarter of the sixteenth century, Southwark was no longer simply an point of entry through which undesirables reached the City; rather, it was fully a part of London, albeit one that was distinguished by its history of independence from the Corporation. Old concerns about Southwark remained, however. The court minutes of St. Thomas's dwell on concerns ranging from the inexorable demands poor people made on a small and modestly endowed institution to the keeping of order among patients and staff which

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[158] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/2, fol. 64^{v}.

[159] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A24/1, fol. 138; H1/ST/A1/2, fol. 73^{v}; H1/ST/A1/3, fols. 6^{v}, 20^{r}.

[160] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/1, fol. 156^{r}; H1/ST/A1/2, fol. 80^{v}; H1/ST/A1/3, fols. 9^{r}, 37^{v}, 39^{r}; H1/ST/A24/1, fols. 129^{r}, 138^{v}.

seemed at times exceptionally cantankerous. The other metropolitan hospitals shared these problems, but to lesser extents. The records of St. Thomas's also indicate the degree of local and family support which ideally supplemented the charitable relief provided by the City through the hospital.

The hospital necessarily adopted a brisk pace in attempting to restore patients to health and then dismissing them soon afterwards. For this reason, and because the founding philosophy differed from that of Bridewell and Christ's, only occasional pieces of evidence present themselves on any overarching strategies to rehabilitate the morals and behaviour of patients for a more profitable and respectable life after their release. The work that the more fit patients were involved in served utilitarian purposes: the patients made or repaired hospital items to relieve the house's shortages and material wear. Governors of St. Thomas's were alert to the larger concerns of the rulers of London. The ruling elite spurned suggestions that the methods of charity reinvigorated and readapted after the Reformation in any way over-indulged the poor or encouraged non-Londoners to seek refuge and easy relief in the capital. The battles of the governors were hard-fought, and never completely won within the sixteenth century, but the house generally benefited from rulers who paid close attention to the smaller problems of daily administration, while remaining attuned to the ever-developing attitudes of the civic body and the leaders of the Corporation towards the reception and relief of the poor.

CHAPTER X

CHRIST'S HOSPITAL
1552 - 1572

1. The Children of Christ's: Processions and Appearances in Public

In spite of the overall lack of endorsement for the hospitals of London from the government of Queen Mary, the support of the citizenry remained admirably steadfast. This was especially true of Christ's Hospital, where from the beginning the personal philanthropy of the ruling and social elite was matched by numerous smaller gifts in cash and kind from ordinary citizens.[1] Supporters of Christ's Hospital wrote confidently that its sterling endeavours had soon touched all but the hardest of hearts. And, in fact, it did attract the most wide-spread and liberal benefactions of all the City's hospitals; nonetheless, financial stability did not come easily or soon.

Those who remained obdurately set against helping Christ's Hospital achieve its purpose were put to the test. John Grimes, a clothworker, was elected a sheriff of London in August 1552: the choice, though, was made "more out of displeasure than for love..., because he would give nothing to the setting up of the godly act and provision which was beginning for the relief of the poor of the said City." He petitioned to be excused from serving, and part of his penance for shirking his civic duties was a stiff fine of £200, half of which the Chamber of London sent as a benevolence to the hospitals.[2]

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[1] G.L., MS. 12812/1, fols. 1-5; G.L., MS. 12819/1, fols. 1-4, 8^{v}.

[2] Apparently, Grimes's reluctance to assume office was in part of result of his lameness, and perhaps for this reason "he intended to go out of the City into the Country." The situation in successfully nominating someone to take his slot quickly degenerated into a burlesque: two other candidates pleaded either "great age and impossibility of goods," or "inability and lack of substance." Like Grimes, both were penalised £200, and at least for the first of the two men, £100 was to be paid within three days for the use of the poor. Before the fourth election, the City Recorder remonstrated with the Commoners, telling them to "put all malice and partiality apart...[and] elect such a sad and substantial person to the said room that they no more proceed to any more election; shewing them further, that he never heard nor knew of so many elections as they lately had made...." Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, ii, pp. 71-76; C.L.R.O., Journal, xvi, fol. 203^{v}.

Many others did not need such strenuous, shaming coercion. Men and women like Richard Castell and his wife, who had laboured hard all their lives to accumulate lands and tenements in Westminster worth £44 a year, would happily offer "the same lands wholly to Christ's Hospital aforesaid, to the relief of the innocent and fatherless children...."[3] Perhaps this was because the inmates of the house were children who were helpless and lacking in parental support. Nor could the suspicions that lingered against patients of the other houses be leveled against the children of Christ's: their misfortunes could hardly be of their own making, and they were less prone to serious bouts of personal excess than were the adult patients of Bridewell, St. Bartholomew's, or St. Thomas's. And as resentments grew in the 1560s and 1570s against the itinerant poor and newly-resident Londoners who were overburdening the welfare services of the metropolis, governors of Christ's would eventually devise policies which limited, in theory if not always in practice, admission to the children of married parents who met a three-year City residence requirement.[4]

Christ's Hospital filled an immediate need from the moment of its opening. The house initially opened its doors to "poor fatherless children" in November 1552, three months after repairs had commenced on the buildings and several months before Edward VI formally granted the house to the Corporation. Slightly under four hundred children were admitted.[5] Presumably this number would have included the offspring of some of the City's "poor men overburdened with their children" as well as orphans.[6] In addition, "whores and rogues" continued to be housed within the precincts of Christ's.[7] This situation was not ideal, as these

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[3] Howes, "A Familiar and Friendly Discourse," p. 64; C.L.R.O., Rep. xiii, pt. 2, fol. 484^{r}. Dr. Brigden's survey of wills in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury [P.R.O., P.C.C., Prob. 11/34, 36] shows a doubling of testators remembering the hospitals, from fifteen percent between 1550 and 1551 (when only St. Bartholomew's and Bethlem were established), to roughly thirty percent between 1554 and 1556 for legacies for all the hospitals. Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, p. 480, and note 122 on the same page.

[4] C.L.R.O., Journal xix, fol. 164^{v}; C.L.R.O., Journal xx, fols. 176^{v}-177^{v}; G.L., MS. 12806/2, fols. 172, 254. This also included people seeking pensions either from parishes or Christ's Hospital. See *Parl. Papers 1837*, xxxii, pt. 6, p. 347.

[5] Stow, *Survey*, pp. 68-69, 286, 335; Howes, "A Familiar and Friendly Discourse," pp. 29-31, 39.

[6] Howes, "A Familiar and Friendly Discourse," p. 21.

[7] Howes, "A Familiar and Friendly Discourse," pp. 28-29.

"idle men and women [were] not employed to any occupations for the place served not." But until the City could find more suitable accommodations for them, they were "kept [there] from doing any further harm."[8] The transferral of Bridewell to the City ended the problem of having adult malefactors so near the "miserable youth" in whom the governors were trying to inculcate virtuous and industrious habits.[9] However, the problems of overcrowding in the orphanage lasted for decades to come.[10] Measures begun in 1556, which sought to curb the numbers of children admitted, hint that very early in its history, Christ's was playing a weighty role in keeping London's orphaned minors from growing into adult criminals or vagrants.[11]

Favourable early perceptions among the citizenry of the mission of Christ's Hospital must in part have been shaped by the sheer numbers of children and poor families it served: in its nursing services in Finsbury, in the orphanage and school set up in the former Grey Friars, and in the pensions it paid to decayed householders and single-parent families.[12] But in addition, in the first years of its existence, the governors seemed eager that Christ's also benefit from public approval through a series of public appearances of the poor children.

Earliest of these was the civic procession on Christmas Day, 1552. Here the children of the house were incorporated into the public life of the City, and here they would aspire to enter into the affections of the citizens.[13] Perhaps this was also an attempt on the part of Christ's rulers to present an implicit contrast with the sick of the other City hospitals: the children were hearty enough to march in the cold, and were young enough to draw on the sentiments of the spectators. Three-hundred and forty of the children followed the Lord Mayor and aldermen from St. Lawrence Lane in Cheap along the route to St. Paul's. Attention was paid

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[8] Howes, "A Familiar and Friendly Discourse," p. 44.
[9] G.L., MS. 12806/1, fol. 9^{v}.
[10] Rappaport, *Worlds Within Worlds*, p. 55.
[11] E.H. Pearce, *Annals of Christ's Hospital* (London: 1908), p. 37.
[12] G.L., MS. 12819/1, fols. 30^{v}-53^{v}.
[13] *Grey Friars' Chronicle*, p. 76.

to order and the appearance they made: they were "all in one livery of gowns of russet cotton and red caps, both men children and maidens, [the latter with] kerchiefs on their heads."[14] The children were assembled into groups of twenty, and each group was accompanied by a female keeper. The contingent of Christ's Hospital was headed by the masters of the house, followed by the physician and four surgeons.[15]

Particularly during the reign of Mary, recorders of daily life in London like Henry Machyn and Charles Wriothesley show that processions were regularly used to mark important royal occasions or high church holy days. While the queen's failure to acknowledge the children of Christ's upon her entry into the City may have given leaders of the City and the hospital pause, it did not deter them from taking part in further processions. Under Mary's watchful eye, the City began to celebrate the Catholic feasts of Corpus Christi, the Conception of the Virgin Mary, and the Conversion of St. Paul. The children of the hospital usually participated in the public events, the most solemn of which were headed by King Philip, Cardinal Pole, Bishop Bonner, and selected provincial prelates.[16] By July 1556, Bonner and the queen's commissioners had devised orders for regular City assemblies, intended to re-instill in Londoners--from the youngest to the oldest--veneration for the ancient signs and rites of Roman Catholicism. Every Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, processions would form. They would involve compulsory participation from "children scholars in every parish [who] should go...afore the cross, with the school masters following them, and then apprentices, priests and clerks, and parishioners after the cross."[17]

Another public role for the children of Christ's, one that lasted beyond the Marian regime, was of participation in the burial ceremonies of individuals. This would seem to have begun with the funeral of Edward VI himself. Listening to wise advice, the queen showed

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[14] Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, ii, p. 80. Not until a procession the following Easter did the children first exhibit their traditional blue uniforms. Stow, *Survey*, p. 286; G.L., MS. 12819/2, fol. 39^{v}.

[15] Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, ii, p. 80.

[16] *Grey Friars' Chronicle*, pp. 89, 94; Machyn, *Diary*, pp. 39, 78, 80-81, 82, 87, 88.

[17] Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, ii, p. 136.

atypical restraint and sensitivity in not laying the dead king to rest with full Roman obsequies.[18] For the sad occasion of his burial on 8 August 1553, the City's representation included the "great company of children in their surpluses." Presumably this would have included a delegation from Christ's Hospital, where Edward was revered as the house's founder.[19] Participation of the children of Christ's in the burial ceremonies (often through the singing of psalms at the gravesite) thereafter became a semi-regular custom.

The diarist Henry Machyn mentions four funerals during the time of Mary I in which either the children or masters of Christ's participated. In each case, the deceased had been a substantial citizen, and each funeral involved representatives from particular companies and the government of the City. John Heth, buried on 22 March 1553, provided articles of clothing for each of the one hundred children of Christ's in his funeral entourage. The funerals of Harry Herdsun and Sir Richard Dobbes followed Catholic customs, with the singing of priests and clerks at the feasts which followed the requiems. Herdsun had been a master of Christ's, and of course Dobbes had been central to the City's negotiations with Edward VI; it was therefore not surprising that the presence of hospital governors and patients was particularly full at the burial rites of these two men.[20]

Representation of the masters and children of the hospital at funerals continued occasionally throughout the reign of Queen Elizabeth.[21] The Treasurer's Accounts of 1570-1 list offerings of £13 for thirteen burials.[22] The appearances of the masters and children at funerals can be explained as having several motives. First, their presence was a small, admittedly sporadic, source of income for the house.[23] It also allowed the children active instructions in

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[18] Machyn, *Diary*, p. 39; *CSP, Sp.*, xi, pp. 122, 131, 156-157; Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, p. 528.

[19] Machyn, *Diary*, pp. 39-40; G.L., MS. 12806/2, fols. 33^{v}, 51^{v}.

[20] Machyn, *Diary*, pp. 32, 99, 106, 110-111. The governors carried green staves at solemn public occasions like these.

[21] See, for instance, G.L., MS. 12819/2, fol. 57^{r-v}.

[22] This notation is unique in the Hospital's Accounts up to 1574. G.L., MS. 12819/2, fol. 65^{v}.

[23] See, for example, G.L., MS. 12819/2, fol. 43^{v}.

the performance of acts of Christian charity in giving comfort to the grieving, even as it won more admirers for the house in the process. Finally, it offered an outlet for citizens who wished to aid the poor, in keeping with the time-honoured customs of distributing outdoor relief after funerals, but who did not wish to attract hordes of undeserving wanderers.[24]

2. Moral Tuition, Education, and Training of the Children of Christ's Hospital

An important part of the justification of Christ's Hospital was that residence there offered low-born children good moral examples and practical training in their formative years, so that eventually they could become productive, respectable, and self-supporting adults. The importance of education in shaping morality, character, and intellect in the innocent was not a notion unique to the period of the Reformation. The most basic tenets of Renaissance Humanism identified the links between poverty and a lack of education. Commonwealth theorists in England debated concepts of an organic state, in which the whole of society was hampered by the weaknesses of individual parts: the ignorance, particularly of the poor was for them a restraint on the ability of society to prosper and adopt the reformed faith.[25]

Particularly as the Reformation progressed in England, the need for widespread education was stressed. Delinquent children and prostitutes alike were not beyond redemption--either social or spiritual--, and the concept of the hospitals in London grew in part to respond to that need to provide salutary corrections.[26] Belief in the benefits of education was pervasive and axiomatic. Henry VIII acknowledged the profits derived from a citizenry raised with basic knowledge of the articles of the faith and trained from their youth to assume a vocation.[27] Edward VI placed an even higher premium on broad access to education as the key to a better

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[24] Archer, *Pursuit of Stability*, p. 175; Beier, *Problem of the Poor*, p. 15.
[25] Beier, *Problem of the Poor*, pp. 17-18.
[26] Beier, *Problem of the Poor*, pp. 17-18; Smith, *Tudor Princes and Prelates*, p. 124.
[27] *Visitation Articles*, ii, pp. 7-8.

commonwealth.[28] Notwithstanding his youth, Edward had evidently given more thorough thought to the subject than his father, in the end agreeing with Horace that "...for the most part, men be as they be brought up, and that men keep longest the savour of their first bringing up."[29]

For those concerned with the propagation of faith, in both new and old creeds, education was an extension of the fight. For Protestant reformers, indolence and ignorance were part of the baleful heritage of monasticism. The appropriate response of churchmen of the new faith was rigorous teaching and examination of catechism, particularly amongst the young.[30] Bishop Hooper went so far as to conduct impromptu interrogations in the knowledge of the rudiments of Christian faith for the poor who looked to be fed at his table.[31] Men like Lord Rich, who believed the children of the poor wholly unsuitable for education, were increasingly out of step with the times: instead, Cranmer seemed to speak with greater assurance when he praised the industry and sincerity of the children of the poor over the progeny of gentlefolk in applying themselves to their lessons.[32] Sometimes, demands for more inclusiveness in education were uttered astringently or with heightened levels of assertiveness. So it was that one of the stipulations of the participants in Kett's Rebellion in 1549 was that proprietary parsons and vicars be compelled to teach or oversee the education of poor men's children in "the book called the catechism or the primer."[33]

From the first full year of its operation, Christ's Hospital provided training "in the knowledge of God, and some virtuous exercise to the overthrow of beggary."[34] The school

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[28] Edward VI, *Chronicle*, p. 165.

[29] Edward VI, *Chronicle*, pp. 165-166.

[30] Strype, *Ecclesiastical Memorials*, ii, pt. 1, pp. 401-402.

[31] Hooper, *Later Writings*, p. 132; Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, vi, p. 644; Knappen, *Tudor Puritanism*, pp. 100-101.

[32] *The Narratives of the Reformation*, pp. 273-275; R.H. Tawney, *The Agrarian Problem in the Sixteenth Century* (London: 1912), pp. 134-135 [note 2]; Arthur Francis Leach, *Educational Charters and Documents: 598 to 1909* (New York: 1911), p. 470; Hoskins, *The Age of Plunder*, p. 107.

[33] B.L., Harleian MS. 304, fol. 75.

[34] Holinshed, *Chronicle*, iii, p. 1061.

inaugurated there in 1553 was "ordained...at the citizen's charges," and was situated in the building that had for the past year been serving as a makeshift shelter for some of the homeless adults of the City.[35]

The earliest evidence of the training that formed a part of the curriculum at Christ's is found in documentation of the attendance of the children at public homilies. St. Mary Spital had for some time served as the setting of important public sermons as well as a place for heretics to recant and do public penance before their execution.[36] Beginning in the autumn of 1547, sermons there became a feature of the spiritual life of the capital, at last fulfilling Sir Richard Gresham's earlier wish that the house be "converted to some better use" after its initial closure.[37] The culminating sequence of sermons was delivered during the Easter season.[38] Skillful preachers could attract vast crowds. Dr. Henry Pendleton drew some 20,000 people at Eastertide, 1557: perhaps, since he was a notorious weathercock who apostatized and re-converted to suit successive monarchs, many turned out simply to deduce if the winds of doctrinal change blew yet again.[39]

The sermons delivered at St. Mary's seemed at times programmed to blazon whatever important theological truths the regime of the period wanted made known to the masses.[40] The Spital sermons therefore became a suitable venue for the children of Christ's to receive instruction on knowing and interpreting correctly the Word of God. Evidence of the attendance of members of Christ's Hospital at the Easter Sermons extends at least to the middle of the 1560s, when the Guildhall issued a decree stipulating the place governors general and regular of the hospitals would take in the course of processions.[41]

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[35] Stow, *Survey*, pp. 67-69; Howes, "A Familiar and Friendly Discourse," p. 44.

[36] *Grey Friars' Chronicle*, p. 43.

[37] *Grey Friars' Chronicle*, p. 55; *LPFD*, xiii, pt. 2, no. 13.

[38] Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, p. 69.

[39] Machyn, *Diary*, p. 131; Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, viii, p. 635; Brigden, *London and the Reformation*, pp. 577-578.

[40] See, for instance, *Two London Chronicles*, p. 45; Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, ii, p. 144.

[41] G.L., MS. 12806/2, fol. 27^{v}. The governors and auditors general would walk directly behind the line of aldermen; in the rear would be the regular governors of the hospitals, ranked according to their particular companies.

Once again, the great chroniclers of the City reveal that the first few years of the hospital's existence was a time of frequent and formal public appearances for the body of children at Christ's. Earliest of these appearances at the public sermons came on 3 April 1553.[42] At this occasion and at other times, the children arrived *en masse*, distinctive in their blue apparel. They were preceded and followed by the governors and officers of the house. The children sat on scaffolds, the cost of which was borne by Christ's, allowing them unimpeded views of the speakers.[43] Their vantage point must also have afforded the rulers and citizens of London a chance to appraise the attentiveness and decorous manners of the youth, hopefully confirming that the "certain lands and the charity of the noble City" were proving a worthwhile investment.[44]

The sermons of St. Mary Spital were meant to inform a broad audience, from the humble children of the hospital to the City's ruling elite: that they attracted sizable crowds attests to the fact that they also provided entertainment. A smaller-scaled forum for public enlightenment and diversion was the tradition of disputations among the scholars of the City's free schools.[45] John Stow, born in 1525, remembered a robust tradition of student debates and contests in rhetoric and grammar. Students from St. Paul's, St. Peter's in Westminster, St. Thomas Acon Hospital, and St. Anthony's Hospital would compete in the churchyard of St. Bartholomew's Priory on the eve of the Feast of St. Bartholomew, evidently as a part of the round of festivities marking the great fair. These competitions ended with the closure of the Priory, but were revived briefly in the 1550s.[46] With Sir William Chester and Sir Martin Bowes acting as mentors, the new contests were held within Christ's Hospital, and featured the

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[42] Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, ii, p. 82; Machyn, *Diary*, p. 33.
[43] Machyn, *Diary*, pp. 33, 131; Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, ii, p. 82; G.L., MS. 12806/2, fols. 28^{r}, 55^{v}.
[44] Machyn, *Diary*, p. 131.
[45] Howes, "A Familiar and Friendly Discourse," p. 41.
[46] Stow, *Survey*, pp. 68-69.

children of the house, St. Paul's, and St. Anthony's Hospital.[47] The winning students were given silver pens and garland wreaths.[48]

The new series of disputations floundered quickly, however. The yearly contributions initially promised by Sir Martin Bowes to support the enterprise were not forthcoming, perhaps because the gathering of students from rival free schools was not always an edifying spectacle.[49] Competition between St. Paul's and St. Anthony's (which seemed to produce the finest students) was particularly ardent, sometimes ending in raucous frays. In the timeless way of students, they devised unflattering epithets for each other: thus the students of St. Paul's became known as the "pigeons of Paul's," and the children of St. Anthony's were deemed "Anthony's pigs." Academic disputes not settled through lucid discourse were resolved on the streets of the City, where groups of students fell "from words to blows with their satchels full of books, many times in great heaps, [so] that they troubled the streets and passengers."[50] Youthful highjinks did nothing to strengthen appeals to honest citizens to support the education of the children of the poor; habitual fisticuffs and brawling amongst participants also made Sir Martin Bowes's traditional prize of silver bows (a conceit?) and arrows seem downright foolhardy.[51]

Contemporary writers like Howes and Stow leave unstated the progress of the children of Christ's in these public disputations. They participated, yet while they are not recorded as having embarrassed their proctors with uncouth conduct, they are not shown to have distinguished themselves either. Perhaps supporters of Christ's Hospital considered the ability of their students to stand alongside scholars from comparatively prestigious, longer-established schools a triumph in itself. And, indeed, the schools at Christ's Hospital had other, more discernible, accomplishments of which to boast.

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[47] Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, ii, pp. 129-130.
[48] Howes, "A Familiar and Friendly Discourse," p. 41.
[49] Howes, "A Familiar and Friendly Discourse," p. 41.
[50] Stow, *Survey*, pp. 68-69.
[51] Howes, "A Familiar and Friendly Discourse," p. 41; Stow, *Survey*, p. 69.

Christ's Hospital was never solely a sanctuary for waifs. By 1556, when the governors of the house were considering the conditions to be applied in the admission of children, they evidently assumed that, other than those admitted as infants, entrants would as a matter of course partake in the educational services of Christ's.[52] For those who sought admittance for their children or wards, education figured as an integral part of what Christ's offered. In November 1565, for instance, a grocer named Drywood made provisions for his seven children. Apparently sensing his death was imminent, Drywood arranged a legacy of £4 6*s* 8*d*, which would be managed by the governors of Christ's to offer his children "reasonable compassion for their diet, learning, and other findings."[53] It was not until well into the seventeenth century that the educational functions of Christ's attained primacy over its role as an orphanage; however, training and educating the children were important, if rather adjunct, tasks from the beginning of its history.[54]

The manner in which the rulers of the hospital approached tuition in religion was clearly of immediate concern to the first critics of Christ's. This is in part demonstrated by Gardiner's intrusion into the house's method of imparting the basics of faith and creed to the students.[55] The larger battle between the regime intent on restoring Catholic truth and order and Protestant activists who remained faithful to godly principles settled momentarily on the confrontation of the Chancellor with Richard Grafton, and the possibility that the hospital for orphans was a training-ground for a new generation of Protestant zealots.[56] These suspicions did not completely evaporate until the beginning of Elizabeth I's reign, when the sympathies of those at the head of the government were more closely attuned to the ideals of the rulers of the

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[52] G.L., MS. 12806/2, fols. 2^{v}-3^{r}.

[53] G.L., MS. 12806/2, fol. 27. John Jackson, the treasurer of Christ's, sought to compound the legacy so that it would eventually yield at least 53*s* 4*d* for each Drywood's children.

[54] Howes, "A Familiar and Friendly Discourse," pp. 10-11; Jordan, *Charities of London*, p. 192; Stephen Macfarlane, "Social Policy and the Poor in the Later Seventeenth Century," in *The Making of the Metropolis: London, 1500-1700*, A.L. Beier and Roger Finlay, eds. (London: 1986), p. 257; Anon., *A Psalm of Thanksgiving to be Sung by the Children of Christ's Hospital* (London: 1610).

[55] Howes, "A Familiar and Friendly Discourse," pp. 70-71.

[56] See above, Chapter VII, pp. 230-233.

hospitals. In the fresh light of Elizabethan Protestantism, Catholic religious houses were suppressed again, and the social agenda of men like Grafton and Barnes was once more validated.[57] From that time forward, the training of the children of Christ's in matters of faith ceased to be an issue of contention. Christ's itself became a national model as school for deserving poor children; its reputation may have helped to spawn a similar institution in Bristol at the end of the century.[58]

No syllabus survives offering a description of the educational routine in the first three decades of Christ's history. John Howes supplied a list of officers involved in the children's education. Beginning in the Spring of 1553, Christ's Hospital employed a grammar school master, a grammar school usher, a writing teacher, two schoolmasters for basic lessons in the petty school, and a music instructor for the teaching of plainsong.[59]

Little is known of what materials these teachers might have used, other than at the end of 1553, when Richard Grafton, the first treasurer of Christ's, recorded payment for the purchase of one hundred "alphabets on boards."[60] Hospital records reveal that masters were required to teach for a quarter under some type of supervision; thereafter they might be offered a permanent position if their behaviour was good and they were solicitous of the needs of the students.[61] Teachers were also ultimately responsible for the disciplining of the students. In May 1573, the steward of the house was berated for "rigorously beating children." Thereafter, only schoolmasters, or any two governors, would be allowed to determine corrections for the children.[62]

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[57] Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, ii, pp. 145-146.

[58] Charles Carlton, *The Court of Orphans* (Leicester: 1974), p. 27.

[59] Howes, "A Familiar and Friendly Discourse," pp. 35-36.

[60] G.L., MS. 12819/1, fol. 40^{v}. See also G.L., MS. 12819/2, fol. 21^{r}; G.L., MS. 12806/2, fol. 24^{v}.

[61] G.L., MS. 12806/1, fol. 42; G.L., MS. 12806/2, fol. 18.

[62] G.L., MS. 12806/2, fol. 88. For other instances of physical punishments meted out to students, see Roger Ascham, *The Scholemaster, or plaine and perfite way of teaching children to understand, write, and speak in Latin tong, but specially purposed for the private brynging up of youth in Ientlemen and noble mens houses...* [London: 1570/1], Edward Arber, ed., English Reprints, vi (London: 1870; reprint, New York: 1966), pp. 18, 47. For a broader discussion of flogging and the pervasiveness of corporal punishment in English education in the sixteenth century, see Walter Ong, *Rhetoric, Romance, and Technology* (Ithaca, New York: 1971), pp. 135-137.

Teachers who proved themselves competent, and who remained at Christ's long enough, eventually received raises in their pay or some other form of compensation.[63] By July 1570, the governors offered Mr. Waddington, the master of the grammar school, a yearly benevolence of five marks, to be rendered in billets and loads of coal.[64] Eventually, they hoped to offer him more commodious lodgings: in a prolonged search for larger accommodations for the grammar master, the governors at one point even considered making space for him in the sick ward.[65] Waddington's colleague, Robert Broom, proved to the governors he was a man of diverse talents. He was elevated from being scholar of the petty school to the more lucrative office of barber, with yearly wages of 53*s* 4*d*. Broom replaced Robert Foster, "who late had the same and for that he never could shave the children's heads, he is dismissed."[66]

Not all the teachers won plaudits. Mr. Foster, the master of the grammar school in April 1566, was repeatedly reprimanded for lack of diligence. He and the other masters would henceforth have to keep a tighter rein on their charges, and restrict their free time: as "honest children...taught of the City's charge," they should only be permitted to play on Saturday afternoons.[67] If the children were seen to have too much time for recreation, the house's claims to shaping the children's character would be vitiated.

While the accumulated evidence of the intellectual activities in the upper and lower schools at Christ's is fragmentary, instances of successes in academic preparation began to emerge in the late 1560s, when children of the hospital started to be sent to the universities.[68] Such cases are relatively rare, as might be expected. The students proceeding to Oxford or

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[63] For instance, Thomas Cuttes, the "schoolmaster of the petites," receive an "augmentation of his living" from 13*s* 4*d* per quarter to 20*s* quarterly. G.L., MS. 12806/2, fol. 13. See also *ibid.*, fols. 21^{r}, 35^{v}, 36^{r}.

[64] G.L., MS. 12806/2, fol. 50^{v}.

[65] G.L., MS. 12806/2, fols. 35^{r}, 50^{v}.

[66] G.L., MS. 12806/2, fol. 50^{v}. Broom was not the first person to receive such a promotion. In February 1563, one of the beadles of Christ's was made a barber, with a yearly salary of 5 nobles and free room in the hospital. G.L., MS. 12806/1, fol. 61^{v}.

[67] G.L., MS. 12806/2, fols. 28^{v}, 33^{r}.

[68] G.L., MS. 12806/2, fol. 29.

Cambridge would have demonstrated exceptional abilities, being "pregnant and very apt of learning."[69] And they would have gone on to further studies only with some financial backing which, in most but not all instances, came from the treasury of Christ's. Before the mid-1570s, Christ's seems to have passed students on most frequently to Oxford. For Richard Colfe, who came to Oxford from Christ's as an undergraduate in 1569, the hospital provided a weekly pension of 8*d* until the university granted him a scholarship and an allowance for books.[70] Christ's made similar provisions for other students, including a weekly pension of 12*d* to John Upland, beginning in April 1570 and continuing, "[for] as long as he studies divinity."[71] John Prestman, who between June 1566 and June 1570 uniquely seems to have transferred from Cambridge to Oxford, was granted a bursary of five marks for school necessities and apparel; the governors did not release the stipend, however, until they had received written assurances from the authorities at Oxford appraising Prestman's "aptness."[72]

By the 1570s, substantial citizens like Thomas Dixon began to make bequests which created exhibitions for the most able students of Christ's to advance to the universities.[73] The hospital's governors seem to have reached an agreement with the Grocers Company concerning support for Richard Dawtry as he progressed towards an undergraduate degree at Cambridge.[74] Endowments of this nature, however, were few and far between. To assure a more regular source for the "preferment of certain of the children of this house to the university," the governors and the treasurer, John Jackson, instigated inquiries to William Cecil regarding the sponsorship of the queen.[75] Their petitions made little immediate impact. However, the academic progress of the hospital's most gifted students meant that the good work of the

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[69] *Parl. Papers 1837*, xxxii, pt. 6, p. 348.
[70] G.L., MS. 12806/2, fol. 41.
[71] G.L., MS. 12806/2, fol. 48^{v}.
[72] G.L., MS. 12806/2, fols. 29^{r}, 48^{v}, 50^{r}.
[73] G.L., MS. 12815/3, fol. 61.
[74] G.L., MS. 12806/2, fols. 58^{v}, 72^{v}, 80^{v}.
[75] G.L., MS. 12806/2, fol. 41.

orphanage school became known and presumably appreciated beyond the City's walls.[76] And within London, the ability of Christ's to reform orphans and homeless children through sound training in the Christian faith and in points of literacy was increasingly commented on in the last three decades of the century.

3. Apprenticeships Monitored by the Rulers of Christ's Hospital

A university education was, of course, only the very exceptional outcome of training at Christ's Hospital. Without any formal articulation of the educational goals of the house in its earliest decades, the presumption is that at the elementary level it sought to give its students a thorough grounding in the basic teachings of the English Church, competence in reading and writing, and numerical proficiency. Outside of school, more technical training in assorted trades came through apprenticeships undertaken with local craftsmen. The governors of Christ's spent considerable amounts of time at their weekly meetings arranging for children of the house to be paired with outside masters. Arrangements like these served at least two distinct purposes. First, the children were set on a path toward attaining the skills and professional credentials to make them useful citizens by the time their formal service had concluded. And second, children sent out into service relieved the house of much further expense and obligations towards them, apart from a general supervision to ensure that the terms of the apprenticeship were being met, that the child was learning his or her craft well, and not being mistreated in the process.[77]

The governors of the hospital placed importance on some form of industrial training and experience for the children. Beginning in the mid-1560s, they arranged for some of the children in residence to receive lessons in certain skills. In September 1565, four boys were daily

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[76] G.L., MS. 12806/2, fols. 210^{r}, 221^{v}.

[77] Frequently, terminological distinctions in records between servants and designated apprentices were blurred. See Boulton, *Neighbourhood and Society*, p. 134; Pelling, "Child Health," p. 151.

sent to Bridewell "to learn the faculty of making woolcards." Until they achieved proficiency in this craft, they would remain at Christ's for their lodgings and meals.[78] Nearly four years later, a more involved arrangement was made with Henry Beane, a mercer. The joint project between the rulers of the house and Beane provided for the training of twelve children in the spinning of flax. Beane provided spinning wheels and distaves, and the hospital authorised Nurse Hilton to oversee the teaching and deportment of the children assigned to the task. The hospital would receive a share of Beane's profits from the threads spun there, and the arrangement would be continued and expanded if time proved it mutually satisfactory.[79] Similar programmes in needlemaking were introduced in the 1570s, but in general, these projects evidently never involved the participation of much more than a handful of the children, nor do they appear to have been directed with much consistency or achieved notable effect over the course of time.[80] Indisputably, the course by which Christ's Hospital directed most of its students towards productive adult lives was by way of individual apprenticeships.

In December 1556, the governors of Christ's alerted the wardens of the Livery Companies of the availability of potential apprentices. The best candidates for apprenticeship were "the biggest sort of children...which are not given to their learning."[81] At other times, the governors sent boys to foreign workmen for technical training.[82] Children who gained entrance into Christ's during their adolescence probably had reduced chances of receiving full academic training, though. Richard Lowchen is an example: he was twelve years old when taken from the streets into the hospital, and eleven days later, on 24 May 1560, he was sent to David Cowper, a leatherseller in Cornmill Street.[83]

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[78] G.L., MS. 12806/2, fol. 26.
[79] G.L., MS. 12806/2, fols. 39^{v}-41^{v}.
[80] G.L., MS. 12806/2, fols. 117^{r}, 120^{r}, 126^{v}, 135^{r}; Archer, *Pursuit of Stability*, p. 157.
[81] G.L., MS. 12806/1, fol. 4^{r}.
[82] *Christ's Hospital Admissions, 1554-1599*, George A.T. Allan, ed. (London: 1937), pp. 38-45; C.L.R.O., Rep. xix, fol. 268.
[83] G.L., MS. 12806/1, fol. 31^{v}.

Male and female children were sent out by Christ's to become apprentices: although it was the boys who received the preponderant amount of attention in the records of the hospital, young women were listed as becoming assistants to tailors or domestic servants.[84] And while the overwhelming number of children were taken in by local artisans or tradesmen, a few children were sent to the hinterlands, such as the nameless boy who departed Christ's in May 1566 to become an apprentice in the shop of a cloth maker in Suffolk.[85] On average, the length of most apprenticeships seems to have been somewhere around the traditional seven years.[86] However, inmates approaching maturity--generally those in their late-teens and early twenties--might have abbreviated terms.[87] On the other hand, Paul Lewis, who was attached to a London barber surgeon, was assigned an apprenticeship of eleven years, and Simon Stane, a fourteen-year-old, was bound to Robert Piggot, a carpenter, for ten years.[88]

Above all else, the governors of Christ's worked towards sending as many children out as apprentices as could reasonably have been expected to profit from the experience. But the hospital found places for only a fraction of its children, and the numbers diminished after the mid-1560s. The treasurer began in 1563 to make regular accounts of the numbers of patients, noting in what numbers they were admitted, and how they departed. From 1552 until the first count was made, the hospital had admitted 1,916 children: 733 had died, 866 had been placed in service, and 317 remained in the house.[89] For the next decade, the percentage of children for whom the hospital was able to procure apprenticeships was almost four-fold lower: often fewer than 10% of the student body after 1567 left Christ's as apprentices.[90]

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[84] G.L., MS. 12806/2, fols. 3^{r}, 21^{r}, 45^{r}, 50^{v}.

[85] G.L., MS. 12806/2, fol. 29.

[86] This was congruent with Parliamentary legislation in 1563, standardising as it did the terms of apprenticeship. Peter Clark, "Migrants in the City: The Process of Social Adaptation in English Towns, 1500-1800," in *Migration and Society in Early Modern England*, Peter Clark and David Souden, eds. (London: 1987), p. 269.

[87] See, for example, G.L., MS. 12806/2, fol. 32.

[88] G.L., MS. 12806/2, fols. 1^{r}, 23^{v}.

[89] G.L., MS. 12819/2, fol. 22.

[90] G.L., MS. 12819/2, fols. 22^{r}, 27^{v}-28^{r}, 35^{r}, 42^{r}, 47^{v}, 55^{r}, 63^{r}.

Situations beyond the control of the governors at times lessened their abilities to place children in the households or artisans. For instance, when French Protestants fled to London after the Parisian pogroms surrounding St. Bartholomew's Day in 1572, xenophobia flared. Foreign craftsmen made "apprentices of their own countrymen's children [while] poor children of English parents, which [are] a great burden of the City in hospitals and elsewhere, cannot be sufficiently provided for because the places where they might conveniently be bestowed in service are filled with strangers."[91] Memories were somewhat short however, because a foreign-born craftsman had as recently as 1569 offered to train children from Christ's; it was the governors of Christ's who prevaricated for some six years.[92] Even by the 1580s, the average number of children leaving for service or apprenticeship was only thirty-three a year.[93]

The court of the governors customarily acted as the intermediary between masters and prospective apprentices, determining the terms and the duration of the apprenticeship, the nature of the training, the suitability, and prospects for the child once the apprenticeship was completed.[94] Occasionally, however, outsiders tried to circumvent the procedures of the house. An exceptional case was Edward Pearce, who in December 1565 "stole away Richard Dawtry..., and bound him without the consent of the governors." Dawtry was lured out of the grammar school and "into the old church to speak with the said Edward Pearce, who upon conferring with the same child willing him at five of the clock that night to come to his house which he did/ and kept him in a chamber/ and before bound him apprentice notwithstanding that Mr. Wythe and Mr. Treasurer commanded him to bring in the same child again in the name of my Lord Mayor." The deceit of Pearce soon landed him in prison.[95]

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[91] C.L.R.O., Journal xx, fols. 176^{v}-177^{v}; Rappaport, *Worlds Within Worlds*, p. 55.

[92] C.L.R.O., Rep. xvi, fols. 430^{v}, 471^{r}; Rep. xviii, fol. 369^{v}; Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities*, p. 278.

[93] Archer, *Pursuit of Stability*, p. 157.

[94] G.L., MS. 12806/1, fol. 64.

[95] G.L., MS. 12806/2, fol. 27. Dawtry would be supported by the Grocer's Company and Christ's Hospital at Cambridge University in the early 1570s. See above, p. 326.

Abuse of apprentices proved an intractable problem: it was often difficult to detect and hard to prevent when masters assumed such all-encompassing responsibilities over their charges. The resolution of the governors in 1569 to ensure that craftsmen entrusted with children of the house were trustworthy was commendable, but ultimately impossible to enforce.[96] Governors of Christ's were alert to the fact that masters were cast as models for their charges. An honest, industrious master could train apprentices whose characters and technical skills reflected well on Christ's and the charity of the community at large. Bad masters could render much damage: their pupils were prone "to become more poor to their poor parents, and also [to] become evil members, to the great grief of such as daily relieve them in this house."[97]

Ideally, the master accepted the apprentice as a member of the family.[98] In the rare cases where there was already a blood relationship between master and apprentice, the transition was easily made: when Richard Lybias was removed from the streets, the rulers of Christ's naturally looked to his mother's brother, a goldsmith in the Cheap, to take him in.[99] But usually the hospital had to rely mainly on the good word and kind natures of masters. Particularly in cases where the child was very young, like the six-year-old boy admitted to the household of Robert Richards, a vintner, the governors of Christ's looked for a commitment that the child would be nurtured as well as taught a vocation.[100]

Unfortunately, despite the patina of a master's pledge of 'adoption' of an apprentice for the length of his training, apprenticeship of the children of Christ's seems frequently to have meant inexpensive labour from a child who had no relatives or personal guardians to defend him or her against flagrant exploitation or abuse. When William Lardner of Christ's entered into the service of a waterman on 31 December 1569, his new master and his wife were sworn to take the boy "for their own child, and...order him as their own child when God calleth

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[96] G.L., MS. 12806/2, fol 38^{v}.
[97] *Parl. Papers 1837*, xxxii, pt. 6, p. 348.
[98] See, for example, G.L., MS. 12806/2, fols. 23, 24.
[99] G.L., MS. 12806/1, fol. 41^{v}.
[100] G.L., MS. 12806/2, fol. 23.

them."[101] Masters, however, sometimes accepted apprentices from the hospital only after an initial trial period: the terms of the indenture for William Cotten, by way of example, were not conclusively set before the craftsman dwelling at St. Mary Spital examined him "upon liking for thirteen days" in early November, 1563.[102]

Masters understood that when they assumed such parental responsibilities over former children of Christ's, the City should be relieved of further expenses. Usually, but not always: the hospital sometimes had to readmit children previously sent out as apprentices.[103] If the master of a former inmate of Christ's died, or if he left the City and refused to take his charge, the hospital honoured its moral responsibility of receiving the child again.[104] The court also had to listen to complaints masters leveled against their apprentices.[105] In the case of a child's illness, he or she might be readmitted and kept at the hospital's expense (if the master could not contribute) until the child was well enough to return to its training.[106] Sometimes the process did not work this smoothly, however. William Skelton, a fifteen year old, returned to the hospital during the plague of 1563. He had been "put to service [a] long time since and now...was taken up in the streets all comfortless." The records leave unanswered whether William's master had perished, whether the boy had earlier been dismissed from service, had run away, or if he merely had been abandoned in the turmoil of the visitation.[107]

The terms of apprenticeship also suggested that the master ought to provide those things for which the City would otherwise have been liable. So when Mr. Daulton, one of the counselors of Christ's, took Thomas Pettit as his servant, he formally promised the governors of the house that he would continue the boy's lessons in reading and writing.[108] Almost as in

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[101] G.L., MS. 12806/2, fol. 46.
[102] G.L., MS. 12806/2, fol. 1.
[103] G.L., MS. 12806/2, fol. 21.
[104] G.L., MS. 12806/2, fols. 19^{v}, 28^{v}.
[105] G.L., MS. 12806/2, fol. 52.
[106] G.L., MS. 12806/2, fol. 28^{v}.
[107] G.L., MS. 12806/2, fol. 18.
[108] G.L., MS. 12806/2, fol. 45^{v}.

marriage, the fair master stood by his apprentice through good times and bad. William Spenser was one master who felt obligated to compensate Christ's Hospital for twelve weeks of care it had given his young servant, Jeffrey Standly, even though the boy did not survive his bout with the plague.[109] The court proceedings at the hospital demonstrate that there was often friction between masters and apprentices. In defence of the masters, it is obvious that apprentices were in general a feisty lot to rule over, particularly once they reached the age of sexual awareness. The moral and legal obligations of masters must have seemed heavy--not to say confusing--, and the governing body of Christ's was often called in to rule on the infractions of apprentices, and to sort out the legal ramifications for sorely-tested masters.

4. The Court of Christ's and its Jurisdiction in Cases of Sexual Offenses and Abuse of Apprentices

Situations in which masters abused their apprentices or household servants presented not only a disregard of the protective relationship which properly existed between the head of a house and his dependants, but also a betrayal of the trust institutions like the livery companies and Christ's placed in craftsmen when indentures were agreed upon. A few cases involved corporal punishments inflicted on children by overbearing masters: if the discipline amounted to "unreasonable correction," then a master might be liable to a fine to the hospital, as well as a cancellation of the terms of the servitude.[110]

Infinitely more numerous, and more contemptible, were the cases in which masters presumed on their positions of authority to secure the sexual favours of their charges. Anecdotal evidence suggests the existence of popular contempt for the liberties some masters felt themselves free to take with servants and female apprentices. When Margaret Huntwell was brought before the rulers of Christ, she claimed that John Wills had seduced her. As proof to

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[109] G.L., MS. 12806/2, fol. 19^{v}.
[110] G.L., MS. 12806/2, fols. 40^{r}, 45^{v}.

the court, she offered--over the denials of Wills--an account of his tender words to win her: "he said to her (as she saith) that he might as well lie with her as her masters with her."[111] If Margaret Huntwell spoke the truth, Wills's methods were transparently crude, and his sentiments socially seditious.

Cases in which pregnancy resulted from liaisons between masters and servants generally were heard before the governors of Christ's. The hospital apparently possessed the power to summon masters; they were compelled to come before the court as often as necessary to answer its questions.[112] What lay at the heart of the hospital's investigation was the need to guarantee that illegitimate offspring were provided for by responsible parties, so that they did not become additions to the rolls of parochial and hospital relief.[113] Occasionally, the hospital even initiated searches for runaway fathers: at the end of December 1569, the rulers of Christ's appointed Alice Crosby to discover who was the father of the child born in Fleet's privy, and to advise Treasurer John Jackson of her findings.[114] When a pregnant woman had family in the provinces, the hospital might issue her a passport and see that those responsible for her in London provided her with sufficient travel money.[115]

If a master readily acknowledged his complicity in a case of sexual misconduct, then judgment was passed quickly. Jermain Lambert fell "upon his knees [and] asked God's mercy" when he acknowledged to the rulers that he had made his former servant, Margaret Jamis, pregnant. Financial responsibilities for mother and child then devolved immediately to Lambert: Margaret Jamis was presently removed to Bridewell for "her keeping and imprisonment," for which Lambert would contribute 40*s*. Lambert rendered £40 in security that the child would be kept from the charges of the City; he also pledged £10 to Margaret when she married. Finally, Lambert assured the court he and Margaret would have no further con-

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[111] G.L., MS. 12806/2, fol. 50.
[112] G.L., MS. 12806/2, fol. 51^{v}.
[113] See, for instance, G.L., MS. 12806/2, fols. 38^{v}, 44^{r}, 45^{v}, 46^{r}, 48^{r}, 49^{v}, 52^{v}, 61^{r}, 63^{v}.
[114] G.L., MS. 12806/2, fol. 45^{v}.
[115] G.L., MS. 12806/2, fol. 44^{v}.

tact.[116] Few other masters, though, were as forthcoming. In November 1569, William Saywell utterly denied fornicating with his servant, Alice: she, however, attested that she surrendered herself to him only after he had assured her that "if his wife died he would seek no further."[117] Alice marshalled her witnesses well, and Saywell's protestations of innocence were weakened when two parties claimed that he said "that if the said Alice would have kept the matter secret that he would have allowed her 20*s* or 40 pence a week."[118]

By the end of the 1560s, the governors of Christ's adjudicated with increasing frequency in cases of sexual transgressions as well as conflicts involving abusive masters.[119] After 1565, they also began to deal fairly regularly with cases which involved former inmates now serving as apprentices who stood accused of some infraction of the terms of their bondage. Five years later, the cases were far more numerous, and they almost uniformly dealt with the carnal excesses of apprentices. On 27 May 1570, for example, each of the three cases heard before the governors pertained to sexual accusations.[120] Curiously, as that decade progressed, apprentices who came before the board of governors were no longer plainly identified as having once been inmates of the house. However, the fact that the governors of Christ's evidently had sanction to summon and punish them would indicate that they must indeed have once been connected with the hospital.

The records of the hospital do not precisely reveal how these cases came before the court at Christ's, nor do the records of the City disclose how and when its leaders consented to the enhancement of the jurisdiction of the rulers at Christ's. Many of the cases pertaining to venereal offences heard by the governors of Christ's would formerly have been more within the scope of the Commissary Court of London.[121] Some actions may have been referred from

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[116] G.L., MS. 12806/2, fol. 34.
[117] G.L., MS. 12806/2, fol. 44.
[118] G.L., MS. 12806/2, fol. 44 [26 November 1569].
[119] The earliest recorded case was on 8 March 1563. G.L., MS. 12806/1, fol. 63.
[120] G.L., MS. 12806/2, fol. 50.
[121] Richard M. Wunderli, *London Church Courts and Society on the Eve of the Reformation* (Cambridge, Massachuetts: 1981), p. 81.

other City courts, but presumably most came through the beadles exercising their powers by bringing the cases of wrongdoers before the governors of the hospital.

There are several possible explanations for the expansion of the governors' disciplinary powers. By the 1570s, the governors of the hospitals, and in particular the rulers of Christ's, were at the core of the efforts by the City's government to prevent begging and lawlessness. The fear of losing control over the City's apprentices had been a part of the collective psyche of Londoners at least since the 'Evil' May Day melée of 1517, and the court of Christ's Hospital offered one more agency of control. Ill-advised liaisons between apprentices and other servants risked the arrival of progeny no one was either prepared or willing to rear properly. Promiscuity was a perennial problem, particularly in densely populated urban areas. And when the hospitals tried to prosecute licentious adolescents and adults, they reflected not only the moral concerns of citizens, but also practical worries over the toll unwed mothers and illegitimate offspring placed on government and parish instruments of support and relief.

The court of the governors used several tactics when deliberating in cases involving sexually active servants. In most cases, it demanded that masters appear before them and answer for the misadventures of their charges. Where there was doubt, the court first attempted to determine paternity. This was not always an easy task, as the case of Jane Carter, a servant in the Vintry, illustrated. While an apprentice confessed in July 1570 of having "had to do" with her, Carter volunteered to the court that she had known another man "in a vitalling house at Bishopsgate."[122] If it were firmly established that a particular apprentice had made someone pregnant, the master was usually bound to support the baby, as well as to absorb the costs incurred by the mother from her lying-in until her churching.[123]

At other times, the governors had to rule on the unprovable. Jane Newell provided vivid details of the four times she was raped by Henry Nedham: when she was first "abused..., he

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[122] G.L., MS. 12806/2, fol. 51.
[123] G.L., MS. 12806/2, fols. 26^{v}, 29^{r}, 40^{v}, 41^{r}, 43^{r}, 45^{r}.

muffled her with his cloak." In the end, though, the case was unresolved: her specificity was apparently counterbalanced by his denials.[124] Perhaps as a measure of desperation, some women were driven to cast aspersions on their circle of acquaintances. When Emma Parker was brought before the governors on charges of sexual incontinence, she declared that Thomas Blow had taken liberties with her both in the grocer's warehouse at the end of Buttell Lane and in the house of a tippler. But her charges did not end there: she claimed that Blow's wife knew of his abuse of her, and that another man was also familiar with her.[125] The accusations against Hugh Robertson in 1571 were narrower, and easier to demolish. Robertson was exonerated from charges that he had made Alice Harcote pregnant, for he produced witnesses who swore they were with him in the forenoon of St. Bartholomew's Day, the very time Alice claimed Robertson and she were locked in passionate embrace.[126]

Masters were also made to stand in recognizance for their apprentices, both that they would be present at the hospital hearings, and that their conduct would be good thereafter.[127] If an apprentice reached the point where he was awarded the Freedom of the City, support for his child understandably passed from his former master to himself.[128] In any case, most masters would probably have extracted some recompense, if not from the parties involved then from their families, for whatever charges they bore owing to the excesses of their servants.[129]

When possible, the rulers of Christ's secured promises from an apprentice (or indeed any single man) that he would marry the woman carrying his child.[130] This did not always work. John Bedall, a plasterer, promised to marry and support a woman he had made pregnant. However, he was sent to Ludgate for indebtedness, and the hospital had to support his fiancée

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[124] G.L., MS. 12806/2, fol. 50.
[125] G.L., MS. 12806/2, fol. 47^{v}.
[126] G.L., MS. 12806/2, fol. 53.
[127] G.L., MS. 12806/2, fols. 26^{v}, 40^{v}, 43^{r}, 45^{r}, 49^{v}.
[128] G.L., MS. 12806/2, fol. 40^{v}.
[129] G.L., MS. 12806/2, fols. 21^{r}, 22^{r}, 40^{v}.
[130] G.L., MS. 12806/2, fols. 37^{r}, 45^{r}, 46^{v}, 47^{r}.

and her child.[131] Obviously, a man could also deny paternity or even sexual knowledge of a particular woman much more easily than she could conceal an unplanned pregnancy. Given the chance, accused men sometimes fled the authority of the court.[132] While Alice Johnson faced confinement in Bridewell, examination before the court of Christ's Hospital, and ultimately banishment from the City, her lover Richard Harbord had headed for parts northward.[133] When men were brought to justice, chivalrous gestures were seldom their first instinct: while John Holiday was committed to the stocks for abusing the body of Alice Hammond on the first Sunday in Lent, he hotly proclaimed Alice and her mother common harlots.[134]

Women who gave birth without benefit of marriage risked punishment, sometimes in the form of public humiliation, and in other instances with sentences in Bridewell.[135] A few women might escape harsh punishment by having honest citizens commit themselves to being responsible for the good behaviour of the mother, but these cases were the lucky exceptions.[136] The prospect of incarceration and mortification obviously terrified some already- distraught young women. Perhaps consequences like these provoked Frances Clenistone to abandon her illegitimate baby on the doorstep of her master, James Taylor, a merchant tailor of St. James. The story ended badly for everyone. Taylor suspected Frances and Robert Witchley, another servant, were the parents.[137] Frances had fled to St. Albans, where she was pursued and brought back to face punishment from the court at Christ's; all the while, she denied that she had been pregnant. In the meantime, her infant had died.[138]

The rulers of Christ's seem in this instance hard-hearted, tenacious, and altogether too severe. But their pursuit and punishment of Clenistone throws light on one of the most cor-

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[131] G.L., MS. 12806/2, fol. 38.
[132] See, for example, G.L., MS. 12806/2, fol. 50^{v}.
[133] G.L., MS. 12806/2, fol. 48^{v}.
[134] G.L., MS. 12806/2, fol. 48^{v}.
[135] G.L., MS. 12806/2, fol. 4^{v}; *Parl. Papers 1837*, xxxii, pt. 6, p. 348.
[136] G.L., MS. 12806/2, fol. 48.
[137] G.L., MS. 12806/2, fol. 44^{v}.
[138] G.L., MS. 12806/2, fol. 45^{v}.

rosive problems the City and Christ's faced together: in the face of pressing numbers of applicants to the hospital, the abandonment of newborns and children on the streets of London was ultimately a more serious offense than the bearing of illegitimate children.

5. The Finances of the House and Relations with City Parishes

Throughout the Elizabethan period, City officials were continually preoccupied with the fact that old urban problems like destitution, crowding, alien immigration, unemployment, food shortages, idleness, crime, spiralling prices, and the spread of infectious diseases showed no signs of abating.[139] Perhaps because the fight against poverty and disorder grew more extensive and costly in the last decades of the century, citizens and civic officials sometimes felt they had little choice but to conclude that the hospitals added to London's social problems by drawing poor from elsewhere in England. In 1569, the Common Council reflected on the "experience" which showed that the City's array of systems designed to relieve the poor had, perversely, led to London's inundation with "great numbers of vagabonds, rogues, masterless men, and idle persons as also poor, lame, and sick persons in the most part of the realm."[140]

This analysis and others like it harmed the reputation of all the hospitals.[141] Yet Christ's Hospital was particularly susceptible to damage, owing in large part to its unsatisfactory fiscal organisation. The bulk of the endowments made in the royal grants rested with St. Bartholomew's and St. Thomas's. In the first decade of Christ's history, the rulers of the City tried to compensate the house for the costly job it did.[142] Governors of the hospital at times made loans and gifts to the house.[143] While the expectation that governors be generous in their

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[139] See, for example, *T.E.D.*, i, p. 325; *ibid.*, iii, pp. 415-420; C.L.R.O., Journal xxiv, fols. 322^{v}-323^{r}; Pettegree, *Foreign Protestant Communities*, pp. 284-286; Beier and Finlay, "The Significance of the Metropolis," pp. 18-19.

[140] C.L.R.O., Journal xix, fol. 164^{v}.

[141] G.L., MS. 12806/2, fol. 28.

[142] C.L.R.O., Rep. xiii, pt. 2, fols. 501, 504.

[143] For the earliest gifts, see G.L., MS. 12819/1, fol. 1^{r-v}.

own support of Christ's certainly helped the house through difficult times, the weight of these expectations was in some cases too much to bear. In August 1559, the court determined that those "governors that have longest and are least able to forbear their money prest to the hospital, should be first paid out of such legacies as shall be received from time to time."[144]

Nonetheless, the testamentary generosity of the governors, particularly in the form of bequests of land and property was an important source of secured revenue from the late 1560s onwards. By 1575, the hospital's property concerns included an annuity from Sir Thomas Gresham derived from the buildings of the Royal Exchange, in addition to tenements in Aldergate Street, Pie Corner, New Fish Street, and Woolstaple in Westminster, and various parts of properties bequeathed by Sir Martin Bowes, Sir Richard Dobbes, and numerous other officials.[145]

In the hospital's earliest years, of course, it had as yet few avenues of financial support. Acknowledging the "great necessity" of Christ's in April 1557, the aldermanic court ordered the governors of St. Bartholomew's to give Christ's £100 of its revenues from the Bridgehouse.[146] The government of the City also transferred properties and eventually in 1557 assigned Christ's a major share in the revenues of Blackwell Hall.[147] By the early 1570s, the treasurer of Christ's annually gave St. Bartholomew's Hospital £200 from the profits of Blackwell Hall.[148] The City also appears at least twice to have transferred to the hospital fees it imposed on citizens who refused shrieval office.[149] Scrutiners were empowered to separate legacies made for Christ's from those going to other hospitals, to keep account of bequests,

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[144] G.L., MS. 12806/1, fol. 20^{v}.

[145] G.L., MS. 12806/2, fols. 22^{r}, 29^{v}, 31^{r}, 33^{v}, 34^{v}-35^{r}, 39^{v}, 40^{v}, 45^{r}, 49^{r}, 50^{r-v}, 85; G.L., MS. 12819/2, fols. 2^{v}, 39^{r}, 51^{r}. For the Gresham's gift, shared with the other London hospitals and administered by the Mercers, see G.L., MS. 12816/1, no fol. number [5 July 1575]. For Dobbes' bequest to Christ's of the profits from the messuage called Somers Key, see P.R.O., P.C.C., 9 Ketchyn, 38.

[146] C.L.R.O., Rep. xiii, pt. 2, fol. 495; see also *ibid.*, fol. 572^{r-v}.

[147] C.L.R.O., Rep. xiii. pt. 2, fols. 505^{v}-506^{r}.

[148] S.B.H., HB1/2, fols. 142^{r}, 168^{r}, 181^{v}.

[149] G.L., MS. 12819/2, fol. 30. For earlier instances of the practice of avoiding civic office, see, for instance, Hall, *Chronicle*, p. 718.

and to pursue overdue grants to the house. City officials also relieved it of some obligations, like paying towards the pensions of residents of the City's lazar houses.[150]

Nonetheless, while funding for each of the hospitals of London was problematic, only Christ's had its fortunes tied so closely to parochial support and, to a lesser extent, benevolences from individuals and livery companies, legacies, poor box offerings, and ward collections.[151] Parishes that had healthy collections were expected to contribute to the upkeep of local children being raised at Christ's.[152] Churchmen and their subordinates were exhorted to remind their people of the good works done at Christ's, and the continuing need for charity there.[153]

The mainstay of support for Christ's came through parish collections; compulsory rating for these collections was not, however, introduced until the legislation of 1572.[154] Until that time, parish vestries structured voluntary collections, and in turn sent a percentage to Christ's. Dr. Ian Archer has estimated that in 1560 some 67% of the hospital's net income was comprised of parish collections: this source was undeniably important, but until 1573, it remained inherently unstable.[155] The question of parish collections threatened to sour relations between the parishes of the City and the government of Christ's. Money sent from parishes to Christ's was occasionally regarded by parish vestries as a diversion of funds badly needed in their own localities. Officials of the hospital, on the other hand, had to deal with parish vestries who withheld or delayed funding, but who were otherwise willing to send their orphaned children to the house for prolonged care.[156]

The national legislation of 1563 was an intermediate step towards regularising poor relief in London, and specifically in securing Christ's province over the disbursal of parochial col-

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[150] See, for example, G.L., MS. 12806/1, fols. 5^{r-v}, 7^{r}, 9^{v}, 10^{v}-11^{r}, 13^{r}, 16^{v}-17^{r}, 21^{v}; S.B.H., HB1/1, fol. 232^{r}.

[151] G.L., MS. 12806/2, fol. 3^{v}, 4^{r}, 5^{v}; see also, for example, G.L., MS. 12819/2, fols. 1^{v}-3^{v}, 50^{v}.

[152] G.L., MS. 12806/2, fol. 31^{v}.

[153] *Parl. Papers 1837*, xxxii, pt. 6, p. 350.

[154] *SR*, iv, pt. 1, p. 595, 14 Elizabeth I, ch. 5, sec. 29.

[155] Archer, *Pursuit of Stability*, p. 158.

[156] G.L., MS. 12806/1, fol. 37^{v}.

lections.[157] Because the hospital was accorded full discretionary powers to receive and redistribute the fruits of the collections, parish vestries were beholden to the rulers of Christ's for remittances from the collections.[158] The governors of Christ's first determined the needs of the hospital. They then responded to the petitions of parish officers regarding the particular needs of individual parishes.[159] In the case of St. Andrew's in Holborn, for example, representatives of the parish were granted near-autonomy in collecting and bestowing alms "faithfully...upon their poor in the parish."[160]

Because local needs were greatest in the extra-mural parishes, Christ's Hospital funneled much of the residue of the collections there.[161] For the parish of St. Botolph's in the ward of Bishopsgate, three of the governors personally supplemented the hospital's monthly remittance by 25*s*: the arrangement continued only as long as the thirty-six people receiving parish relief remained alive and in need.[162] The hospital also issued licenses to pensioners, and considered the petitions of parishes to license pensioners themselves.

The governors granted many pensions to sick, handicapped, widowed, and poor individuals, as well as to overburdened parents and people who took in nursing or sick children.[163] City officials were increasingly apt in the middle and latter parts of the century to recognize the "pauperising effects of sickness." For those already poor, sudden illness could mean ruin for a whole family; for those just above the ranks of poverty, the serious or lengthy sickness of the family's breadwinner was often a prelude to poverty. Pensions provided by the City's hospitals encompassed part of the "ubiquitous provision of outdoor relief in the form of finan-

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[157] *SR*, iv, pt. 1, p. 414, 5 Elizabeth I, ch. 3, sec. 14.

[158] C.L.R.O., Journal xviii, fol. 30.

[159] *SR*, iv, pt. 1, p. 414, 5 Elizabeth I, ch. 3, sec. 14; G.L., MS. 12806/1, fol. 45; Archer, *Pursuit of Stability*, pp. 63, 160-163.

[160] G.L., MS. 12806/2, fol. 34.

[161] G.L., MS. 12806/1, fol. 45; Archer, *Pursuit of Stability*, pp. 159-160.

[162] G.L., MS. 12806/1, fol. 45.

[163] See, for instance, G.L., MS. 12806/1, fols. 53^{r}-54^{v}, 60^{v}; Archer, *Pursuit of Stability*, pp. 159-160, citing G.L., MS. 4958/2, fols. 110^{v}, 111^{v}-112^{r}; G.L., MS. 1431/1, fol. 6.

cial support [provided] during periods of sickness."[164] Sometimes a pension was meant to tide an individual over until more suitable arrangements could be made for his or her care. In the case of a man living in Turnagain Lane in the summer of 1563, the governors of Christ's approved a pension of 8*d* a week "till God send him health or have gotten [him] into one of the hospitals."[165] In the fiscal year for 1565, hospital accounts record outlays of £107 3*s* 4*d*, "paid to succour divers poor in the time of the plague."[166] The government of the hospital and the parish vestries were mutually dependent. Until the laws of 1572 came into effect, rulers of Christ's were fully occupied both in making sure that metropolitan collections were thorough and honest, and in trying throughout the 1560s to reverse the trend of diminishing contributions to the collections.[167]

While the Act of 1563 established elaborate procedures of inquisition which dealt with those who completely refused to contribute to local collections for the poor, revenues from these collections did not stabilise until the Act of 1572.[168] The latter act secured the endowments of the hospitals.[169] Edward Dering, a Calvinist preacher, felt this was accomplished at the expense of moral responsibility; compulsory collections broke the chain connecting wealth and the moral imperatives to support the poor.[170]

Until 1572, however, the hospital's heavy reliance on (essentially) voluntary collections meant that the financial health of the house rested on many conditions beyond the governors' control. These were the soundness of the local economy, which was slow to recover from the depressed conditions civic officials despaired of at the beginning of Elizabeth's rule, and the

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[164] Margaret Pelling, "Illness Among the Poor in an Early-Modern English Town: The Norwich Census of 1570," in *Continuity and Change*, 3 (1988), p. 274.

[165] G.L., MS. 12806/2, no folio number [7 August 1563].

[166] G.L., MS. 12819/2, fol. 35.

[167] G.L., MS. 12806/1, fols. 42, 56.

[168] *SR*, iv, pt. 1, p. 414, 5 Elizabeth I, ch. 3, sec. 14; *Journals of the House of Lords* [hereafter *LJ*], 64 vols. (London: 1855), i, pp. 601-605; *CJ*, i, pp. 69-71.

[169] *SR*, iv, pt. 1, p. 605, 14 Elizabeth I, ch. 14; C.L.R.O., Rep. xvii, fol. 342; Geoffrey R. Elton, *The Parliament of England: 1559-1581* (Cambridge: 1989), pp. 269-270, 274 and note 291.

[170] Strype, *Annals*, ii, pp. 279-281; Jordan, *Philanthropy in England*, pp. 152-153.

view Londoners with disposable income took towards Christ's.[171] Questions which related to the effectiveness of the efforts of the City and its hospitals to keep City streets safe and clean therefore had special bearing on Christ's Hospital, as dissatisfied Londoners could directly register their overall disappointment by withholding regular support. Of course, not everyone who refused to give to the hospital did so to protest social policy. Many did not contribute, for reasons which ranged from obstinacy to near-poverty themselves.

Governors of Christ's would have felt relief that throughout the 1560s and early 1570s, support for the house remained constant in sources like legacies, benevolences, annuities, and revenues derived from lands left by citizens; each grew as a percentage of the net revenue of Christ's, while collections had shrunk to little more than one-third of the whole by 1570. Nonetheless, revenues from collections were the single largest component in the annual income of the hospital; they were usually followed by the revenues from cloth sales at Blackwell Hall, which fluctuated from year to year.[172]

In November 1560, the court of Christ's summoned parish officers to discuss the chronic problem of those "who have withdrawn their charity from the poor."[173] In the next month, parish deputies were instructed on how they might make collections more effective; they were also required to take down the names of those who withheld support from the poor, and those who had never given.[174] The rulers of Christ's then assumed responsibilities for questioning shirkers. On 13 June 1561, they reviewed several cases. Richard Thompson was a cook in the parish of St. Peter Cornhill. He had earlier pledged 6*d* weekly towards the relief of the poor, but had long since ceased to honour his promise. The court demanded that he resume, but Thompson "[did] stubbornly deny to give anything, and therefore is warned to appear before my Lord Mayor and his brethren [on] the next court day at the Guildhall."[175] The court

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[171] Wriothesley, *Chronicle*, ii, pp. 140-141.
[172] G.L., MS. 12819/2, *passim*.
[173] G.L., MS. 12806/1, fol. 37^{v}.
[174] G.L., MS. 12806/1, fols. 39^{v}, 42^{r}.
[175] G.L., MS. 12806/1, fol. 45^{v}.

recognised the mitigating circumstances, however, in the case of Valler the plumber. He too was far behind in his weekly grant of 6*d*, but the governors seemed content to overlook it, "for that (as he saith), he hath two children of his kindred out of the country to keep which do him good service."[176]

In general, the governors of Christ's seem to have been limited in the actions they could take against recusants: those dragged before the court might be cowed into compliance through the lectures of the governors, or the threat that their names would be published.[177] Actions harsher than stern words, threats of higher courts, or public disgrace were mainly reserved for those who broke pledges made specifically to Christ's: men were sent to ward or to Bridewell for failing to maintain support they had earlier pledged to the court for their dependents.[178]

The governors of the hospital perceived a public-relations problem by the early-1560s, when whole parishes regularly withheld or abbreviated payment of their collections to Christ's.[179] In his attempts to deal with these complications and restore confidence in the government of the hospitals, Christ's treasurer, John Jackson, acknowledged the problems hospitals had with non-native beggars and "light and common harlots and other poor women being great with child" whom the hospitals regularly admitted "for charity's sake."[180] The citizens showed their frustration in 1566: "notwithstanding as well the staff bearers in every parish and also the eight beadles whose duties are so neglected that without some order shortly taken in this behalf, the collections will still diminish."[181]

All hospitals and parishes relied on beadles to repel unlicensed beggars, and Christ's additionally looked to them to ensure that poor pregnant women from the provinces did not

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[176] G.L., MS. 12806/1, fol. 45^{v}.

[177] G.L., MS. 12806/2, fols. 1^{r}, 3^{v}, 40^{v}, 41^{r}, 45^{r}.

[178] For example, see G.L., MS. 12806/2, fols. 27^{v}, 34^{v}.

[179] The parishes which in July 1562 sent officials to answer discrepancies in forwarding their collections to Christ's were: St. Michael Paternoster Royal, St. Botulph's without Aldgate, St. Martin's in the Vintry, St. Mary Madeline's in Fish Street, St. Gregory's in Paul's Churchyard, and St. Sepulchre's. G.L., MS. 12806/1, fol. 58.

[180] G.L., MS. 12806/2, fol. 28 [1566].

[181] G.L., MS. 12806/2, fol. 28.

come to the City to find relief.[182] The court commanded the wardens of the Company of Watermen to avoid the "enormity" of transporting poor people into the City.[183] The hospital commissioned poor members of various parishes to keep their areas free of foreign beggars.[184] Furthermore, supernumerary watchmen were appointed to stand guard at ten of the City posterns to see that poor folk did not enter with children whom they would abandon.[185]

Regulating the activities of the beadles was a task the governors of Christ's coordinated for the other hospitals. In 1563, the court determined precisely which wards the beadles of each hospital would be responsible for patrolling. The beadles of Christ's covered five wards: Cheap, Cripplegate Within, Aldersgate, Farringdon Within, and the sections of Farringdon Without nearest St. Sepulchre's Parish.[186] Beadles were expected to make frequent walks, expel undesirables, and force frequenters of tippling houses to attend church on Sundays and holy days.[187] However, they often showed themselves to be unreliable--and not always much better behaved than the people they chased--, and the collections of Christ's suffered for their slackness.[188]

The solution attempted in 1566 by the governors was sensible but ultimately ineffectual. Staffbearers and beadles, to exhibit that they were not dilatory, were ordered to go to the houses of alms collectors each day between noon and 2PM, "and demand if aught for them be to do." This was in part an exercise in damage control, offering proof positive that "we the said governors have care for the reformation of that their complaints."[189] The hospital was reaching out to respond to the needs of the localities and parishes, which in turn were providing the financial backing for the house's operations. However, the complaints Londoners filed

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[182] *Parl. Papers 1837*, xxxii, pt. 6, pp. 354-355.
[183] G.L., MS. 12806/2, fol. 37.
[184] G.L., MS. 12806/1, fols. 8^{r}, 18^{v}, 22^{v}.
[185] G.L., MS. 12806/1, fol. 4; C.L.R.O., Rep. xiii, pt. 2, fol. 491.
[186] G.L., MS. 12806/2, fols. 15^{r}-16^{r}.
[187] G.L., 12806/2, fol. 38^{v}.
[188] G.L., MS. 12806/1, fols. 14^{v}, 41^{v}, 61^{v}; G.L., MS. 12806/2, fols. 15^{r}, 30^{v}, 50^{v}-51^{r}, 94^{r}.
[189] G.L., MS. 12806/2, fol. 28^{r}. In March 1569, each hospital appointed two additional beadles. G.L., MS. 12806/2, fol. 38^{v}.

against the hospital for negligent, wayward beadles and disorderly streets did not subside for long.[190]

6. Policies for Admissions, and the Problem of Abandonment

One of the earliest challenges the rulers of Christ's Hospital faced was to determine a rational, generous admissions policy that met the needs of orphans and children of poor families without creating an intolerable drain on civic or parish resources. Of immediate concern in 1556 was that hospital officials "forget not the good order of the house" when making decisions regarding the admission or dismissal of children.[191] The relationship which developed between the government of the hospital, the City, and London's parishes was complex and sometimes awkward in the twenty-five years after the opening of Christ's. Strains were most often felt in matters concerning the admission of children, and the consequential financial burdens the hospital passed on to outside agencies.

When the governors considered the procedures that would guide officers in questions of admittance, they sought in part to relay the fact that they were fighting to bring order to a near-chaotic situation. As long as poverty and disorder were common and conspicuous sights in London and its suburbs, the effectiveness of the whole system of hospitals was under indictment.[192] Christ's Hospital had to assume responsibility for a more specific problem: the abandonment of children within London.

In its first decade, the hospital government indicated that the house stood primarily to benefit the children of impoverished or deceased freemen of the City.[193] According to plans

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[190] G.L., MS/12806/1, fol. 30^{v}; G.L., MS. 12806/2, fols. 31^{v}, 46^{v}, 79^{r}.

[191] G.L., MS. 12806/1, fol. 2.

[192] It is interesting to note that the General Committee of the London Foundling Hospital established a lottery system used between 1742 and 1756, to ensure that children gained admission fairly and only in numbers which the foundation could sustain. See Ruth K. McClure, *Coram's Children: The London Foundling Hospital in the Eighteenth Century* (New Haven, Connecticut: 1981), pp. 77-78.

[193] G.L., MS. 12806/1, fols. 2^{r}-3^{v}.

enunciated in 1556, London-born children could be considered for admittance if they were "above the age of four...and in danger of present perishing." The final decision whether or not to admit a particular child rested with a panel of between four and six governors; however, the child's candidacy had to be backed either by an alderman or the deputy of a ward, and six of the "honesteth and substantialist persons of the parish from which the child cometh" would have to testify that the child was truly "destitute of all friends and parents."[194] These resolutions, deliberated amongst the governors, were made public the following year in the "Order of the Hospitals" published in 1557; this public declaration further specified that only legitimate children would be admitted.[195]

The governors were cognizant that this procedure should not be applied too rigidly, however. They left room for manoeuvering around "cases of extremity." Any child who would perish if denied entry would be taken in.[196] This was undeniably a civilised and compassionate proviso, but it struck at the heart of the standardised, well-regulated system of ordinary admittance the governors were trying to implement. With the number of infants and toddlers abandoned on the City's streets, the house often had no real way of ascertaining whether or not a child was legitimate. For example, a boy was brought in from Southwark; it was suspected he was illegitimate, but with a financial contribution from the parishioners, he was admitted to Christ's.[197] When governors turned a blind eye to their own edicts they inevitably raised an unanswerable question: did the willingness of hospital officials to relieve children *in extremis* whose parents did not meet residence or social requirements encourage other desperate souls--from London and the provinces--to leave their children before the gates of Christ's, placing the children's lives and futures at the mercy of the governors?

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[194] G.L., MS. 12806/1, fols. 2^{r}-3^{v}, 64^{r}.
[195] *Parl. Papers 1837*, xxxii, pt. 6, p. 347.
[196] *Parl. Papers 1837*, xxxii, pt. 6, p. 347.
[197] G.L., MS. 12806/1, fol. 51^{v}.

The problems arising from the abandonment of children were ancient and universal.[198] As in many other instances, the governors of the hospitals of London could look to Florence for trailblazing efforts and telling experiences in the rescuing and raising of abandoned children. Carolingian and later medieval foundling homes in Milan, Rome, and Florence were created in response to widespread problems of infanticide and abandonment of children.[199] The Hospital of Santa Maria degl'Innocenti, founded in 1410, served foundlings exclusively, and older hospitals in the city treated sick infants among their patients.[200] Children taken into these hospitals might later be placed in foster homes, or might find service in Tuscan households.[201] Like the children of Christ's, inmates of the Innocenti became to some extent a pool of cheap labour for nearby artisans and craftsmen.[202]

The creation of the Innocenti responded to a real need in Florence, and demands on the hospital were unremittingly heavy for the next century. By the sixteenth century, parents driven to abandon a child apparently felt confident that municipal hospitals in Florence offered their offspring a reasonable opportunity to survive and thrive. Newborn babies were sent to the countryside to the attentions of a wet nurse, a procedure Christ's would follow at Finsbury Court. The rulers of both the Innocenti and Christ's reasoned that country air was presumed healthy for the children, and newborns and infants were best segregated from older children in case they entered the hospital with infections or communicable diseases. These were sound conclusions, but in the case of the Innocenti, the infant mortality rate was higher than in other

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[198] See John Boswell, *The Kindness of Strangers: The Abandonment of Children in Western Europe from Late Antiquity to the Renaissance* (New York: 1988), *passim*.

[199] Richard C. Trexler, "Infanticide in Florence: New Sources and First Results," in *The History of Childhood Quarterly: The Journal of Psychohistory*, 1, no.1 (1973), pp. 99-100.

[200] Philip Gavitt, "Charity and Children in Renaissance Florence: The Ospedale degli Innocenti, 1410-1536," (Unpublished Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Michigan: 1988), pp. 47-80; David Herlihy and Christiane Klapisch-Zuber, *Tuscans and their Families: A Study of the Florentine Catasto of 1427* (New Haven, Connecticut: 1985), p. 145.

[201] Boswell, *The Kindness of Strangers*, pp. 416-417, and note 58; Richard C. Trexler, "The Foundlings of Florence, 1395-1455," in *The History of Childhood Quarterly: The Journal of Psychohistory*, 1, no. 2 (1973), p. 261.

[202] Boswell, *The Kindness of Strangers*, pp. 420-421.

sectors of society precisely because so many infants were crowded together amidst filth and the absence of medicines.[203] When compared with the mortality rate of infants at other continental hospitals, including the Innocenti, the numbers for Christ's were low. In part, this was due to the fact that Christ's cared for a smaller percentage of newborns. Of all the children under the age of one admitted between 1563 and 1583, only one-seventh were less than one month old.[204]

Hospitals like the Innocenti developed in urban centres in southern and northern Europe over the next century. The problems associated with them were outweighed by the services they performed. While their existence probably did lead more poor people than previously to the cities to divest themselves of their unwanted children, they did not in themselves encourage the practice of abandonment: that practice had long existed, and medieval children abandoned probably had slimmer chances of being found, taken in, and adequately cared for. For the cities themselves, foundling hospitals removed children from the streets, and when the children were eventually presented for public scrutiny, they appeared more properly as baptized, obedient, well-groomed children, geared for indentures as servants and apprentices.

Comparisons with the Innocenti may only be taken so far, though. Whatever the reality, the governors of Christ's would have bristled at the suggestion they ran a home for foundlings. They enshrined rules limiting the eligibility of children born of unmarried or non-native (*i.e.* non-London) parents. Yet by the end of the century, fully one-tenth of the children admitted were foundlings, and the City's efforts to restrict non-Londoners from forcing their children on Christ's Hospital met with only mixed results.[205]

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[203] Boswell, *The Kindness of Strangers*, pp. 416-423; David Herlihy, *Medieval and Renaissance Pistoia: The Social History of an Italian Town*, (New Haven, Connecticut: 1967), p. 91; Howes, "A Familiar and Friendly Discourse," pp. 10-13.

[204] Philip Gavitt, *Charity and Children in Renaissance Florence: The Ospedale degli Innocenti, 1410-1536* (Ann Arbor, Michigan: 1990), p. 222; Carole Cunningham, "Infant and Child Mortality in the Sixteenth Century," in *Local Population Studies*, 18 (1977), pp. 37-40; see also Katharine Park, "The Renaissance Hospital," in *FMR*, 8 (Jan./Feb. 1985), pp. 132-133.

[205] Archer, *Pursuit of Stability*, p. 157.

The desertion of children was a problem for the governors of Christ's from its earliest days. The journals of the City record the first abandoned child taken into Christ's in September 1554: the infant, found on the porch of St. Pancras, was to be "nourished up [at Christ's] at the City's charge."[206] The Hospital's records of admissions are incomplete and sporadic before 1563, but it would not be an exaggeration to suggest that in the late 1550s, as many as one-quarter of the children admitted appear to have been abandoned.[207] Despite proscriptions from both City and hospital leaders, the abandonment of children on the streets of the City was a commonplace occurrence throughout the first three decades of Christ's history.[208]

The problem had two aspects: parents or guardians who left children where they would be found and brought to shelter at Christ's, and "carriers which daily bring children to this City, and leave them in the streets."[209] Not all children taken off the streets had been abandoned simply to gain them admission to Christ's. Records show older children (mostly in their teens), wandering "succourless" through the streets: perhaps they had come to London in search of employment that eluded them, or perhaps their parents died and no guardians stepped forward.[210] Other children shared in the tragedies of their parents. A boy was taken in by the governors in 1567; he had nearly starved after his father, a vagabond, had died.[211] A six-month-old baby was taken away from her mother, "lying in the streets."[212] Isabel Peters lived on the streets after her mother had been hanged at Tyburn in 1565, and two years later a very young boy was rescued from his deranged mother, who was herself removed to Bethlem.[213]

These last two children represent extreme cases, however. Most children were deposited where they would be found. Typically, they were left at the gates of the hospital, in the stalls

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[206] C.L.R.O., Rep. xiii, fol. 197^{v}; Pearce, *Annals of Christ's Hospital*, p. 35.
[207] G.L., MS. 12806/1, *passim*.
[208] Machyn, *Diary*, p. 119.
[209] G.L., MS. 12806/1, fol. 4.
[210] G.L., MS. 12806/1, fol. 61^{v}; MS. 12806/2, fols. 22^{r}, 22^{v}, 26^{r}, 35^{v}.
[211] G.L., MS. 12806/2, fol. 32^{v}.
[212] G.L., MS. 12806/1, fol. 48.
[213] G.L., MS. 12806/2, fols. 23, 32.

and pews of churches, inside the hospital compound, or at the doorsteps of the City fathers and hospital governors. Children left in particularly strategic areas, such as outside the homes of important personages, may well have had parents who knew London thoroughly enough to secure proper attention for their children.[214] Other children deserted on the streets would presumably have been left by the 'carriers' from locales beyond London, who forsook children hastily, and then fled.[215] It was these carriers whom the governors sought to exclude from the City, and citizens like Robert Albert, who apprehended Elizabeth Reme in the process of leaving a three-year-old girl on a street near London Bridge, might be rewarded by the court at Christ's for their vigilance.[216]

Rulers of the hospital swiftly realised that there were simply not enough vigilant citizens or trustworthy patrol officers to begin to bring this situation under control. The best they could do was show compassion to the children. Few could fail to be moved by infants forsaken at the doorsteps of philanthropists and politicians. Infants were given evocative names like Jane Steps, Jane Woodhouse, Jane Nicholas (found in Sancti Nicholas Lane in 1562), and Blunt Milkstreet (an unfortunate conflation of the road where she was left, and the name of the man [Mr. Blunt] who took the child to Christ's) to remind them of their origins, and to remind others of the humanity of their rescuers.[217] Children who had reached the age of reason might be questioned as to their origins and the whereabouts of their parents, or outsiders might be contracted to investigate, and searches would proceed from there.[218]

Parents or guardians exposed as having deserted children could expect to be dealt with ruthlessly. Some unfortunates were used to set an example of the dire consequences of abandonment. In 1556, a woman named Morton, from Southwark, was, by order of the Lord

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[214] See, for example, G.L., MS. 12806/1, fols. 11^{v}, 21^{r}, 29^{v}, 31^{v}; MS. 12806/2, fols. 17^{v}, 19^{v}, 24^{r}, 26^{v}, 29^{r}, 33^{v}, 34^{r}, 35^{v}, 43^{v}.

[215] See, for example, G.L., MS. 12806/1, fols. 14^{r}, 18^{v}, 19^{v}, 45^{r}; MS. 12806/2, fols. 27^{v}, 32^{r}, 38^{r}.

[216] G.L., MS. 12806/1, fol. 5.

[217] G.L., MS. 12806/1, fols. 26^{v}, 60^{r}, 60^{v}; MS. 12806/2, fol. 43^{v}.

[218] G.L., MS. 12806/2, fols. 17^{v}, 29^{r}.

Mayor, whipped at Bridewell for leaving her child on the streets. From there, she was "sent unto the governors of Christ's Hospital for further reformation." They sent her to the pillory in Chepe, with a paper hat on which was embossed her crime for all to see: "Whipped at Bridewell for leaving and forsaking her child in the streets." Then she was returned to Southwark and banished from the City.[219] Other parents suffered similar punishments, and while some seemed to have been spared a whipping, most endured public censure and ultimate banishment from the metropolis.[220]

The proliferation of instances of child abandonment after 1552 signalled many deep problems. Forsaking a child was the ultimate act of despondency for all but the most irresponsible creatures. It may have resulted from the shame of bearing and raising an illegitimate child; it certainly was the ultimate cry against poverty unmitigated by poor relief, social welfare, or the support of family. For the governors of Christ's, the attendant problems were serious and persistent. At the heart of the situation, the leadership of the City was unable to cleanse the streets of poverty. In addition, the failure of officials to eliminate the practice of abandonment imperiled the goals of the governors of Christ's to maintain an orderly policy of admission.

As with each of the other City hospitals, Christ's early in its history attempted to cap the number of patients who could be in residence at a given time. In 1556, the governors determined that part of the task of the under-treasurers was to see that the numbers should not rise above 400.[221] The number of suckling children "committed to nurse" was not to be above 150, and the number of children admitted "for lodging and learning" was not to exceed 250.[222] Infants sent out to wet nurses generally were placed in parishes in Hertfordshire and Essex,

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[219] G.L., MS. 12806/1, fol. 4^{v}; Kingdon, *Richard Grafton*, p. 99.
[220] G.L., MS. 12806/2, fols. 17^{v}, 26^{v}, 33^{v}, 34^{r}, 38^{r}.
[221] G.L., MS. 12806/2, fol. 2.
[222] G.L., MS. 12806/1, fol. 3^{v}.

though some were kept in London. Less frequently, children were sent farther afield to nurse, even to a setting as distant as Great Yarmouth in Norfolk, some 135 miles from the capital.[223]

In 1558, the general court of the hospitals ruled that only governors acting as almoners could freely admit patients, in order that "the same houses shall not be pestered, and that the true knowledge of the numbers and charges may be known."[224] In 1563, the hospital began to keep detailed records of the number of children in residence, and from then until 1573, Christ's exceeded the numerical target only twice in the yearly checks, in 1567/8 and 1572/3.[225] The number of patients generally remained at or below 400 because of the house's ability to find places for the sturdier children as apprentices, and because the death-rate was steep in several of the years.[226]

The governors of the hospital also made decisions as to whether a child would be better cared for within the house, or if it would do better elsewhere, as for instance with a hired nurse, with a guardian or foster parents, or in the keeping of one or both of its parents receiving financial assistance from Christ's. In this way, Jane Hill, one of the sisters of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, received 6*d* weekly to care for her son, Edmund.[227] Children like Edmund Hill may never have physically entered the hospital: the two-year-old son of a deceased cook was, in December 1562, admitted only to be immediately returned to the care of his mother. For other children like him, the formal admissions procedure may simply have assured their parents of receiving a hospital pension.[228]

Finding parents or guardians capable or willing to assume such responsibilities happened only occasionally, however. The hospital sometimes became involved when children were misused by their guardians. The wife of Robert Hill of St. Alban's took seven-year-old Robert

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[223] Valerie Fildes, "The English Wet Nurse and Her Role in Infant Care, 1538-1800," in *Medical History*, 32 (1988), p. 153.

[224] G.L., MS. 12806/1, fol. 17^{v}.

[225] G.L., MS. 12819/2, fols. 47^{v}, 83^{r}.

[226] See Appendix III, pp. 370-371, below.

[227] G.L., MS. 12806/1, fol. 19.

[228] G.L., MS. 12806/1, fols. 60^{v}, 62^{r}.

Miller into her home; she also took control of the goods that had been left for his use. However, in June 1561 she stood before the court at Christ's accused of casting Robert down the stairs and breaking his neck.[229] Still, when foster-care arrangements did prove feasible and pacific, governors were generally satisfied with the outcome: arrangements of this nature helped reduce the strains of crowding within the hospital, and certainly proved less expensive than full maintenance of a child would be within Christ's.[230] Nonetheless, the number of children sent out to nurse, both at Finsbury Court and at private residences, grew large, and in 1560, the governors demanded a book be kept detailing where and when such pensions were paid.[231]

Children were admitted to Christ's Hospital in a number of different ways. Parishes most commonly sent children to Christ's, and depending on the situation of the parish, the vestry might continue to support the child.[232] The City may also have felt some responsibility for the soldiers and their children returning from the lost outpost of Calais, as several orphaned or otherwise distressed children from there were admitted or sustained by pensions in the four years that followed Queen Mary's war against France.[233] Another path of entry was through the patronage of an important person, typically a governor of one of the London hospitals, an alderman, courtier, or churchman. Important officers like Sir William Chester, Sir Thomas White, Sir Thomas Offley, or Sir Martin Bowes could have individuals admitted on the power of a personal bill, whereas notable patrons such as Sir Walter Mildmay, Elizabeth, Countess of Shrewsbury, Lady Cecil, Sir John and Lady Gresham, or Lady Pallet might petition the governors directly, often promising allowances to help Christ's keep the

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[229] The case was not resolved in the Governor's Minute Book. G.L., MS. 12806/1, fol. 46.
[230] For example, see G.L., MS. 12806/2, fols. 28^{v}, 29^{r}, 37^{r}, 43^{r}, 43^{v}, 46^{v}, 58^{v}.
[231] G.L., MS. 12806/1, fol. 37.
[232] See, for example, G.L., MS. 12806/1, fol. 18^{v}.
[233] G.L., MS. 12806/1, fols. 13^{v}, 14^{v}, 19^{v}, 20^{v}, 21^{r}, 25^{r}, 26^{r}, 27^{r}, 42^{v}, 43^{r}, 44^{r}, 53^{r}, 55^{v}, 58^{v}.

child in question.[234] Personal requests from the social and political elite would have been hard to ignore, and their volume did not diminish in the last quarter of the century.[235]

Children were also admitted who had the support of ordinary citizens. When the nephew of Mr. Sutton, a leatherseller, was admitted in 1559, Sutton promised the hospital he would double the 2*d* weekly contribution he already gave regularly.[236] In September 1561, a barber surgeon gave the hospital 40*s* in support of a boy admitted.[237] When and where it could, the court of the governors elicited promises of child-support for a resident, as well as promises that if a child's stay were to be temporary, he or she would have someone to receive them upon discharge from Christ's.[238] Joan Simpson, a widow from Chigwell, Essex, made provisions that £20 from her estate be left to Christ's Hospital, on condition "that mine idiot Juliana Hearre shall first be admitted into the said hospital." The girl's apparel and expenses were to be covered by the bequest. Perhaps worried that Juliana's disability might make her either a difficult or permanent inmate, she was admitted for a trial period of just under one month in June 1563.[239]

Children whose parents or older siblings were admitted to one of the other hospitals were sometimes admitted to Christ's.[240] Similarly, Christ's also passed some diseased children on to the other hospitals.[241] The governors sometimes found places for children cured in one of the other hospitals.[242] The exchange of patients from one hospital to another was at times a sensitive subject, since Christ's, St. Bartholomew's, and St. Thomas's all had to cope with

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[234] See, for example, G.L., MS. 12806/1, fols. 11^{r}, 12^{r}, 14^{r}, 27^{v}, 31^{v}, 59^{v}, 64^{v}, 65^{r}; MS. 12806/2 fols. 7^{v}, 18^{r}, 21^{v}, 23^{r}, 36^{r}, 41^{r}; MS. 12819/2, fols. 23^{r}, 50^{v}.

[235] Archer, *Pursuit of Stability*, p. 157.

[236] G.L., MS. 12806/1, fol. 21.

[237] G.L., MS. 12806/1, fol. 51.

[238] For example, see G.L., MS. 12806/2, fols. 21, 24, 26, 27, 44.

[239] G.L., MS. 12806/2, fol. *c*16 [27 June 1563].

[240] G.L., MS. 12806/1, fols. 15^{r}, 19^{v}, 20^{r}, 20^{v}, 21^{r}, 28^{v}, 40^{r}, 41^{r}, 61^{r}; MS. 12806/2, fols. 2^{v}, 3^{r}, 20^{r}, 43^{v}.

[241] G.L., MS. 12806/1, fols. 26^{v}, 29^{r}.

[242] G.L., MS. 12806/1, fols. 29^{r}, 30^{r}, 32^{v}, 33^{v}, 34^{r}, 36^{v}, 40^{r}, 48^{r}, 54^{v}, 55^{v}.

large patient-loads. The transfer of patients was properly handled with warrants between governors of the two houses involved.[243]

An obvious, yet not frequently mentioned route of entry in Christ's was illness or disability. The registers of the hospital note the admission of blind and lame children, a girl stricken with the falling sickness, as well as children needing treatment for sore heads or parasitic infections of the head.[244] Brian Maperly was admitted for surgery to treat his lame leg; Richard Cappe, a plasterer, and his wife promised to take care of the seven-year-old once he was discharged.[245] On 11 February 1570, Elizabeth Edwards was engaged by the governors to look after children suffering from sore mouths or heads.[246]

Regular treatments were provided by the nurses and barber surgeons. Nurses and keepers of the wards were under the supervision of the Matron. Their tasks included keeping their wards "sweet and clean," and the children properly bathed and protected against colds and minor ailments. Nurses were ordered to spend what free time they had engaged in "virtuous exercise[s]" such as spinning, sewing, and mending of sheets and shirts. Their behaviour was to be decorous, and they were not to have suitors without notifying either the matron or the almoners.[247] Barber surgeons would have treated more complicated health problems. John Cook, the barber surgeon of Christ's in August 1570, was apparently an especially skillful practitioner; after he was granted "full recompense of the curing [of] such children as before this present he hath had," he was also appointed "between this and Our Lady's Day in Lent to serve in the place of the surgeon."[248]

References to other ailments were vague. Children were taken in "very sick" or weak, suggesting that the nature of their illness initially may have been a mystery even to the

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[243] See above, Chapter VIII, pp. 261-262.
[244] G.L., MS. 12806/1, fol. 22; MS. 12806/2, fols. 24^{v}, 26^{r}, 32^{v}, 33^{v}, 35^{v}, 40^{r}, 43^{r}.
[245] G.L., MS. 12806/1, fol. 22.
[246] G.L., MS. 12806/2, fol. 47^{v}.
[247] *Parl. Papers 1837*, xxxii, pt. 6, p. 353.
[248] G.L., MS. 12806/2, fol. 62.

experts.[249] In June 1564, the hospital granted an allowance to Father Garloppe to investigate the sickness of a child.[250] The hospital's support of sick children may have extended beyond routine care for inmates: in December 1564, the governors seemed resolved to pay the fees of Jasper Vandall, a surgeon who cut and healed William Lewis. William Lewis, senior, was too poor to pay Vandall himself. Vandall had apparently acted out of compassion, for had he not treated the child, the boy would have died. Only later did Vandall submit his claim to the hospital.[251]

The search for evidence regarding the treatment and care received by the children of Christ's is a compelling but elusive quest. By the mid-1570s, the hospital had rescued thousands of children from miserable futures of wandering the streets aimlessly; it also saved many from imminent death. Governors expressed concerns that the environment in which the children were brought up was neat and clean, that their food be prepared properly, and that discipline be moderate but uniform.[252] Care was taken that water supplies be maintained for sanitation, particularly in the sick ward.[253]

For some children, the kindnesses of the house extended into their adulthood, as when a former inmate was granted a weekly pension to support herself and her two children while her husband lay ill and penniless.[254] But beyond that, the records and accounts yield little. Were the children treated with kindness and affection? Did the hospital employees who saw them most often give them the emotional security and warmth they otherwise must have lacked? Were they coached in the immutable common sense and universal and durable brand of good manners which could one day help to smooth their passage into the unfamiliar, cold world that awaited beyond the gates of their safe haven? After the passage of centuries, any attempts to

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[249] See, for example, G.L., MS. 12806/2, fols. 21^{r}, 39^{v}.

[250] G.L., MS. 12806/2, fol. 19^{v}.

[251] G.L., MS. 12806/2, fol. 23.

[252] For items concerning the procurement and preparation of food, see, for example, G.L., MS. 12806/1, fols. 12^{r}, 41^{v}; MS. 12819/2, fols. 8^{v}, 13^{v}.

[253] G.L., MS. 12819/2, fols. 21^{v}, 35^{r}, 39^{r}.

[254] G.L., MS. 12806/2, fol. 47.

answer these questions would be based largely on conjecture, but the frustrating absence even of hints about the milieu rulers, officers, and youth together created leaves a very important part of the personal history of the children of Christ's forever obscured in silence.

At the close of the sixteenth century, the governors of Christ's Hospital noted that the "other hospitals spend the profit of their lands upon foul persons but very little upon citizens and Londoners." The tradition of Christ's was very different from those of the other urban hospitals, and approaching the fiftieth anniversary of its foundation, its rulers could look back upon a history of important service for the City's infants and children. The services provided were varied, and included the nursing, rehabilitation, apprenticeship, and education of hundreds of London's most helpless inhabitants. The job done at Christ's was a difficult and important one, and one which occasioned wide-spread pride in the institution: it was also a costly task, demanding continued support from the citizenry and the Corporation.[255]

By the 1590s, supporting Christ's Hospital placed heavy strains on civic generosity, as well as on the material resources of the house itself.[256] The burdens the house placed on the mechanisms of poor relief within the City were even more onerous. It was the largest of the London hospitals, and the one which natives and foreigners alike chose to compare with contemporary institutions on the continent. The numbers of children it attracted, and the tasks it performed both multiplied throughout the seventeenth century.[257] Nonetheless, when Thomas Jacomb commented on the qualities of mercy and compassion during the Interregnum period, he said that "mercy to the poor runs very low." Recalling the generosity of his generation's antecedents, he evoked their bounty and charity, of which "we have standing monuments

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[255] G.L., MS. 12806/3, fol 40.

[256] Fiona C. Howell, "Christ's Hospital and its Children: 1590-1599," (Unpublished Undergraduate Thesis, Oxford: 1986), p. 7.

[257] Craig Rose, "Politics and the London Royal Hospitals, 1683-1692," in *The Hospital in History*, Lindsay Granshaw and Roy Porter, eds. (London: 1989), p. 125.

of...in colleges [and] hospitals."[258] One such monument which by that time had come to represent comfort and enlightenment brought to the helpless poor was Christ's Hospital of London.

[258] Thomas Jacomb, *God's Mercy for Man's Mercy* (London: 1657), pp. 14-16.

CONCLUSION

For all the pride of Londoners--be they officials, chroniclers, or ordinary citizens--in the mid- and late-sixteenth century responses to indigence and sickness within the City, no real assertion was made that the hospitals had tamed the problems of poverty. This reticence was justified, for poverty in London endured as a stubborn and pervasive problem well into the seventeenth century. If success cannot be measured in terms of the complete eradication of deprivation, homelessness, and unchecked immigration, it can perhaps be found in less absolute criteria. Most notably, and with only a few real exceptions, order was upheld throughout the City, even during crisis periods such as the food shortages of the 1590s. In no small part, the essential stability of later Elizabethan London was anchored in a strong tradition of an active City government supported by local institutions and an expanding network of poor relief services.

These services, of which the hospitals of London were a central part, were the product of an evolving national poor relief system. This system, as described by Dr. A.L. Beier and others, was perhaps the first in Europe to be nationally comprehensive, and was grounded in Parliamentary legislation which established positive distinctions between those who declined employment and those who could not find work or were not capable of sustaining themselves or their dependents. Poor relief was carried out most fully at the parish level, and was supported by mandated compulsory poor-rates, and mobilized by a growing volume of private charity. While the milestone Poor Laws of 1572 were national in their perspectives, they were braced by numerous initiatives of various towns and cities; independent actions taken by London and provincial towns included the building and maintaining of hospitals and almshouses, conducting censuses of the poor, and implementing a variety of work schemes.[1]

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[1] Beier, *The Problem of the Poor in Tudor and Stuart England*, p. 4; Jordan; *Philanthropy in England*, pp. 87-88; Archer, *Pursuit of Stability*, p. 182.

In 1582, when John Howes published his account of the early history of the hospitals of London, he urged the present-day governors to take stock of the growth of the institutions over the past thirty-five years. If they were to continue in the tradition of "great good service" to the poor of the City, hospital rulers must know the past, even as "the physician can never cure his patient except he first examine the ground of his disease."[2] For Howes and the generations of commentators that followed him, the new hospitals of London had risen like a phoenix from the ashes of monastic foundations. They were creations uniquely of their time. The City began its fight to gain control of some of the properties of the old charitable institutions of the church at a time in the late 1530s and early 1540s when it was discovering that its own resources were inadequate in meeting the needs of the sick and the poor. Beyond these practical concerns, many of the leaders of the City at the end of Henry VIII's reign and throughout the reign of Edward VI were infused with idealism carried into the capital by the waves of religious controversies. When Howes reflected on the reign of Edward VI, he saw a unique and felicitous confluence of circumstances: a visionary king surrounded by ministers sympathetic to social reform and eager to make concessions to the rulers of London, church leaders of the new faith who were effective advocates for the causes of the poor, and a strong line of compassionate civic leaders. Five hospitals were then established in London, and the support they gradually built up within the polity was sufficiently strong to begin a tradition of popular support--both moral and material--for the houses, eventually allowing them even to surmount official displeasure in the following reign.

Like any human institutions born of such high expectations, the hospitals of London were probably not all their creators and early sponsors had hoped they would be. They did relieve the pressures the poor placed on the citizens and on other metropolitan and parochial institutions, but never did they come close to eliminating these problems. But the ambitions of the rulers of the hospitals were many, even if they were circumscribed by scant resources and

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[2] Howes, "A Familiar and Friendly Discourse," p. ii.

limited space. The hospitals directly linked the urban elite with practical efforts to heal the sick and house the poor. The hospitals encouraged Londoners to think of urban problems not simply in terms of their own parishes, neighbourhoods, or wards; poverty, itinerancy, and suffering were starkly presented as City-wide problems, and the hospitals were City-wide responses. There was broad acceptance of this reality: as Dr. Ian Archer has argued, even though poor rates remained static for much of the reign of Elizabeth I, the private charity urged by churchmen and aldermen alike rose to meet the challenges of the City.[3]

Historians have for some time convincingly argued that acceptance of individual responsibilities was not a notion unique to English Protestantism: the medieval church had longstanding, pungent arguments demanding that both donors and recipients of charity acknowledge mutual obligations and benefits implicit in the acts of giving and receiving. The post-Reformation hospitals of London, in theory if not always in practice, fructified the ideal of reciprocal duties and rewards of charity. The poor person fortunate enough to find a place within a hospital was admitted to an environment that promised quiet and stability, access to professional medical treatment, and surroundings and attendants that promoted concepts of obedience, industriousness, and orderly deportment.

Only the most idealistic Londoners could have imagined that mere exposure to this environment would in itself transform the behaviour of a poor inmate: the realisation was spreading by the end of the century that all, even most, of the problems of the poor were not of their own making, and were largely beyond their control. The rulers of the hospitals never promised that they would turn the non-criminals into productive, contributing citizens over the course of a relatively short stay; that was altogether beyond their powers. Bridewell was the short-lived exception to this; and what began as a centre of rehabilitation for troublemakers, idlers, pimps, and prostitutes, ultimately became a garrison of correction and detention. The other hospitals of London were, for all their limitations, oases of compassion and relief for

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[3] Archer, *Pursuit of Stability*, p. 182.

orphans, elderly people, and sick men and women. And as these people were removed from the streets, or were taken off the hands of overburdened friends and family-members, the hospitals won the sanction of Londoners by making life in the City somewhat easier, more habitable, and less unseemly.

APPENDIX I

Patients and Dieters in St. Thomas's Hospital: 1566 - 1571

Date	Number of Patients	Number of Dieters
23 September 1566	111	30
14 October 1566	102	30
21 October 1566	110	30
4 November 1566	116	30
11 November 1566	120	30
2 December 1566	111	30
9 December 1566	140	30
16 December 1566	129	30
30 December 1566	134	30
13 January 1567	140	33
20 January 1567	143	34
27 January 1567	142	33
10 February 1567	147	34
24 February 1567	156	35
3 March 1567	157	43
10 March 1567	157	44
17 March 1567	160	44
7 April 1567	155	46
21 April 1567	150	49
28 April 1567	154	52
5 May 1567	142	51
12 May 1567	147	52
26 May 1567	127	50
2 June 1567	130	50
9 June 1567	132	54
16 June 1567	113	51
23 June 1567	118	54
30 June 1567	113	53
7 July 1567	117	55
14 July 1567	115	54
21 July 1567	117	54
28 July 1567	112	54
4 August 1567	105	53
11 August 1567	103	53
25 August 1567	99	51
13 October 1567	102	41
20 October 1567	102	48
27 October 1567	111	44
3 November 1567	112	49
10 November 1567	106	46
17 November 1567	120	49
24 November 1567	121	54
1 December 1567	122	52

Date	Number of Patients	Number of Dieters
8 December 1567	130	59
15 December 1567	131	59
5 January 1568	141	66
19 January 1568	130	70
26 January 1568	131	71
16 February 1568	134	74
1 March 1568	143	80
8 March 1568	142	83
15 March 1568	142	80
22 March 1568	142	80
29 March 1568	144	80
10 May 1568	141	80
24 May 1568	145	87
31 May 1568	149	88
21 June 1568	136	80
28 June 1568	130	--
5 July 1568	121	76
12 July 1568	118	65
19 July 1568	121	68
26 July 1568	114	65
16 August 1568	104	54
30 August 1568	103	--
20 September 1568	98	49
27 September 1568	110	59
11 October 1568	109	61
25 October 1568	115	60
8 November 1568	133	63
22 November 1568	140	66
29 November 1568	152	72
13 December 1568	161	84
3 January 1569	178	87
17 January 1569	198	87
31 January 1569	197	86
14 February 1569	202	52
7 March 1569	203	125
14 March 1569	200	129
28 March 1569	204	119
2 April 1569	196	123
2 May 1569	183	104
16 May 1569	157	97
8 June 1569	143	77
27 June 1569	134	74
4 July 1569	138	80
11 July 1569	139	80
23 July 1569	133	83
27 July 1569	125	53
22 August 1569	103	68
29 August 1569	96	40
5 September 1569	93	41
12 September 1569	102	41

Date	Number of Patients	Number of Dieters
19 September 1569	102	39
26 September 1569	100	38
3 October 1569	97	--
10 October 1569	103	39
17 October 1569	120	48
24 October 1569	138	45
31 October 1569	149	40
12 December 1569	195	84
19 December 1569	189	84
16 January 1570	198	79
23 January 1570	198	77
30 January 1570	202	83
13 February 1570	186	70
20 February 1570	177	68
27 February 1570	174	45
10 April 1570	160	51
17 April 1570	162	52
8 May 1570	157	51
22 May 1570	148	57
29 May 1570	130	58
12 June 1570	119	47
19 June 1570	125	52
26 June 1570	124	52
10 July 1570	125	51
24 July 1570	117	48
14 August 1570	103	59
28 August 1570	93	43
4 September 1570	95	--
18 September 1570	106	44
25 September 1570	108	33
2 October 1570	107	33
9 October 1570	108	34
16 October 1570	107	39
23 October 1570	113	42
6 November 1570	114	37
13 November 1570	110	34
20 November 1570	118	36
27 November 1570	116	37
4 December 1570	119	41
11 December 1570	118	38
18 December 1570	120	43
3 January 1571	132	54
15 January 1571	137	54
22 January 1571	142	61
5 February 1571	140	57
12 February 1571	148	55
19 February 1571	152	63
5 March 1571	154	66
12 March 1571	154	65
19 March 1571	151	62

Date	Number of Patients	Number of Dieters
24 March 1571	150	74
2 April 1571	133	63
9 April 1571	132	66
23 April 1571	111	52
30 April 1571	107	65
21 May 1571	108	51
3 June 1571	106	56[1]

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[1] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A1/2, fols. 48v, 50, 50v, 51, 52, 52v, 53v, 54, 54v, 55, 55v, 56, 57, 57v, 58v, 59, 60, 61, 61v, 62v, 63, 63v, 64, 64v, 65, 65v, 66, 66v, 67, 67v, 68, 68v, 69, 70, 71, 72, 72v, 73, 73v, 74, 75, 75v, 76, 76v, 77, 78, 78v, 79, 79v, 80, 80v, 81v, 82, 82v, 83, 84, 85, 86, 86v, 87, 87v, 88, 88v, 89, 89v, 90v; H1/ST/A1/3, fols. 1v, 2, 3, 4, 4v, 5, 6v, 7, 8, 8v, 9, 11, 11v, 12v, 13, 14v, 15v, 16, 16v, 17, 18, 18v, 19, 20, 20v, 21, 21v, 22, 22v, 23, 23v, 24, 24v, 25, 25v, 26, 26v, 27, 27v, 28, 28v, 29, 29v, 30v, 31, 31v, 32, 32v, 33, 33v, 34v, 35, 35v, 36, 36v, 37v, 38, 38v, 39, 39v, 40, 40v, 41, 41v, 42, 43, 44, 45v, 46, 46v, 47, 47v, 48v, 49, 49v, 50, 50v, 51, 51v, 52, 52v, 53, 53v, 54.

APPENDIX II

Medications from the Records of St. Thomas's Hospital

A Medicine for Scald Head

"First, take a pint of mustard and a pint of strong vinegar, a quarter of a pound of degrease [lard?], two pence worth of oil of spice, and for thoroughly beaten. Put thereto a handful of salt. Boil them together and stir them well. Put it in an earthen pot and so use it.

An Ointment to Correct the Same If It Fortune to Break Out Again

One pad barrow hog's grease well tried with a handful of goose dung with white ends. And as much of sheep's dung and pence worth of oil spice and one pence worth of honey, two ounces of pepper, one ounce of staves acre. And when it is boiled, then steam it through a cloth. After the first medicine, take warm vinegar and wash it. And so the scroff shall be taken away."[1]

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[1] G.L.R.O., H1/ST/A24/1, fol. 188.

APPENDIX III

Admission of Children to Christ's Hospital: 1552 - 1573

1) Children admitted from 1552 to Michaelmas 1563 ---------- 1916
   Number of children who died within the hospital ---------- 733
   Number of children apprenticed ---------- 866

2) Easter 1562 to Michaelmas 1564[1]
   Number of children in residence at Easter 1562 ---------- 356
   Number of children admitted by Michaelmas 1563 ---------- 162
   Number of children who died within the hospital ---------- 134
   Number of children apprenticed ---------- 67
   Number of children remaining in the City's charge ---------- 317

3) Michaelmas 1564 to Michaelmas 1565[2]
   Number of children in residence at Michaelmas 1564 ---------- 317
   Number of children admitted by Michaelmas 1565 ---------- 69
   Number of children who died within the hospital ---------- 10
   Number of children apprenticed ---------- 44
   Number of children remaining in the City's charge ---------- 332

4) Michaelmas 1565 to Michaelmas 1566[3]
   Number of children in residence at Michaelmas 1565 ---------- 332
   Number of children admitted by Michaelmas 1566 ---------- 66
   Number of children who died within the hospital ---------- 15
   Number of children apprenticed ---------- 36
   Number of children remaining in the City's charge ---------- 347

5) Michaelmas 1566 to Michaelmas 1567[4]
   Number of children in residence at Michaelmas 1566 ---------- 347
   Number of children admitted by Michaelmas 1567 ---------- 85
   Number of children who died within the hospital ---------- 13
   Number of children apprenticed ---------- 42
   Number of children remaining in the City's charge ---------- 377

6) Michaelmas 1567 to Michaelmas 1568[5]
   Number of children in residence at Michaelmas 1567 ---------- 377
   Number of children admitted by Michaelmas 1568 ---------- 65
   Number of children who died within the hospital ---------- 13
   Number of children apprenticed ---------- 25
   Number of children remaining in the City's charge ---------- 404

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[1] G.L., MS. 12819/2, fol. 22.
[2] G.L., MS. 12819/2, fols. 27^{v}-28^{r}.
[3] G.L., MS. 12819/2, fol. 35.
[4] G.L., MS. 12819/2, fol. 42.
[5] G.L., MS. 12819/2, fol. 47^{v}.

7) Michaelmas 1568 to Michaelmas 1569[6]
Number of children in residence at Michaelmas 1568---404
Number of children admitted by Michaelmas 1569--- 55
Number of children who died within the hospital--- 53
Number of children apprenticed--- 23
Number of children remaining in the City's charge ---383

8) Michaelmas 1569 to Michaelmas 1570[7]
Number of children in residence at Michaelmas 1569---383
Number of children admitted by Michaelmas 1570--- 62
Number of children who died within the hospital--- 53
Number of children apprenticed--- 20
Number of children remaining in the City's charge ---382

9) Michaelmas 1570 to Michaelmas 1571[8]
Number of children in residence at Michaelmas 1570---382
Number of children admitted by Michaelmas 1571
received from parishes--- 71
admitted by court---5
Number of children who died within the hospital--- 95
Number of children apprenticed--- 19
Number of children remaining in the City's charge ---344

10) Michaelmas 1571 to Michaelmas 1572[9]
Number of children in residence at Michaelmas 1571---344
Number of children admitted by Michaelmas 1572
received from parishes--- 43
admitted by court---8
Number of children who died within the hospital--- 44
Number of children apprenticed--- 13
Number of children remaining in the City's charge ---338

11) Michaelmas 1572 to Michaelmas 1573[10]
Number of children in residence at Michaelmas 1572---338
Number of children admitted by Michaelmas 1573
received from parishes---110
admitted by court--- 19
Number of children who died within the hospital--- 47
Number of children apprenticed--- 10
Number of children remaining in the City's charge ---410

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[6] G.L., MS. 12819/2, fol. 55.
[7] G.L., MS. 12819/2, fol. 63.
[8] G.L., MS. 12819/2, fol. 67^{v}.
[9] G.L., MS. 12819/2, fol. 80^{v}.
[10] G.L., MS. 12819/2, fol. 83.

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SP 11 State Papers, Domestic Series, Mary I

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